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NATURAL BRIDGE, VIRGINIA.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Commencement of the Period of Modern American History—Development of National Character—Prospects and Influence of the United States in 1826—Material Progress—Rise of Steam Navigation—The Erie and Champlain Canals—Increase of Population and of Wealth—Cultivation of Cotton, and Rapid Growth of the Exports—Fluctuations in the National Debt—The Revenue—Provision for the Education of the People—The School System of the United States—Colleges and Universities—Literature and Science of America—The Influence of Freemasonry—Case of William Morgan—Popular Alarm at the Influence of Secret Societies—The Anti-Masonic Party—The South American Republics—Policy of the United States with reference to the Spanish Possessions—The Tariff Laws of 1828—Protection to Native Industry and Manufactures—Antagonistic Interests of the Northern and the Southern States—Acrimonious Contest for the Presidency—Election of General Jackson.

From the simultaneous death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, in 1826, we seem to enter what may be called the period of modern American History. The Revolutionary era had by this time entirely passed; the men who had made the Republic were for the most part in their graves; the type of political character which had arisen in the

eighteenth century, and been perpetuated through the earlier years of the nineteenth, had given place to modern ideas; a more distinctive national habit had been created; and the United States now stood before the world, not as a league of emancipated English colonies, but as a peculiar and original manifestation of humanity. This result, due in a great measure to the mere efflux of time, was also in some degree caused by the growing preponderance of the Southern States, where difference of climate, and the manners fostered by negro bondage, had tended to modify the old English features of political and domestic life,—by the accession of various foreign elements,—and by the immense extension of the country towards the West, where something of Indian freedom and wildness passed into the blood of the settlers, and broke up the transmitted conventionalities of the older world. While New England and the Middle States were the leading forces of the Union, an English genius yet prevailed; but the North-east had lost its former position of command, and the shaping power of the Republic was in other hands. Massachusetts was becoming an antiquity; Pennsylvania, whose principal city was at one time the capital of the Federation, had sunk to a provincial level; while New York was acquiring a cosmopolitan character, with an inclination towards Southern views.

Conscious of her growing strength—proud of her acknowledged position among the nations of the earth, and elated by the triumphs which, together with many reverses, had fallen to her share in the recent war—America now for the first time assumed that self-assertive air and bearing which for many years compromised her real dignity in the eyes of foreigners. The simplicity and high moral tone of earlier days had vanished. Grosser ends were advanced by means less exalted. The press was acquiring power, which it often applied to factious purposes. A certain vulgarity had entered into the ways of public life, and intrigue and place-hunting spread like a subtle disease throughout the land. America was intoxicated by the magnitude of her future. The mighty West, opening before her a perspective of new States following one another in vast progression, seemed to render her independent of other nations. She believed that she could produce from her own territory, and from the industry and genius of her own people, whatever could be required for the necessities, the luxuries, and the grandeur, of that which was to be the model Republic of the earth. She saw foreigners arriving every year in large numbers; she heard her institutions praised in many tongues; she knew that her growing communities were regarded by the poor and oppressed in distant lands, as the one star of hope for them in all the world. Her example was acting on the nations of Europe; and in London, in Paris, in all the chief centres of European life, the people were beginning to demand that they should have a greater share in the conduct of their own affairs, and be allowed to approximate in some measure towards the free, self-governing commonwealths of the United States. These things very naturally created a feeling of pride and self-reliance, which sometimes found expression in objectionable forms. It was no longer that America demanded the right to go her ways in peace and quiet: she alleged a commission to teach the nations how to live, and could hardly see any good beyond the limits of her own ideas and practice.

The country was making progress in material prosperity. As far back as the year 1807, a mechanical genius of no mean order—Robert Fulton—gave a successful start to the great system of steam-navigation. Some approaches in the same direction had been made four-and-twenty years before on American rivers; but these attempts were very rudimentary, and led to no striking results. Fulton had been in Europe, where, both in France and Scotland, he witnessed several trials of vessels propelled by steam-engines. Though at that time studying as a painter, his attention was attracted to this interesting mechanical problem, and, with the assistance and support of Robert R. Livingston, then the representative of the United States at Paris, he constructed a boat of considerable size on the Seine, which, though very defective, gave sufficient promise to render the experiment worth prosecuting. On his return to America, Fulton built another steamer, for which the celebrated firm of Boulton and Watt, of Soho, near Birmingham, supplied the engines. The vessel was built at New York, and launched on the Hudson in the spring of 1807. She was called the *Clermont*, after the name of Livingston's residence, and proceeded from New York to Albany—a distance of a hundred and forty-five miles—at the rate of about five miles an hour. The burden of this boat was a hundred and sixty tons; its length was a hundred and thirty-three feet, its width eighteen feet, and its depth seven feet. Some disappointment was felt by the inventor that a greater rate of speed had not been attained; but this shortcoming was due to a want of proper proportion in the wheels. Improvements were afterwards introduced, and when Fulton died, in 1815, he had just completed a large steam-frigate or floating battery, supported by

two hulls, between which, in an open space of water fifteen feet wide, the paddle-wheel worked. By that time, there were six steamboats afloat on the Hudson, and Fulton was building another, which he designed for a voyage to St. Petersburg. This eminent engineer can only share with others the honour of originating steam-navigation; but he did much towards realising a conception which had long been one of the subjects of scientific reverie. John Stevens, of Hoboken, and his son, also worked zealously for the improvement of steam-navigation in America, and, as early as 1807, one of their vessels went by sea from the Hudson to the Delaware. Ten years later, numerous large steamers were plying in several parts of the United States, of which some were used for coasting traffic.

By facilitating intercommunication, steamboats aided the progress of America. Another great work of about the same period was the formation of the Erie and Champlain Canals, in the State of New York, connecting Lakes Erie and Champlain with the river Hudson. The originator of the Erie scheme was Jesse Hawley, who, in a series of articles published in a newspaper during the years 1807 and 1808, showed that such a communication was not only desirable, but possible. The project was energetically supported by Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, and some others; and the accomplishment of the design was in a great measure due to the intelligent and energetic assistance of Clinton, while that gentleman was serving as a member of the State Legislature, and Governor of New York. The canal, which was completed in 1825, is three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, and in later years has been widened throughout its entire course. The Champlain Canal, the length of which is not more than sixty miles, was finished in 1823. It joins the Erie a little above Albany, and, by way of Lake Champlain, connects the Hudson with the St. Lawrence. By these great enterprises, America added largely to her capabilities of trade, and to the resources of her population. The United States were fairly started in the race of competition with England, as great producing and mercantile communities.

Despite the tendency to division on certain political and social questions, the several States were being welded together by the administrative arrangements of a vigorous yet not oppressive Federal Government. These matters progressed with great rapidity. In 1790 there were fewer than 2,000 miles of Post-routes, with only seventy-five Post-offices, in the dominions of the Republic. In 1815, there were nearly 44,000 miles of Post-routes, with three thousand Post-offices. Eleven years later, the figures were proportionably higher, for the population was increasing at an enormous rate. The number of the people, which was 7,239,814 in 1810, had in 1820 run up to 9,638,131. In 1826 it must have been much more than that, for in 1830 the Census returns gave the total at 12,866,020. In fact, the population doubled itself in less than twenty-five years. The wealth of the country was increasing at an equal ratio. In thirty years ending with 1820, the total exports of America advanced from nineteen to sixty-five millions of dollars.

The cultivation of cotton was now bringing an enormous foreign trade to the shores of the Southern States. No farther back than 1785, America sent to England only one bag of cotton, and that was the first which she had exported. In 1791, 2,000,000 pounds of cotton were grown in the United States; in 1801, 40,000,000; in 1811, 80,000,000. The war of 1812–15 reduced the exports of cotton by many millions of pounds; but the trade again increased by rapid strides after the return of peace. American cotton was found to be the best in the world, and English manufacturers learned every year to appreciate its excellence more thoroughly. The very finest of all was, and is, that which is called "Sea-island cotton," which, towards the latter end of the eighteenth century, was introduced from the Bahamas, and cultivated in the low, sandy islands dotting the American coast from Charleston to Savannah. This variety, which deteriorates in proportion as the plant is removed from the action of the ocean-spray, yields but a small supply. Having a long staple, it is used for the manufacture of the most delicate muslins; but the bulk of what is sent to England consists of the short-staple cotton grown on the hills of the Southern States, and thence called "Upland cotton." The civil war of 1861–5, leading to a suspension of the cotton exports, forced the manufacturers of England to look in other directions for a supply of this essential commodity; but a rival to America has not yet been found. In 1826, the producers in the slave-holding States saw that some of the most important manufactures of the old country depended in a great measure upon them. Lancashire was rising in importance, and Lancashire required American cotton.

The national revenues shared the prosperity which the country itself enjoyed, and the national debt continued to diminish, except during the brief period of war. When, in 1790, that debt was first funded, it stood at 75,463,476 dollars. The purchase of Louisiana raised the total to 86,427,121 dollars; but in the eight following years so large

a proportion was paid off that in 1812 the amount was not more than 45,209,738 dollars. Eighty millions of new obligations were contracted to defray the expenses of the war with Great Britain commencing in 1812; but immediately after the conclusion of peace the debt again rapidly declined, so that at the commencement of 1823 the total did not exceed 90,875,877 dollars. By 1826 it had sunk to 81,054,060 dollars, and for successive years the amount kept dwindling, until, in 1835 and 1836, it was to be counted, not by millions, but only by thousands; indeed, by that time the debt was virtually extinguished. At the period we are now considering, the revenue of the Republic was principally derived from commerce, and from the sale of public lands. The total receipts of the Government in 1826 were 25,260,434 dollars, while the expenditure was only 24,103,398; giving a surplus of more than a million.

One great source of the national strength—one great earnest of the national greatness in the future—was to be found in the excellent education provided for the people of the United States. This, it is true, was not equally good in all parts of the Union; but it was nowhere entirely neglected, and the Northern States in particular showed the most commendable zeal in warding off the curse of ignorance. In many of the States it was ordained that schools for the education of young people in reading, writing, and arithmetic should be kept, and supported by a public and general tax. This system was adopted in Massachusetts in the early days of that colony. A law was passed in 1647, providing that a school should be kept in every township having fifty householders, in which all the children who might resort to it should be taught to read and write. As the number of inhabitants increased, the townships were divided into small districts, and a school was supported in each. The same method was followed by the other New England colonies. Connecticut, having sold a large tract of land in Ohio to which it had a title, devoted the whole proceeds, amounting to 1,200,000 dollars, to the support of common or primary schools. This sum was afterwards augmented, and the interest annually distributed to the several school-districts, according to the number of scholars taught in each, but with the provision—very necessary to the encouragement of local efforts—that no district should be entitled to any aid from the fund, unless it had in the preceding year expended for the same purpose a certain amount derived from its own resources. The State of New York, in the early years of the present century, adopted a system nearly similar to that of Connecticut. From various sources it derived a fund, the interest of which is applied annually to the support of common schools. But here again local action is made indispensable to the receipt of assistance. In 1823, the number of children taught in the schools of this State was 400,000. Virginia, about the same period, established a fund, the interest of a part of which was appropriated to general education. The amount at that time was but small; but the Virginians took care in other ways that their children should not grow up in mental darkness. The extreme South did not fare so well. Literary culture has never been valued in those parts of the Union where the shadow of slavery has lain deepest. But the education of the American people has always been to some extent cared for by the Federal Government, as well as by the State Legislatures. Even before the adoption of the Constitution, the Federation acquired, by the cession of the several States, the property of nearly all the unappropriated land within the national boundaries. In offering this land for sale, the general Government reserved in every township one section, comprising six hundred and forty acres, for the use of schools. The value of these lands has of course steadily augmented with the increase of population, so that there is now a large fund for the maintenance of popular instruction. In 1826 there were sufficient means for ensuring a tolerable education for most citizens of the Union, and a higher education for many. Schools of a superior order were even then numerous. Several of these were incorporated, and some possessed considerable resources. The course of instruction in the higher schools included English grammar and composition, history, geography, mathematics, and the Greek and Latin languages. Of colleges and universities, the United States had many at the date to which we are referring. Harvard College, established in 1638, and Yale College, founded in 1700, have acquired a reputation for learning which is not confined to America, but is recognised all over the civilised world. There were also, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, some fifty colleges and universities authorised to confer degrees.* The studies pursued in these institutions are similar to those of Oxford and Cambridge, and the universities of the western world have produced some eminent writers and thinkers, whose genius has reflected the highest honour on America. Literature was bearing good fruit in the United States at the time when John Quincy Adams succeeded to the Presidentship. The bright and charming fancy of Washington

* History of the United States (1826).

Irving was already familiar to the readers of both hemispheres. The intense and somewhat morbid genius of Charles Brockden Brown, then deceased, had been known for a still longer period. Fenimore Cooper had begun to illustrate, in the most attractive forms, the traditions of his native land. Novelists and poets of signal power were about to add to the riches of the English tongue; and the investigations of science were not overlooked by that youthful community which had to conquer the desert, and to conduct a procession of free States from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Even in the previous century, America had shown, in the persons of such men as Franklin and Jonathan Edwards, that she could produce authors equal in capacity to all but the very greatest of the old country. But these, as British subjects, seemed to belong less absolutely to the United States than those who followed them in the succeeding century. In the fine arts, America had, before the Presidency of the younger Adams, produced West, Copley, Stuart, and Trumbull. The first rawness of colonial existence had vanished with the woods which the early settlers cut down, and with the marshes which they drained. In literature, in science, and in art, no less than in statesmanship and in arms, America now claimed recognition from the older nations of the world.

The Presidency of John Quincy Adams was for the most part undisturbed by events of the highest importance. In the year 1826, however, a painful circumstance occurred, which for awhile created a panic. Masonic societies had for some time existed in the United States to a very considerable extent; but it was not generally supposed that there was anything objectionable in their character. A man, however, named William Morgan, living at Batavia, in Genesee county, New York, conceived a dislike to these associations, and, knowing something about their organisation, announced his intention of publishing a book which should disclose what he called the secrets of Freemasonry. On Monday, September 11th, this man was taken from his home, under pretence of a criminal process, conveyed into Ontario county, a distance of fifty miles from his domicile, examined, and discharged. In the evening he was again arrested on a charge as frivolous as the first, thrown into gaol by the persons who had taken the original proceedings, once more discharged, and immediately afterwards once more seized—this time in the obscurity of night. The last arrest had a much more alarming character than the two former. The man was gagged, bound, and forced into a carriage, which was rapidly driven off. In this way he was conveyed a hundred miles without interruption, and, as relays of horses were prepared along the whole line of road, it was evident that his abduction was the result of an organised scheme. It came out in subsequent inquiries that Morgan was carried towards the Canadian frontier, where he was lodged within the walls of an unoccupied fort. What ultimately became of him has never been clearly known. He mysteriously disappeared, and, although it could never be proved that he was murdered, it is not easy to avoid the conviction that he met his death by treachery and violence. It is supposed that he was taken in a boat by night to the Niagara, and there drowned. A body, thought to be that of Morgan, was subsequently found below Fort Niagara; but it was impossible to identify it, and, notwithstanding that the Legislature of New York passed an Act ordering a strict investigation of the subject, and some freemasons were charged with murder, a conviction could not be obtained. The report of the New York committee of investigation confirmed the general suspicion that the unfortunate man had been assassinated, and the agitation of the public mind was so great that it was proposed to exclude freemasons from office. An anti-masonic party was formed, which, having in a few years spread over several States, held a convention at Philadelphia in 1831. This party endeavoured to influence the elections, but, after a brief period of activity, collapsed and disappeared.

When, at the earlier date, it was found impossible, for want of testimony, to convict the suspected parties of murder, the authorities instituted a prosecution for abduction; but it proved extremely difficult to conduct the proper judicial inquiries. Witnesses were removed, that they might not give evidence; grand juries were packed; and so much intimidation was practised that many persons were afraid to say what they knew. Several of the sheriffs and other officials were themselves freemasons; and members of the same body were found in every department of life, and even in the Government. Some few convictions were obtained, but it is believed that the principal criminals escaped punishment. The existence of secret societies is never desirable in a State, and has sometimes been attended by the most serious dangers. The association of the Assassins in Egypt, of the Thugs in India, of the Vehmgerichte in Germany, of the Military Orders in the Middle Ages, of the Inquisition in Spain, of the Camorra in modern Italy, and of the Trade Societies in our own days, are alone sufficient to show how terrible may be the power exercised by a concealed body of men, whose agencies are ramified over the whole extent

of a country, and who are capable of operating in methods the most unexpected, and in quarters where they are not even supposed to exist. It is no wonder that the mysterious disappearance of William Morgan, and the difficulty of enforcing the law against those who had been concerned in his abduction, if not in his actual murder, created the wildest alarm in America, and induced many to argue that secret societies ought not to be tolerated, and that their oaths and mysteries are both illegal and immoral. But the suppression of masked associations has always been found a work of the utmost difficulty. Freemasonry is undoubtedly one of the great powers of modern society; it is held by its members to answer many useful purposes; it has the support of illustrious names; and, although the element of secrecy will always expose it to some suspicion on the part of those who do not belong to its fraternities, it cannot be said, as a general fact, that sufficient evil has been proved against the institution to justify a vigorous endeavour to suppress its very existence. The melancholy story of William Morgan casts an ugly shadow on the annals of the Order; yet we have no grounds for regarding it as other than an exceptional case.*

Another incident of 1826 was the appointment, early in that year, of commissioners to attend a congress of representatives of the South American Republics, to be held at Panama in the month of July. The position of those Republics had for the last few years been engaging the attention both of the United States and of Great Britain. In 1823, Canning, the English Foreign Secretary, had proposed to Mr. Rush, the American Minister at London, that the two Governments should come to an understanding on the subject, and join in a con-

WASHINGTON IRVING.

* When the Masonic question was agitating the country, after the close of his Presidency, Mr. John Quincy Adams wrote several letters on the subject, which were published in a volume at Boston in 1847. In the Appendix to this volume are some Masonic oaths, in one of which the freemason swears, with horrible imprecations on himself in case of unfaithfulness, that he will assist a fellow-mason in *any* difficulty, and espouse his cause, with a view to extricating him from trouble, "whether he be right or wrong."

THE ABDUCTION OF WILLIAM MORGAN.

current declaration as to the policy they would pursue. It was in vindicating his recognition of the new States that Canning, a little later, used the celebrated phrase, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Mr. Rush reported the English Minister's suggestions to his Government, and Jefferson, who was consulted on the subject, believed that Canning was ready to join with the United States in an armed resistance to any attempt on the part of the European Powers to suppress the young Republics of Spanish-America. But the course of affairs, fortunately, did not lead to such extremities. The congress of 1826 had no important results, but it was made the occasion of much discussion in the Legislature of the United States, where the several questions involved took a party colour, and were debated on party grounds. The gathering at Panama originated in a suggestion made in 1823 by General Bolivar, who, while acting as President of Colombia, invited the Governments of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres to unite with him in bringing about such a combination of States. The objects of the congress were to settle upon some line of policy, having the force of international law, with respect to the rights of those Republics, and to concert measures for preventing any further colonisation of the American continent by European Powers, as well as their interference in the contests then existing. The ideas thus embodied were in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, with which the reader has been made acquainted. But the time was not yet ripe for the settlement of such difficult matters. It was still somewhat doubtful whether the Spanish-American Republics would finally establish their independence; and the United States were not disposed to identify themselves too actively with a cause which might even yet fail of success. The Panama congress began with discussion, and ended in little else.

The great questions involved in the Tariff laws still continued to agitate the popular mind. In July, 1827, a national convention was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to discuss the subject of protection to native industry. It was in the North that the desire for this form of protection principally existed. The Southern States had no manufactures of their own, and were desirous of exchanging their raw materials for the manufactures of England and of other countries, without the hindrance of almost prohibitory taxation. Only four of the slave-holding States, however, sent delegates to the convention. The policy of Free Trade was therefore very feebly represented, and the convention adopted a memorial to Congress, asking for an augmentation of duties on several articles then manufactured in the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury called attention to the subject in his report a few months later, and, in the session of 1827–8, Congress passed a Tariff Bill which exceeded even that of 1824 in illiberality towards foreign countries. The Act passed on the 15th of May, 1828. It levied very heavy protective duties on woollen and cotton fabrics, as well as on other goods; and, by preventing the introduction of those articles from Great Britain, imposed a severe tax on the whole people of the United States, for the benefit of a small class of manufacturers. The Northern States, however, with some exceptions, considered it to their ultimate interest to be thus burdened. The Southern and Western, again with some exceptions, saw in these new laws nothing but despotism and injury. In proportion as the manufactured goods of England were denied admission into the Union, the raw cotton of the South was limited as to its market, and by many in that quarter the Tariff Bill was denounced as unconstitutional. The commercial policy of the American Government during several years produced the ill effect of inducing the British Government to withdraw from the liberal position it had assumed, and to deprive the United States of the benefit of trading with the British West Indies, which Mr. Huskisson had granted them.

In the midst of these discussions, the Presidential election again took place. The public mind had for a long while been much excited by the approaching struggle, and at no previous Presidential contest had there been so large an amount of personal rancour and party bitterness as at the present. Mr. Adams offered himself for a renewal of his term of office, but, as appeared by the result, with no greater success than his father in the year 1800. His opponent was General Jackson, the hero of New Orleans and of Florida, and on him the election fell. He was a popular favourite on account of his military achievements, and his successful assertion in many quarters of the power of the United States. After a contest so full of excitement and animosity as almost to threaten civil war, Jackson was elected to the highest office of the State, and on the 4th of March, 1829, commenced the discharge of his duties. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was again elected Vice-President, and both he and Jackson had very large majorities. It is remarkable that, of the six Presidents of the United States up to the year 1829, the two Adamses, father and son, were the only ones who did not succeed in obtaining re-

election. The causes of the elder Adams's failure have been made sufficiently obvious; it is not so easy to say why the younger was refused a renewal of power. He left the country in a state of great prosperity, with a diminished National Debt, and a surplus of more than five millions of dollars. But he had for his opponent a man who had won his place in the national heart by deeds which are more striking than the deeds of peace; and the statesman gave way before the superior attraction of the soldier.

CHAPTER II.

Previous Career of General Jackson, Seventh President—His Inauguration (March 4th, 1829)—Political Character of Jackson and of the Party with which he was allied—The New Cabinet—Sweeping Administrative Changes—Prosperous State of the Country—Commercial Treaties—Refusal of President Jackson to renew the Bank Charter—Transportation of the Cherokees beyond the Mississippi—Indian Rising on the North-western Frontier—Defeat of the Chief, Black Hawk—His Latter Years and Death—Agitation in the South, caused by the Tariff Act of 1832—Threats of Secession in South Carolina—Resolute Conduct of President Jackson—Determination of the Majority to preserve the Union—Proposals of Mr. Clay—Warlike Preparations—Provisions of the Compromise Bill—The Difficulty settled—Jackson and the National Bank—Financial Revolution—Formation of the Whig Party—Claims on the French Government—Rising of the Seminole Indians in Florida—The Chief, Osceola—Extensive Military Operations.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, was born in Union county, North Carolina, on the 15th of March, 1767.* His father was an Irishman, the son of a linendraper near Carrickfergus, Ulster; but more remotely the family was of Scotch origin. The mother of the future President was left a widow five days after the birth of this son who was afterwards to be so famous in American history; and, as her means were but small, it was a matter of some difficulty to procure a sufficient education for her three children. The calling of Andrew was to be that of a clergyman, and for some years he studied theology. The whirlpool of the Revolutionary war, however, drew the young Jacksons into martial ways, and the eldest of the three brothers was killed in action while quite a youth. Andrew is recorded to have fought, together with his next eldest brother, in a battle at Rocky Mount, on the 6th of August, 1780, though at that time he was not much more than thirteen years of age. The second son died of a wound, which, it is said, was inflicted on him, while a prisoner, by a British officer who was enraged at his refusing to do menial service; and a similar refusal on the part of Andrew led to his receiving a sword-cut. The mother died of gaol-fever while on her way home from Charleston, whither she had been to take some necessaries to her friends and relations on board a prison-ship. Such were the early memories of Andrew Jackson, who, at the close of the war, was left the sole survivor of his family. He then studied the law, and for a time practised as a solicitor in what is now the State of Tennessee; but the depredations of the Indians again called him to the field. Serving as a private in the army sent against those disturbers of the peace, he distinguished himself so much as to acquire from his savage enemies the complimentary appellations of Sharp Knife and Pointed Arrow. In 1796 and 1797, he sat in Congress, and was subsequently appointed, by the Legislature of Tennessee, Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and Major-General of the local forces. It was not until the subsequent war with England, however, that Jackson acquired conspicuous fame. His exploits during that contest, and his subjugation of Florida at a later date, are within the knowledge of the reader, and need not be here recapitulated.

From his earliest years, Jackson exhibited that imperious and over-bearing spirit which characterised him all through life. One who had been well-acquainted with him in his youth, said he was the only bully he had ever known who was not also a coward. He certainly was not a coward; it is equally clear that he *was* a bully. Generous to all weak persons who acknowledged his supremacy and sought his protection, he was a tameless fury to all rivals and opponents. One day, while yet quite a boy, he swore that he would kill any one of his playmates who laughed at him. A few years later, he told a man with whom he had had a quarrel to prepare for another world. When practising in the law-courts of Tennessee, he struck another lawyer, who had insulted him, in the

* Jackson himself was always under the impression that he was a native of South Carolina; but it has since been ascertained that his birthplace was a little on the North Carolina side of the boundary line.

stomach, and, when he was down, stamped on him, as he related with great complacency to a friend, when he was President. He was perpetually engaged in altercations, assaults, and duels. Almost to the close of his existence, he was quarrelling with and reviling some one. His conversation, when excited, rang with the loudest oaths, though he seems to have given up this habit after the death of his wife, to whom he was much attached, and whose loss saddened and sobered him. A duel in which he was engaged with a certain Charles Dickinson, of Tennessee, in 1806, led to a fatal result, and was conducted on both sides with a cold-blooded, deliberate ferocity, which leaves little distinction between such an act and murder. Dickinson was reputed to be the best shot in the country; but Jackson seems to have resolved on killing his adversary, if he could possibly manage it. It was Dickinson's lot to fire first. His ball inflicted a wound on Jackson, who then took deliberate aim, and struck his opponent through the body below the ribs. In striking proof of the horrible vindictiveness that could sometimes possess the mind of Jackson, it is mentioned that he carefully concealed from Dickinson the fact of his having himself been wounded, so that the dying man's torments might be aggravated by the belief that his shot had missed, and that his wonted skill had failed. So little did this tragedy rest on Jackson's conscience that he kept the fatal pistol on the mantel-piece in his bedroom, and calmly pointed it out as the weapon with which he had killed Dickinson. Yet this man had kindly impulses, when everybody let him have his own way in all things, and in his latter days was religious. "I want to meet you all, white and black, in heaven," were nearly his last words, when dying, and they were spoken conscientiously.* There are many grander and better, but few more striking, figures than that of Andrew Jackson.

At the inauguration of the new President, on the 4th of March, 1829, he found himself surrounded by a few surviving officers and soldiers of the War of Independence. In reply to an address from these historical personages, General Jackson said:—"To have around my person, at the moment of undertaking the most solemn of all duties to my country, the companions of the immortal Washington, will afford me satisfaction and grateful encouragement. That, by my best exertions, I shall be able to exhibit more than an imitation of his labours, a sense of my own imperfections, and the reverence I entertain for his virtues, forbid me to hope. To you, respected friends, the survivors of that heroic band who followed him so long and so valiantly in the path of glory, I offer my sincere thanks, and to heaven my prayers that your remaining years may be as happy as your toils and your lives have been illustrious." The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Marshall, who had performed the same duty towards some of the General's predecessors, and who again administered the oath in 1833, after the re-election of Jackson.

Possessed of conspicuous abilities, and occupying a cherished place in the national affections, Jackson enjoyed every opportunity of distinguishing his rule, and leaving a great name behind him. But, although he had the support of the majority, a considerable number of Americans looked on him with the utmost distrust; and that not without reason. Apart from his military achievements, his previous career was associated with nothing but despotic violence, and high-handed acts of oppression. There was but too much ground for regarding him as an adulator of the mob for the sake of popularity. He certainly belonged to the most extreme section of the Democratic party—that section which was beginning to make the maintenance, and even the extension, of slavery one of its leading principles; which hated authority, which misunderstood liberty, which deified turbulence, which loved corruption, which existed from day to day on a policy of arrogance and menace towards other countries, which was content with the Union so long as the conduct of affairs was in its own hands, but which was ever ready with a threat of Secession on the prospect of an adverse vote. Jackson may not be personally chargeable with all these tendencies; and the responsibilities of office modified his views, as such responsibilities generally will. But before his election he had allied himself with those who were already developing the worst elements of American politics, and were about to give a stamp to the American Republic which nothing but the fiery tide of civil war could efface. Up to the commencement of his Presidency, Jackson had afforded no proof of statesmanlike genius. He was a resolute, energetic, and clever soldier—a man possessing force of will and quickness of perception; but one more fit, as it would seem, for the government of a conquered satrapy than for the administration of a Federal league of free and equal States. The qualities which made him great at New Orleans, and carried him successfully through the infant difficulties of Tennessee and the accumulated dangers of Florida, might be entirely out of place at Washington. The dictator who could imprison a judge on his own authority, who could hang a foreigner for his own convenience, who could seize a province at

* Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson. New York, 1860.

his own bidding, who could govern a Territory as if it were a gaol, and the next moment flatter the crowd as if it were the nation, appeared hardly the man for Chief Magistrate of a commonwealth of civilians who put their trust in the law, and would scarcely permit a professional soldier to exist among them.* The adherents of the party once called Federal regarded these antecedents of Jackson with much dislike; but they were now a powerless minority, and could only await in patience the dawn of better days.

One of the first acts of the new President was to change the existing Cabinet, in order that all the chief offices might be filled by his own supporters. Mr. Martin Van Buren was made Secretary of State; Mr. Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. John H. Eaton, Secretary of War; Mr. John Branch, Secretary of the Navy; and Mr. John McPherson Berrian, Attorney-General. It was at the same time determined to make the Postmaster-General a Cabinet officer, and Mr. William T. Barry was appointed to the place. The custom of changing the members of the Government on the accession of a new President was begun by Jefferson, as the reader is aware; but it was extended by Jackson to the minor officials, with a degree of rigour never before equalled. The removals from office during the eight years of Jackson's Administration amounted to six hundred and ninety, while the entire number during all the preceding Presidentships, from 1789 to 1829, was only seventy-four. This sweeping application of a rather questionable power provoked a good deal of opposition in some circles; but, as the policy of the former Government was not radically changed, the people generally took little heed of the matter.

Jackson, indeed, after he had secured his position by liberally providing for his friends, exercised his powers at first with greater moderation than had been expected. He was favoured, in the early part of his rule, by a condition of great tranquillity, both at home and abroad. The country was prosperous, and the President was able to announce in 1830 that the revenue of the Federation was twenty-four millions of dollars, while the expenditure was not much more than thirteen. In the same year, a treaty of commerce was concluded with Great Britain, by which the ports of that Power in the West Indies, South America, the Bahamas, the Caicos, and the Bermudas, were opened to American vessels, and the ports of the United States were declared free to British vessels coming from those places. By some, the provisions of this treaty were afterwards objected to, on the ground that they gave the carrying trade between the United States and the West Indies chiefly to British vessels; but the agreement was a step out of the rigid Protectionist principles which had existed for some years, and was on that account a gain to the community. In 1830, also, a treaty was signed at Constantinople between the United States and Turkey, securing to the former Power the free navigation of the Black Sea and the trade of the Turkish Empire.

The following year (1831) passed without any events of note; but 1832 was not so tranquil. On the 9th of January the Senate received a petition from the officers of the United States Bank, praying for a renewal of the charter granted in 1816, near the close of Madison's Administration, and made terminable in twenty years from that date. On the 13th of March, 1832, a select committee of the Senate, to whom the petition was referred, reported in favour of renewing the charter for fifteen years; and, after prolonged debates, a Bill for carrying out that object passed both Houses of Congress during the summer, though not without many adverse votes. Jackson, however, had long entertained a great dislike of the principles involved in such an institution. In his first annual Message, delivered in December, 1829, he had argued that the Bank had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency, and that it was opposed to the nature of the Federal Constitution. The Message for the two next years contained further objections against the Bank, and it was therefore well-known that no Bill for renewing its charter would have the support of President Jackson. The Act passed in 1832 was vetoed by him on the 10th of July; and, as the majority required by the Constitution for passing a Bill into a law without the sanction of the President (viz., two-thirds) could not be obtained, the Bank-charter expired in 1836. The commercial part of the community anticipated this change in a spirit of the most gloomy foreboding; and a good deal of temporary disturbance was in fact the result.

Indian troubles arose in 1832. The State of Georgia laid claim to certain lands held within its limits by the Cherokees, and, in consideration of

* When Arbuthnot and Ambrister, the two Englishmen in Florida, were tried by court-martial for assisting the Indians (as related in the last chapter of Vol. II.), the sentence of the court on the latter was that he should be whipped and imprisoned—not that he should suffer death, which was the penalty imposed on the other offender. Jackson annulled the milder sentence, and the result was that Ambrister, as a soldier, was shot, and Arbuthnot, as a civilian, was hanged. The American General vindicated what he had done on the plea that the two prisoners, by assisting to make war against the United States while those States were at peace with England, put themselves in the position of outlaws and pirates. But such an argument might be made to justify any oppression.

promises of compensation for territory given up in former years, required the assistance of the Federal Government in extinguishing the Indian titles. The question had first arisen, as narrated in a previous chapter, in the year 1825, under the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, when the Federation was opposed to the view adopted by the State. That view was now upheld by Jackson, and the Georgians accordingly proceeded to take possession of the lands then occupied by the savages. The Supreme Court adjudicated on the matter in March, 1832, when a decision adverse to the claims of Georgia was pronounced. Jackson, however, countenanced the Georgians in resisting the decision, and a state of internal dissension arose, which, as regarded this particular question, continued for some years. The Chickasaws and Choctaws had consented to remove into the wilderness bordering on Arkansas, and had received from the Government of the United States the expenses of their journey, a certain allotment of land, and a year's provisions. But the other tribes were determined to resist, and the Cherokees, in particular, denied the right of the Federal Government to transport them against their will. Some creditable advances in civilisation had been made by the Cherokees, who had organised a species of government, framed a body of written laws, and created a national legislature. These very facts, however, were considered by President Jackson as additional reasons for the removal of such communities. He argued in his first Message to Congress, near the close of 1829, that the United States could not tolerate anything in the nature of independent governments within their limits. This, of course, was reasonable, if such feeble attempts at local administration could be regarded as independent governments at all. But the Indian Parliament and the Indian Executive might have been left to die out gradually, as they would assuredly have done in a few years, and the Indian tribes been allowed to pass by absorption into the larger and higher civilisation which some of them appeared to be approaching. Instead of this, they were relegated to a stern and inhospitable desert, or only suffered to remain under the most despotic regulations. The Georgian Legislature, supported by the President, extended the laws of the State over the Indian Territory, annulled such laws as had been established by the aborigines for their own guidance, and declared, on the 20th of December, 1829, that "no Indian, or descendant of an Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, should be deemed a competent witness or party to any suit in any court where a white man is a defendant." Here was a direct incentive to oppression and perjury; and the Supreme Court of the United States, in March, 1832, declared the acts of the Georgian Legislature to be unconstitutional. This decision was disregarded, and President Jackson informed the Cherokees that he "had no power to oppose the sovereignty of any State over all who may be within its limits." He therefore advised them to abide the issue of the new relations into which they had been brought, without any hope that he would interfere.

It is but fair to Jackson to add that he gave it as his opinion that the emigration should be voluntary; that he characterised as an injustice the compelling of the Indians to forsake the lands of their forefathers; and that he condemned the unscrupulous rapacity with which the white man often treated the red man. Nevertheless, when the latter refused to remove voluntarily, General Jackson had no more scruples about compulsion. Yet, as regarded the Cherokees, it was not until 1838, during the Presidency of Mr. Van Buren, that a strong body of troops was sent into the country in dispute, to remove the savages, by force if necessary, beyond the Mississippi. The conciliatory management of General Winfield Scott, who had command of the soldiers, brought the matter to a termination without the necessity of any resort to violence; but, in consenting to migrate, the Cherokees did nothing more than yield to the inevitable. They were forced into the wilderness by the stern hand of the white man, who coveted their possessions. Where the Indian will not adopt the habits of civilised life, it is but fair that he should be compelled to give up his lordship over the soil which he abuses by his indolence and barbarism. But this was not the case with the Cherokees. They had built churches and schools; they had set up a printing-press; they were agriculturists, not hunters and trappers; they had exhibited a capacity for peaceful industry and progressive improvement. Surely they might have been suffered to remain beneath the protection of the national flag, and to develop whatever capacity of culture was to be found in them. But the old Roman art of civilisation has never been understood by the nations of the modern world.

The evident disposition of President Jackson to deal harshly with the aborigines may have had something to do with a rising of the Indians on the North-western frontier in the spring of 1832. Three tribes, known as the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, having their seats in the Territory of Wisconsin, began hostilities against the white settlers. They had for their leader an energetic

chief of the Sacs, named Black Hawk, who laid claim to lands which, it was alleged, had recently been sold to the United States, and which were now occupied by emigrants from Illinois. The sale of Indian lands was often compulsory, and the unfortunate savages frequently refused, in subsequent years, to recognise transfers into which they had been either forced or cajoled. This was the case with the Sacs. General Gaines said one day, in a council with the chiefs, that the President was displeased with the refusal of the Sacs to go to the west of the great river. Black Hawk, who had fought on the side of the British in the late war, replied that that tribe had never sold their lands, and were determined to retain them. Gaines then asked, somewhat contemptuously, who the speaker was; whether he was a chief, and if he had any right in the council. The Indian left the assembly without making any reply, but on the following morning appeared again with the rest, and, addressing the American General, said: "My father, you inquired yesterday, 'Who is this Black Hawk? Why does he sit among the chiefs?' I will tell you who I am. I am a Sac; my father was a Sac: I am a warrior, and so was my father. Ask those young men who have followed me to battle, and they will tell you who Black Hawk is. Provoke our people to war, and you will learn who Black Hawk is."

PRESIDENT JACKSON.

Unfortunately, the American authorities were not animated by a pacific or conciliatory spirit, and the barbarians, exasperated by what they regarded as gross and systematic injustice, swept down upon the white men in a burst of uncontrollable fury. Horrible massacres were committed, and villages were destroyed by fire. The settlers fled in sudden

panic, and Generals Scott and Atkinson were sent against the confederated Indians. The troops had not long embarked in steamers, sailing from Buffalo on Lake Erie, when cholera—a disease at that time new to the western world—broke out amongst them. The mortality was great on board the vessels, and the force was still further thinned, on landing, by numerous desertions. Those who forsook their colours gained nothing by that breach of faith and abandonment of military duty. They fled into the woods, where several died from want of food, or from the malady which had already slain so many of their comrades. Scott, bereft of a large number of his men, was unable to reach the scene of the disturbances; but Atkinson pushed on by special efforts, and in August defeated the warriors of Black Hawk with considerable loss. Among the prisoners were the chief himself and his two sons, who, after being sent in irons to Fort Jefferson, were conveyed to Washington, where they had an interview with President Jackson. A treaty was then concluded, and the captives relinquished all claim to the lands for the possession of which they had fought, and promised to remove to the western side of the Mississippi. They were afterwards taken through several of the eastern towns, that they might see the power and greatness of the nation they had defied, and judge for themselves the hopelessness of any further efforts. Ultimately they were released, and allowed to depart for their new homes.

Black Hawk and his people settled on the river Des Moines. The old chief lived in a bark cabin, which he furnished, in imitation of the whites, with chairs, a table, a mirror, and mattresses. His spirit as a warrior was thoroughly broken, and, giving all his time to the cultivation of his ground, he grew his corn and his melons in peace. He was invited one year to Fort Madison, to join in the celebration of Independence Day, though the anniversary could have had little attraction for him, and it was somewhat of a cruel honour to solicit his presence. The speech which he is reported to have delivered on this occasion is marked by a touching dignity and a melancholy sweetness, which show how much might have been done with such a man, had he been considerately and fairly treated. "It has pleased the Great Spirit," he is said to have observed, "that I am here to-day. I have eaten with my white friends. The earth is our mother; we are now on it, with the Great Spirit above us. It is good. I hope we are all friends here. A few winters ago I was fighting against you. Perhaps I did wrong—but that is past; it is buried—let it be forgotten. Rock River was a beautiful country. I loved my towns, my corn-fields, and the home of my people. I fought for it. It is now yours. Keep it as we did: it will produce you beautiful crops." The latter years of this chieftain's life were pervaded by a profound feeling of mournfulness. He probably foresaw the extinction of his race, and tasted of that inconsolable sorrow which belongs to all perishing communities. On the 3rd of October, 1838, he died, at about seventy-two years of age. After his decease, he was dressed in a uniform which had been presented to him at Washington, and stretched on a rude bier, with bark laid across. The body was carried to the place of burial by four warriors, followed by the family and about fifty of the tribe. It was set on the surface of the earth in a sitting posture, on a seat contrived for the purpose. The right hand was made to rest on a cane presented to Black Hawk by Henry Clay. Trophies, favourite weapons, and Indian garments, were placed beside the corpse, and the American flag was planted at the head of the grave. The body was then enclosed with palings, and the earth filled in, in accordance with a method which is said to be usual with Sac chieftains. Black Hawk was an Indian warrior of the old school; but he had some of the better qualities of his race. A great American authority on Indian life has said of him that "he was more to be respected and pitied than blamed. His errors were the result of ignorance, and none of the cruelties of the war were directly chargeable to him. He was honest in his belief—honest in the opinion that the country east of the Mississippi had been unjustly wrested from him; and there is no doubt but the trespasses and injuries received from the reckless frontier emigrants were of a character that provoked retaliation. He sought to restore his people to a position and rights which he did not perceive were inevitably lost. He possessed a degree of intellectual vigour and decision of character far beyond the mass, and may be regarded as one of the principal minds of the Indians of the first half of the nineteenth century."*

A much greater danger than any that could proceed from Indian discontent now threatened the Union. The Southern States had been sorely irritated by the Tariff Act of 1828, and the causes of annoyance thence arising were increased by another Act of Congress, imposing additional duties upon foreign goods. This was passed in the spring of 1832, and immediately caused a violent agitation in the non-manufacturing parts of the

* Schoolcraft's Personal Memoirs of a Thirty Years' Residence with the Indian Tribes. Philadelphia, 1851.

country. On the 19th of November, a State convention was opened in South Carolina, under the Presidency of the Governor. This assembly declared that the Tariff Acts were unconstitutional, and therefore null and void; that the duty should not be paid, and that any attempt on the part of the Federal Administration to enforce payment would be resisted by arms, and cause the withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union, and the establishment of an independent Government. The State Legislature met shortly afterwards, passed laws in support of the resolution thus expressed, and recommended that the authorities should request the withdrawal of certain United States troops which had been stationed there to guard against a slave-insurrection. The people began to make military preparations; and when Congress re-assembled in the autumn, the aspect of affairs was exceedingly black. President Jackson, though generally inclined to support the doctrine of State Rights, was not prepared to see that view carried to the extent of actual rebellion. On the 10th of December he issued a proclamation, in which he denied the right of a State to nullify any Act of the Federal Government, and warned those who were engaged in fomenting rebellion that the laws of the United States would be strictly enforced by military power, if necessary. He declared that, as Chief Magistrate of the Union, he could not, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty, and that the laws must be executed at any cost. He exhorted the people of South Carolina to desist from their opposition, and called upon the citizens of the United States to support him in upholding the Constitution. Jackson had just been re-elected to the Presidency for another term of four years, in opposition to Henry Clay; and at the same time Martin Van Buren, of New York, became Vice-President. Mr. Calhoun, who had for some years occupied the second position, was now free to follow his own conception of what was proper in this dangerous controversy. He accordingly took his stand in Congress on the most extreme interpretation of State Rights. He was a native of South Carolina, and one of the most able advocates of the views asserted in that part of the Union. Another eminent South Carolinian, who ranged himself in opposition to the Federal Government, was Robert Y. Hayne, who had represented the State in Congress for ten years, and was chairman of the committee of the convention which reported the ordinance of nullification. Not long afterwards, Hayne was chosen Governor of his native State, and his influence in that quarter was of the most powerful kind.

On the other hand, a vast majority of the American people were determined to sustain the general Government. The prospects of a collision became more serious every day. The President's proclamation found some support even in South Carolina, where a party called "Friends of the Union" started up. This, of course, rendered the chances of disturbance even greater; but the dangers of the hour were happily averted by a Compromise Bill, introduced into Congress by Henry Clay on the 12th of February, 1833. It is said that Mr. Clay brought forward this Bill with the concurrence of Mr. Calhoun. The latter had gone so far in his opposition—had, in fact, touched so near on downright treason—that President Jackson had threatened him with arrest if he presumed any further. Every one knew that Jackson was a man who never hesitated at extreme steps when he had made up his mind to them; and Calhoun recoiled before the menace. He came to an arrangement with Mr. Clay for proposing in Congress a measure which would satisfy both sides; and when the matter was being debated in the Senate, he earnestly disclaimed any hostile feelings towards the Union on the part of South Carolina. The State authorities, he asserted, had looked only to a judicial decision upon the question, until the concentration of the Federal troops at Charleston and Augusta compelled them to make provision to defend themselves.* The President had, in truth, taken very decided measures. He had caused Castle Pinckney, a fortress commanding both the inner harbour and the city of Charleston, to be put in a complete state of defence; had strongly garrisoned Fort Moultrie; and had ordered several ships of war to be stationed in the Bay. The "Nullifiers," as they were called, were staggered, and not a little alarmed for their personal safety. The nullification doctrine was condemned, as destructive to the Federal Constitution, by the State Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, Indiana, Missouri, and Georgia; although the last-named expressed at the same time its reprobation of the tariff system which had led to so much perilous dissension, and proposed a convention of the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi, to devise means of relief.

The determination of so large a part of the Union to uphold the general Government, and to repress sedition, rendered Mr. Clay's attempt at conciliation all the easier. A Bill for substituting a lower rate of duties for the obnoxious tariff had,

* Lossing's History of the United States.

to be in imminent peril, and Major Dade was despatched to his relief from Fort Brooke, at the head of Tampa Bay. He had a hundred men with him; but the whole, save only four, who afterwards died of their wounds, were massacred, on the 28th of December, near Wahoo Swamp. On the same day, Osceola, at the head of a small war-party, killed and scalped General Thompson and five of his friends, who were dining in a somewhat exposed situation near Fort King. So rapidly was the deed

CREEK INDIANS.

effected that the assailants had vanished into the forest before anything was known at the fort as to what had occurred. Some battles with the hostile tribes took place in the early weeks of 1836; but the Seminoles were now aided by the Creeks, and the rising assumed even more serious proportions. For a long time the savages were almost uniformly successful. They attacked mail-carriers and stage-coaches on the road, steamboats on the rivers and lakes, and a large number of villages in Georgia and Alabama. Thousands of white people were driven from place to place in mortal terror, and it seemed for awhile as if that part of the country must be abandoned. But General Winfield Scott had now the chief command in the south, and he was a man of ability and resolution. His operations were so vigorously conducted that the Indians, weary of contest, and perhaps glutted with revenge, began to retire. The Creeks were subdued and removed to their homes beyond the Mississippi; but the other Indians still maintained an attitude of defiance. In October, Governor Call, of Georgia, marched against the Seminoles with nearly two thousand men, of whom a detachment of five hundred attacked the barbarians on the 21st of November, near the spot where Dade and his companions had been slain. But the action led to no decisive result, nor did many other actions fought about the same time in the swampy fastnesses to which the enemy had retired. The American troops suffered so terribly from the poisonous vapours of the fens, the bites of venomous serpents, and the stings of insects, that they dared not follow their red foes into the further recesses of that deadly region. The war continued through the whole winter, and the prospects of the national troops seemed far from hopeful, when, on the 6th of March, 1837, some chiefs appeared in the camp of General Jessup,

SCENE UPON A CREEK, TRIBUTARY TO THE ST. JOHN'S, FLORIDA.

at Fort Dade, near the head of Tampa Bay, and signed a treaty which guaranteed immediate peace, and the departure of the Indians to the western side of the river. The Indian difficulty had apparently come to an end; but Osceola declined to recognise the treaty, and recommenced the war.

By this time the Presidency of General Jackson had reached its close. In the autumn of 1836, Mr. Martin Van Buren was elected as his successor, and the post of Vice-President was conferred by the Senate (owing to a failure in the popular election) on Mr. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. Notwithstanding the local distresses of the Indian war, Jackson left the country, at the termination of his Presidency, in a very prosperous condition. During his Administration, the public debt of the United States was extinguished, and in 1836 Congress passed a Bill for distributing the surplus revenue among the several States. Treaties of reciprocity were concluded with Russia and Belgium. Two new States (Arkansas and Michigan) were added to the Union, and the original number of thirteen was now exactly doubled. The last official act of President Jackson, however, caused great dissatisfaction. With the intention of checking speculations in the public lands, a circular was issued from the Treasury Department on the 11th of July, 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. Business was much hampered by this ordinance, which created so general an opposition that early in 1837 both Houses of Congress sanctioned a partial repeal. Jackson, being resolved not to sign the Bill, kept it in his possession until after the adjournment of Congress, and thus prevented its becoming law. On the 4th of March, 1837, when he was seventy years of age, his official life reached its close. He had enjoyed a period of extraordinary success, due mainly to his own great abilities, to singular force of character, and, on some occasions, to a rather unscrupulous use of the powers with which he had been invested.

CHAPTER III.

Martin Van Buren, President—His Political Life and Character—Further Incidents of the Seminole War—Capture and Death of Osceola—Prolonged Contests with the Indians, and Close of the Movement—Commercial Embarrassments in America—Their Causes and Effects—Enormous Failures and General Panic—Extraordinary Session of Congress—Passing of Measures of Relief—Bad Harvest, and High Prices of Necessaries—Riots at New York—Revolutionary Condition of Canada in 1837-8—Origin of the Disturbances, and Rapid Development of Disloyal Principles—Action of United States Sympathisers—Affair of the *Caroline*—Disagreements with the English Government—Suppression of Attempts on Canada—Dispute with Great Britain as to the Boundaries of the State of Maine—Threatenings of War—Preparations for the Next Presidential Election—The "Hard Cider Campaign"—Choice of General Harrison for the Chief Magistracy—Character of Van Buren's Rule—Material Progress—Increase of Population—Immigration—Atlantic Steam Vessels—The Electric Telegraph.

Until the inauguration of Jackson's successor, all the seven Presidents of the United States had been, more or less remotely, of British origin. But Martin Van Buren, as his name sufficiently declares, came of Dutch race. He was born at Kinderhook, Columbia county, New York, on the 5th of December, 1782, five days after the signing of the preliminary Articles of Peace between Great Britain and her former colonies, by which the independence of the latter was practically secured. Thus, Van Buren, the eighth in succession of the American Presidents, was the first who had not been born a British subject; and even he was nine months old before the definitive Treaty of Peace between America and England was signed by the contracting parties. The new Chief Magistrate had been bred to the law. In 1815, when scarcely three-and-thirty, he became Attorney-General of his native State, and from 1821 to 1828 represented the same in the national Senate. In the latter year he was elected Governor of New York, and in 1829 was appointed Secretary of State by President Jackson, which office he held until 1831, when he was nominated by the President as Minister to England, but was rejected by the Senate. He was elected Vice-President in 1832, and filled that office until his election as President. Van Buren belonged to the Democratic party, and was strong on the subject of State Rights; yet his democratical views were not such as are generally understood to come under that designation. He was strongly opposed to universal suffrage; required some kind

of qualification in the voter, as a proof that he was fit to discharge his important duties; and thought that every elector should be at least a householder. These political ideas were far from popular with the great majority of his countrymen; yet Van Buren managed to get on with the public in spite of them. In one way or another he was constantly bringing himself prominently forward, and, though not a man of striking or original genius, he had a certain talent for success, that goes a long way with the mass of mankind. Though an opponent of Jackson in his first candidature, he afterwards went over warmly to his side, and in 1828 helped to secure for him the support of New York. Van Buren detested the political principles and practice of John Quincy Adams, and Jackson was the only candidate who had a chance of successfully opposing the election of that statesman to a second term, and of stepping into his place. The Governor of New York accordingly worked with enthusiasm for the General, and had his reward in official appointments. By the same means, he so completely ingratiated himself with the new President that the latter, when in very bad health shortly after his first election, expressed a hope that, in case of his death, the clever New York pleader would be chosen in his place, as soon as the opportunity for doing so should recur. An adroit lawyer, an effective speaker, a somewhat intriguing politician, an able manager of others, a gentleman of imperturbable temper, an official of varied knowledge and good business habits,—such was Martin Van Buren.

On the day of his inauguration—March 4th, 1837—Van Buren was escorted from the Presidential mansion to the Capitol by a body of infantry and cavalry, and a large number of civilians. He rode by the side of Jackson in a phaeton made from the wood of the frigate *Constitution*, which had played so distinguished a part in the war of 1812–15. In the main, he adopted Jackson's Cabinet, and the policy of the Administration was continued on the same lines. The President soon found himself in the midst of the renewed Seminole Indian war, to which the energetic chief, Osceola, gave a fresh impetus in the summer of 1837. The troops of the United States experienced heavy losses in pursuing their enemy through the swamps; but several of the chiefs were captured, and a few surrendered voluntarily. On the 21st of October, Osceola, with a number of chiefs and seventy warriors, appeared in the camp of General Jessup, under protection of a flag of truce. In defiance of all accepted usages, they were seized, and sent prisoners to Charleston. Jessup was much blamed for this breach of faith; but he defended his proceeding on the double ground that Osceola had himself acted with treachery, and that it was right to take any measures which might have the effect of stopping bloodshed. Osceola was confined in Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, opposite the commercial capital of South Carolina. Though not treated with unkindness, the close imprisonment, acting on a nature accustomed to the wild freedom of the forest and the desert, and perhaps still more the sense of mortification at having been so entrapped, operated disastrously on his health. No complaints passed his lips, except with respect to the treachery of his capture; but his spirit was broken, and an expression of profound melancholy overshadowed his face. He is described as a handsome and dignified man, with a melodious voice: his name might suit the hero of some romance of chivalry. The principal inhabitants of Charleston paid him visits, and his case excited not a little sympathy; yet it was evident that he was slowly dying. He ate little, refused all medicine, and fell into gloomy silence. A fever set in, and early in the following year (1838) he expired. Near the entrance-gate of Fort Sullivan, a small monument has been erected to his memory.

A very minute account of the last moments of this warrior was communicated by Dr. Weedon, who was in attendance on him, to Mr. Catlin, the author and artist who has done so much to make the Indians known to us. "About half an hour before he died," says Dr. Weedon, "he seemed to be sensible that he was dying, and, although he could not speak, he signified by signs that he wished me to send for the chiefs, and for the officers of the post, whom I called in. He made signs to his wives (of whom he had two, and also two fine little children by his side) to go and bring his full dress, which he wore in time of war; which having been brought in, he rose up in his bed, which was on the floor, and put on his shirt, leggings, and moccasins, girded on his war-belt, his bullet-pouch and powder-horn, and laid his knife by the side of him on the floor. He then called for his red paint and his looking-glass, which was held before him, when he deliberately painted one half of his face, his neck and his throat, his wrists, the backs of his hands, and the handle of his knife, red with vermilion, a custom practised when the irrevocable oath of war and destruction is taken. His knife he then placed in its sheath under his belt; and he carefully arranged his turban on his head, and his three ostrich-plumes that he was in the habit of wearing in it. Being thus prepared in full dress, he lay down a few minutes to recover strength sufficient, when he rose up as before, and, with most benignant and pleasing smiles, extended his hand to me, and to all

of the officers and chiefs that were around him, and shook hands with us all in dead silence, and also with his wives and his little children. He made a signal for them to lower him down upon his bed, which was done; and he then slowly drew from his war-belt his scalping knife, which he firmly grasped in his right hand, laying it across the other on his breast, and in a moment smiled away his last breath without a struggle or a groan."*

The capture of Osceola did not put an end to the war. Nearly nine thousand American troops were dispersed over the Seminole country at the close of 1837; yet the savages still maintained a desperate resistance. A severe battle took place on Christmas Day of that year, when Colonel Taylor, at the head of six hundred men, encountered the Indians to the north of Big Water Lake, in the southern part of Florida. The conflict lasted more than an hour, and the Americans lost twenty-eight killed, and a hundred and eleven wounded. The savages were compelled to retire, but, as in other instances, they moved off only to take up fresh positions in other quarters, and to inflict renewed injury on the whites. The war dragged on through the whole of 1838; but in May, 1839, General Macomb, who had been appointed to the principal command, persuaded a number of chiefs to sign another treaty of peace, by which the Indians were allowed to remain in the country until they should be assured of the prosperous condition of those who had already settled beyond the Mississippi. No sooner, however, had Macomb quitted Florida than numerous murders again occurred, and in June the Government of the Territory offered a reward of two hundred dollars for every Indian killed or taken. A war of extermination ensued, and peace was not finally secured until 1842, some time after the termination of Van Buren's Presidency. The war had lasted seven years, and had cost the United States many millions of dollars, besides a large amount of life.

Mr. Van Buren had to deal with a state of great commercial embarrassment at the very commencement of his rule; indeed, the causes of this malady date from a period earlier than his Administration. The removal of the public funds from the United States Bank in 1833–4, and the issue of the specie circular in 1836—both of them acts belonging to the Presidency of General Jackson—had caused a profound agitation in the commercial world. Even if good in themselves, those acts had been carried out in too peremptory a spirit, and the sudden change had led to general derangement and want of confidence. The readiness with which the public money could be borrowed from the National Bank had undoubtedly given a feverish stimulus to speculation; but the power of lending was now transferred to the State Banks, and the same effect continued to be produced. For years, business was in a very unhealthy condition. A sudden expansion of the paper currency, for which the Government funds in deposit were supposed to be a sufficient guarantee, furnished the means for a vast number of enterprises of the most questionable character. Extravagant schemes were set afloat; over-trading was carried on to an extreme degree; borrowed capital was made the basis of gigantic operations; and when the crash at length came, in the spring of 1837, immediately after the accession of Van Buren to the chief office, the results were appalling. The catastrophe was precipitated by an Act of Congress authorising the Secretary of the Treasury to distribute all the public funds, except five millions of dollars, among the several States, according to their representation. This Act, though passed at the beginning of 1836, did not come into operation until the 1st of January, 1837, and of course it was some little while before any effect of an evil character was observed. But the banks, being deprived of the larger portion of those Government deposits with which they had been dealing so freely, were obliged to contract their loans; and those who had been trading on repeated instalments of borrowed capital, which was in fact all the capital they had, found their means of speculation suddenly withdrawn. This, in itself, would have been a good rather than an evil; but, unfortunately, the disruption was so grave that not only were bubble companies exploded, but genuine undertakings perished in the far-spread ruin. Mercantile failures to the amount of more than a hundred millions of dollars took place in the city of New York alone, which fifteen months before had been desolated by a fire of immense extent. From the great mercantile centre of the Union, the panic extended to every other American city, and credit was so completely destroyed that the ordinary pursuits of trade could hardly be carried on.

A deputation of merchants and bankers waited on the President early in May, and solicited him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, to rescind the specie circular, and to call an extraordinary session of Congress to adopt measures of relief. The President consented to delay the collection of the revenue duties, but declined to repeal the specie circular, or to call an extra session of Congress. Two days afterwards—viz., on the 10th of May—all the banks in the city of New York suspended specie payments, and this example

* Catlin's North American Indians, Vol. II., pp. 221-2 (*note*).

was speedily followed by the other banks throughout the country. On the 16th of May, the Legislature of New York passed an Act authorising the suspension of specie payments for a year. The deposit banks having ceased to redeem their notes in hard cash, the Government, unable to obtain gold and silver for the discharge of its obligations, was compelled to apply to its own uses the third instalment of the surplus revenue which was to have been paid to the several States; and the condition of the country became most alarming. In Boston, a hundred and sixty-eight failures took place in six months; and, in two days, houses in New Orleans stopped payment with an aggregate of debts amounting to twenty-seven millions of dollars. The President now saw that he could no longer refuse to call Congress together for an extra session. The two Houses met on the 4th of September; and in his official Message Mr. Van Buren proposed the establishment of an independent Treasury for the safe keeping of the public funds, and their entire separation from banking institutions. A Bill to this effect passed the Senate, but was defeated in the Lower House; nevertheless, it was afterwards re-introduced, and became law in 1840. In its session of forty-three days, Congress passed a Bill authorising the issue of Treasury notes not to exceed in amount ten millions of dollars; yet the commercial disasters of the nation were not easily removed. The country slowly righted itself by adopting more healthy methods of trade; but in the meanwhile the suffering was terrible.

What made the condition of all classes still worse, was the fact that the harvest of the previous year had been a bad one, and that this, together with the large emissions of paper, had raised the prices of commodities to an unparalleled extent. When the Government deposits were withdrawn from the State Banks, the scarcity of money became so great that manufacturers were compelled to dismiss many of their workmen, and among the artisan bodies there was actual distress. The usual concomitants of such a state were not wanting. The mob became clamorous for a victim, and schemes of spoliation were discussed. In New York, a man asserted from the steps of the City Hall that the high price of bread was caused by certain speculators who had locked up a large quantity of flour in their stores, with the intention of creating an artificial dearth. Statements of this nature are always made when a scarcity prevails, and the effect in New York was the same as elsewhere. A sudden fury seized upon the mob, who, proceeding to a great flour-store in the lower part of the city, broke down the doors, rolled out the barrels into the street, and destroyed what they could not carry off. In the opinion of these senseless rioters, the best way to amend a scarcity was to throw flour into the gutter, or scatter it to the winds. For some days, New York was kept in terror by the apprehension of similar disorders on a still larger scale; but the excitement gave way to better feelings.

The relations of the United States towards Great Britain were seriously complicated, during 1837 and some succeeding years, by a revolutionary condition which had arisen in Canada. Queen Victoria, in meeting her first Parliament, on the 15th of November, 1837, recommended the state of Lower Canada to the serious consideration of both Houses. The subject was certainly one which required attention. Canada altogether was greatly disturbed, and Lower Canada, in particular, was agitated by conflicting impulses. The old French colony which Wolfe and Amherst had won, and which had been formally made over to England by the Paris Treaty of 1763, was for several years despotically ruled; but in 1791 a form of government was established by Act of Parliament, by which the whole possession was divided into an Upper and a Lower Province, to each whereof was assigned a constitution consisting of a Governor, an Executive Council nominated by the Crown, a Legislative Council appointed for life in the same way, and a Representative Assembly popularly elected for four years. The powers of the State were not well adjusted, and the Assemblies of the two provinces were now in bitter antagonism to their Governors and irresponsible Councils. Since the 31st of October, 1832 (as Lord John Russell stated in a series of resolutions submitted to the House of Commons on the 6th of March, 1837), no provision had been made by the Legislature of Lower Canada for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, or for the support of civil government within the province. During four years, the payments in arrear had amounted to a large sum, which the House of Assembly declined to discharge by a vote of supply, at the same time demanding an elected Legislative Council, and entire control over all branches of the Government. The British Parliament, though willing to grant some modifications of the existing constitutions in Canada, refused to sanction the more extreme requirements of the colonists. This determination intensified to an alarming degree the disaffection already existing. In Upper Canada a Scotchman, of ambitious and turbulent nature, named William Lyon M'Kenzie, and in Lower Canada a French Canadian called Louis Joseph Papineau, stirred up the discontented to revolt. Insurrectionary move-

ments took place, and might perhaps have been more serious than they were, had it not been for the mutual jealousies of the two provinces. The people of the United States sympathised deeply with the progress of affairs across their northern boundary, and it was hoped that the time was coming when these two British dependencies would be added to the Republican Federation.

OSCEOLA, CHIEF OF THE SEMINOLES. (*From Catlin's "North American Indians."*)

Towards the end of 1837, a party of Americans took possession of Navy Island, in the river Niagara, about two miles above the Falls. They were thus established on Canadian soil, and, besides being seven hundred strong, and well-provisioned, were armed with twenty pieces of cannon. A more glaring violation of a neighbour's territory it would be impossible to commit; and the Royalists of Canada were determined not to suffer it in peace. The Americans had with them a small steamboat, the *Caroline*, which was intended to ply between Schlosser, on the American side of the river, and Navy Island, and which was laden with arms and ammunition for the insurgents. A party of loyal Canadians crossed over to American ground one dark night in December (the 29th), cut the *Caroline*

loose, set her on fire, and left her to drift over the cataract. It has been said that some persons were in the vessel at the time; but it is to be hoped that this is an error. The incident, however, added to the difficulties of the situation, for it was known that the act had been committed by the orders of Sir Francis Head, the Governor of Upper Canada.

PRESIDENT VAN BUREN.

The American Government remonstrated, but was in rather a poor position for assuming an air of indignation, seeing that the invasion of the United States, however reprehensible in itself, had been preceded and provoked by an American invasion of Canada. The British Government replied by representing the necessity of defending Canadian territory from piratical attacks; and for a long time during 1838 the discussion went on. At length, President Van Buren issued a proclamation calling upon all persons engaged in schemes for invading Canada to desist from the same, and warning them to beware of the penalties which would follow the infraction of international laws. This hampered the action of the border sympathisers, and the liberal policy of Lord Durham, who was sent out as High Commissioner for the redress of grievances, brought both the Canadas back to a state of loyalty, after a series of defeats, inflicted on the rebels in 1838, had shown how incapable they were of standing against the Royal forces. In 1840, an Act of Parliament was passed for the union of the Upper and Lower Provinces under one Legislative Council and one Assembly, and for conferring upon the colonists a constitution of sufficient liberality to satisfy the requirements of most.

From that time to the present, Canada has been safe from American annexation, although Irish agitators in the United States have occasionally

made attempts at revolution, which have proved nothing but their own futility. Yet, for a long while after the suppression of the Canadian insurrection, several over-zealous Americans, banded together in secret revolutionary associations called "Hunters' Lodges," continued to intrigue with the malcontents, and to work upon whatever elements of disorder they could find. In 1838, General Scott was sent to the frontier to preserve order; but he could not stifle these masked and furtive organisations, which were not suppressed until September, 1841, when President Tyler took measures for protecting the neutrality of his country from violation by interested parties. Another subject of discussion between the United States and Great Britain, during the Presidency of Mr. Van Buren, was the boundary between the State of Maine and the British-American province of New Brunswick. The demarcation of the two dominions in this quarter was so ill-defined by the Treaty of Peace in 1783, that the frontiers respectively claimed by the English and American Governments embraced a disputed territory of some eight thousand square miles. Much excitement on the subject prevailed in the United States, and, as the British authorities were equally determined, there were fears of a collision, and of a possible resort to war. General Scott was entrusted with the command in this district in the winter of 1839, and prevented bloodshed by his firm yet conciliatory measures; but the matters in dispute were not settled until the Ashburton Treaty of 1842.

When the prospect of another Presidential election came in view, it was resolved by the supporters of Mr. Van Buren to attempt his re-election. A Democratic convention assembled at Baltimore on the 5th of May, 1840, at which the President was unanimously nominated for a second term of office. At a somewhat later date, Richard M. Johnson and James K. Polk were selected in several States by the same party as candidates for the Vice-Presidency. The Whigs, formerly known as the Federals, had already their candidates in the field, in the persons of General William H. Harrison, of Ohio, for the chief post, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for the second. The contest was close and vehement. Popular opinion was much excited, and all the arts of faction were put in force. It is said that a great deal of drunkenness prevailed among the supporters of the Whig candidates. Harrison was a Western man by settlement, though a Virginian by birth; and a log-cabin became the symbol of his party. These cabins were set up all over the country, and, as cider was a Western drink, barrels of that liquor were freely broached at every extemporary booth where Harrison's canvassers held their sittings, and the old General's cause was pledged in deep potations. The "Hard Cider Campaign" of 1840, as it was called, made many drunkards in after years—or at least is credited with having done so. Whether this liberal conviviality had any influence on the result, it might be rash to surmise; but, from whatever cause, Harrison and Tyler came in by immense majorities. Nothing told against Mr. Van Buren so much as the mercantile embarrassments of the country, which still continued, though in a mitigated degree, and were to a great extent attributed to the President. Some amount of reaction against Democratic principles may also have been concerned in the defeat of the existing Chief Magistrate, and the election of his rival.

The Presidency of Mr. Van Buren had not been one of the most brilliant of the series; yet, in spite of commercial embarrassments, high prices, and temporary bankruptcy, the nation continued in many respects to progress. In 1840, the sixth Census of the United States was taken, and it gave a total of 17,069,453—showing an increase of 4,203,433 during the previous decade. Immigration continued on a large scale, and in 1837 exactly 79,340 persons from foreign lands sought the cities and fields of the Western Republic. In the following year, this number was reduced to 38,914, owing to the disastrous failures in business; but the total soon went up again, and in 1840 (the last whole year of Van Buren's Administration) had reached 84,066.* Steam-navigation across the Atlantic dates from the epoch with which we are now concerned. The first steam-vessel which ventured on this great voyage was the *Sirius*, which sailed from Cork to New York in 1838; but a good deal of the way was made under sail. Very shortly after, the *Great Western*, a vessel of nearly 1,400 tons, built at Bristol, crossed to New York, without any propelling power but steam, in the brief period of fifteen days. This mode of transit soon became general, and so great an addition to the facility, comfort, and cheapness of intercourse between the two hemispheres contributed largely to the tide of emigration. It is to the same era that we must refer the practical commencement of the great system of Electric Telegraphy. Professor Morse, a native of Charleston, Massachusetts, had from 1832 given great attention to the subject of electricity as a means of communicating between distant places. In the autumn of that year he constructed some of the instruments necessary for

* Colton's Atlas of America. New York, 1864.

such a purpose, and in 1835 exhibited at the New York University the first complete instrument for telegraphic recording ever seen in America. In 1837 he completed more perfect machinery, which he exhibited in September; and in 1838 he submitted the matter to Congress, asking their aid to construct a line of sufficient length to test the practicability and usefulness of his project. A committee, to whom the subject was referred, reported favourably, but no appropriation was made until March, 1843. Telegraphic communication by the same means was simultaneously developed in England by Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone. It has been much debated whether the priority belongs to England or America; but, however this may be, it is certain that both countries have contributed to the perfection of a system which has already enlarged the intercourse of mind with mind, and which is destined to have the most remarkable effects on the future condition of the globe.

CHAPTER IV.

Career of General Harrison—His Inaugural Address—Statement of Political Views—Apprehensions of a Monarchical Tendency in the Republic—Undesirability of Permitting the Re-election of the President—Undue Power of the Executive Department—The Functions of the Chief Magistrate—Objectionable Union of the Treasury with the Executive Department—Anomalous Position of the Territory of Columbia—Necessity for Concord and Forbearance—Remarks on the Principles of President Harrison's Address—Aristocratical Character of the Slave States—Death of Harrison a Month after his Inauguration—Succession of the Vice-President (Tyler) to the Chief Office—Daniel Webster, Secretary of State—His Character as a Statesman—Address of President Tyler to the Country, and First Message to Congress—His Principles similar to those of Harrison—Danger of a War with England, arising out of the Case of the *Caroline*—Arrest of a British Subject in the State of New York—Diplomatic Correspondence—Trial and Acquittal of the Prisoner.

Except during the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, which was not permitted to enter on a second term, the Democratic party had had control of the Administration ever since the commencement of Jefferson's rule, in 1801. With the election of General Harrison, the tide once more turned. William Henry Harrison, though inclined to what were then called Whig principles—the principles of the Northern States—was himself a Virginian. The South had for several years supplied nearly all the statesmanship of the Union, and the new President was not an exception to this law. He was born in February, 1773, and served when a young man in the Artillery. He was appointed Secretary of the North-west Territory in 1797, and elected as its first delegate to Congress in 1799. Subsequently he was made Governor of the Territory of Indiana, and distinguished himself in the war with England, especially by his defeat of a combined British and Indian force in the vicinity of Detroit. From 1825 to 1828, he was a member of the United States Senate, and was then appointed Minister to the South American Republic, Columbia. Jackson professed to undervalue his military abilities, and to think lightly of him in every way. But he was a popular favourite, though certainly in a less degree than Jackson himself, and the largeness of his majority in the late election showed how general was the faith in his capacity to sway the fortunes of the Republic.

In his inaugural address, delivered on the 4th of March, General Harrison enlarged on the undue powers which had of late been exercised by the Federal Government. This was adopting the distinctive principle of the Democratic party; but the Democrats had enjoyed a long term of office, and were less averse from administrative privilege than they had formerly been. Their opponents, on the contrary, had now an interest in diminishing the prerogatives of the central Government, which had shown so great a tendency to fall under Democratic influence. "When the constitution of the United States," said the new President, "first came from the hands of the convention which formed it, many of the sternest Republicans of the day were alarmed at the extent of the power which had been granted to the Federal Government, and more particularly of that portion which had been assigned to the Executive branch. There were in it features which appeared not to be in harmony with their simple, representative Democracy or Republic. And, knowing the tendency of power to increase itself, particularly when exercised by a single individual, predictions were made that at no very remote period the Government would terminate in virtual Monarchy. It would not become me to say that the fears of these patriots have been already realised. But, as I sincerely believe that the tendency of measures, and of men's opinions, for some years past, has been in that direction, it is, I conceive,

strictly proper that I should take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have heretofore given of my determination to arrest the progress of that tendency, if it really exists, and restore the Government to its pristine health and vigour, as far as this can be effected by any legitimate exercise of the power placed in my hands."

The eligibility of the President for election a second time was described as one of the blots in the American Constitution, on the ground that Republicans could commit no greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in their systems of government which might be calculated to create or increase the love of power in those to whom power had been temporarily deputed. "It is the part of wisdom," added the President, "to limit the service of that officer, at least, to whom she has entrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies, to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal—the servant, not the master. Until an amendment of the Constitution can be effected, public opinion may secure the desired object. I give my aid to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given, that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term." De Tocqueville, it may be here remarked, regarded the eligibility of the President for re-election as a great defect in the American constitution, because it induced the holder of the office to pander to the majority during his first term, in the hope of obtaining a second ;* but Jefferson, while at first objecting to this arrangement, ultimately considered it legitimate and desirable. Reviewing the general characteristics of the American Constitution, as practically illustrated by the history of more than half a century, General Harrison observed that the Federal Government had seized upon none of the reserved rights of the States, and that, as far as open contest had gone, the State authorities had amply maintained their privileges. There was no appearance of discord between the different members which composed the governmental system. Nevertheless, in the opinion of President Harrison, an undercurrent was at work, by which, if not seasonably checked, the worst apprehensions would be realised. The State authorities were in danger of being overshadowed by the great increase of power in the Executive Department of the general Government. It might even be that the character of that Government, if not its designation, would be essentially and radically changed. "This state of things," continued the President, "has been in part effected by causes inherent in the Constitution, and in part by the never-failing tendency of political power to increase itself. By making the President the sole distributor of all the patronage of the Government, the framers of the Constitution do not appear to have anticipated at how short a period it would become a formidable instrument to control the free operations of the State Governments. Of trifling importance at first, it had, early in Mr. Jefferson's Administration, become so powerful as to create great alarm in the mind of that patriot, from the potent influence it might exert in controlling the freedom of the elective franchise. . . . . But it is not by the extent of its patronage alone that the Executive Department has become dangerous, but by the use which, it appears, may be made of the appointing power to bring under its control the whole revenues of the country. The Constitution has declared it to be the duty of the President to see that the laws are executed, and it makes him the Commander-in-Chief of the armies and navy of the United States. If the opinion of the most approved writers upon that species of mixed government which in modern Europe is termed 'Monarchy,' in contradistinction to despotism, is correct, there was wanting no other addition to the powers of our Chief Magistrate, to stamp a monarchical character on our Government, but the control of the public finances. And to me it appears strange indeed that any one should doubt that the entire control which the President possesses over the officers who have the custody of the public money, by the power of removal with or without cause, does, for all mischievous purposes at least, virtually subject the treasure also to his disposal. The first Roman Emperor, in his attempt to seize the sacred treasure, silenced the opposition of the officers to whose charge it had been committed, by a significant allusion to his sword. By a selection of political instruments for the care of public money, a reference to their commissions, by a President, would be quite as effectual an argument as that of Cæsar to the Roman knight."

What had created such extensive alarm, the President continued, was the union of the Treasury with the Executive Department. General Harrison was determined to apply all the remedies at his command to that danger to their Republican institutions, and to the further peril created by the influence of the Executive through the instrumentality of the Federal officers. He considered it a great error in the framers of the Constitution not to have made the officer at the head of the Treasury

* Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville, Vol. I., chap. 7.

Department entirely independent of the Executive. To remedy this error, General Harrison determined not to remove a Secretary of the Treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress. In these and other matters, the disposition of the new President was to limit the powers appertaining to his office. He also put in a plea for some amelioration in the condition of that territory which is the seat of the Federal Government—the District of Columbia. The inhabitants of this small region were not represented in Congress, nor had they any existence as a State. "The people of the District of Columbia," observed the President, "are not the subjects of the people of the States, but free American citizens. Being in the latter condition when the Constitution was formed, no words used in that instrument could have been intended to deprive them of that character. . . . . The grant to Congress of exclusive jurisdiction in the District of Columbia can be interpreted, as far as respects the aggregate people of the United States, as meaning nothing more than to allow to Congress the controlling power necessary to afford a free and safe exercise of the functions assigned to the general Government by the Constitution. In all other respects, the legislation of Congress should be adapted to their peculiar position and wants, and be conformable with their deliberate opinions of their own interests."

The American Confederacy, pursued the President, could only be preserved by the principle of forbearance. An attempt on the part of any State to control the domestic institutions of another, would result in feelings of distrust and jealousy, the certain harbingers of disunion, violence, civil war, and the ultimate destruction of free institutions. The agitation, by citizens in one part of the Union, of subjects exclusively under the guardianship of the local authorities of some other part, was productive of bitterness, alienation, discord, and injury to the very cause which it was desired to advance. The spirit of liberty was the sovereign balm for every injury which the institutions of the country might receive. No division of power, or distribution of checks in the several departments of the State, would keep them a free people, if that spirit were suffered to decay. The danger of Republics in their decline resulted, not from the creation of aristocratical classes, but from the concentration of power in the hands of dictators appealing to democratic principles, and affecting to represent the will of the nation. Nothing was more likely to promote such a danger than the encouragement of an intolerant spirit of party; and against that spirit President Harrison protested with as much warmth as Washington had done, five-and-forty years before, in his Farewell Address to the American people. Harrison had adopted those ideas which in the time of Jefferson were the leading maxims of the Democratic party, but which the Democrats seemed recently, in some points, to have forgotten. He was for reducing to the lowest pitch the powers of the Federal Government, and for increasing the privileges of the individual States. For his conclusions in this respect, he had more warrant than the statesmen of the earlier part of the century. At that time, the danger to the Republic consisted rather in the creation of too many centres of power than in the concentration of power in one centre. Of late years, on the contrary, the Federation had been usurping to itself, in some matters, greater prerogatives than were consistent with the spirit of the constitution. To reverse this tendency was the main object of Harrison.

His inaugural address, which indicates a new departure in American politics, and is therefore deserving of especial attention, was a thoughtful production, containing many principles of indisputable truth. It may be doubted, however, whether it did not err on the side of a too great distrust of Executive authority. When the President remarked that Republics never eventuate in aristocracies, but may develop into dictatorships, he should have called to mind that many Republics have commenced with aristocratic leanings, and have failed in every true Republican end for that very reason. He spoke of Julius Cæsar having become the master of the Roman people and of the Senate, under pretence of supporting the democratic claims of the former against the oligarchic assumptions of the latter. But he should have recollected that the Roman Republic was one of the most exclusive, one of the most corrupt, and one of the most tyrannical Governments—qualified only by occasional anarchy—that the world has ever known; and that the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar was really an immense improvement, by giving force to the popular will in contradistinction to the selfish ends of a small privileged class. The Republic of Venice was another instance of aristocratical power, without the check either of a monarch or of the people; and a worse political condition is hardly to be found in history. An aristocracy existed in America, and it was by far the greatest danger that threatened the liberties, the stability, the morality, and the fair fame, of the American Federation. That aristocracy consisted of the slave-owners of the South. It was they who objected to Federal power when their monstrous privileges were threatened by the will of the

majority. It was they who were ready to aggrandise Federal power when they were in a position to use it for the promotion of their own ends. We shall find that it is always the trick of an aristocracy, who have class interests to promote, and care little for any other, to object to any concentration of power that may act as a check upon their petty orbits. In the disintegration of national force lies the main hope of aristocracies for maintaining their predominance over the masses whom they oppress.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER, FRONTIERS OF NEW BRUNSWICK AND MAINE.

This effect has been seen in America as much as in any of the older countries of the world. Jealousy of a strong Executive, which might control their rapacious cruelty, has been a frequent characteristic of those slave-holding communities which for many years were the disgrace of America, and at one time came very near to being its ruin.

But, whatever the designs of Harrison—whether wise, or unwise, or a mixture of both—he was not permitted to carry out the policy on which he had resolved. We have seen that he promised to retire at the end of his four years' term of office. Providence suffered him to enjoy only a very small fraction of that term. Exactly a month after the day of his inauguration, the President expired. He was the first occupant of that high position who died in office, and, although he was in his sixty-ninth year, it was not anticipated that his services to the State would be so quickly terminated. On the 4th of March, he seemed to be a man full of vigour; on the 4th of April, he had passed away from the scene of all possible triumphs or defeats. He was attacked by pneumonia, or bilious pleurisy, and survived but a few days. The only official act of importance performed by him since his accession to power, was the issuing of a proclamation, on the 17th of March, calling an extraordinary session of Congress, to commence at the close of May, with a view to legislation on subjects of finance and revenue. On the 5th of April, the public were admitted to the White House to view the remains of the late President. The body had been placed in a leaden coffin, with a glass cover over it, surmounted by a black velvet pall, trimmed with silver lace. The funeral took place on the 7th, when the corpse was borne from the official residence, and deposited in the Congressional cemetery. The procession extended over two miles—the longest ever witnessed in Washington. Harrison's remains were afterwards removed to North Bend, Ohio, the place of his residence.

THE MOB FIRING CANNON BEFORE THE COURT-HOUSE WHERE M'LEOD WAS IMPRISONED.

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and executed by persons duly authorised by the Colonial Government to take such measures as might be necessary for protecting the property and lives of her Majesty's subjects." Mr. Webster, in his reply, admitted that this formal adoption by the British Government of the act of burning the *Caroline* entirely altered the case, and exempted the individuals concerned from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals of law. Nevertheless, the State of New York still asserted its right to adjudicate in the matter, and, on the question being submitted to the Supreme Court of that State, judgment was pronounced in favour of the claim. The trial of M'Leod took place at Utica on the 4th of October, when so clear an *alibi* was proved on behalf of M'Leod that the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." All further trouble was thus avoided, together with the horrors of a desolating war; but the incident left a sting behind it, which continued for a time to rankle in the minds of both nations.

CHAPTER V.

Bill for the Re-establishment of a National Bank—The Measure twice vetoed by President Tyler—Change in the Ministry—The President's Message to Congress at the Close of 1841—Financial State of the Country—Correspondence between the English Foreign Secretary, and the United States Minister in London, on the Question of the Right of Search—Opinions of Lord Palmerston, Lord Aberdeen, and Mr. Stevenson—The Real Difficulty of the Question—American Slaves on British Territory—Case of the Mutineers on Board the *Creole*—Repudiation of State Debts in America (1842)—Indignant Speech by Mr. Webster—Petition to Congress of the Rev. Sydney Smith—Popular Error in England as to the Nature of the Debt and the Defalcation—Growth in England of an Unfriendly Feeling towards America—English Writers on Manners in the United States: Mrs. Trollope, Captain Marryatt, and Charles Dickens—Judge Haliburton and "Sam Slick"—Alexis de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America"—General Characteristics of the Work.

PRESIDENT TYLER was not to escape annoyance on the question of the national finances. In his address to the people on succeeding to office, he had, as already related, spoken very strongly against the President having any power over the Treasury, or being able, at his sole will and pleasure, to dismiss the agents appointed for the custody of the public moneys. It was also well known, at the time he was elected to the Vice-Presidency, that his hostility to a National Bank was great. This, however, was not the policy of Congress; and in July, 1841, a Bill for the re-establishment of such an institution, which President Jackson had brought to a termination a few years previously, was introduced into the House of Representatives, and sanctioned both by that House and the Senate. Tyler was so much dissatisfied with the measure, and indeed with the very object it sought to effect, that in the month of August he interposed his veto, and put an end to the Bill. Another Bill, framed, as it was thought, so as to meet the President's objections, was then passed by the Legislature; but those objections were radical, and not capable of being removed. The right of veto was again exercised, and, although Mr. Van Buren published a letter applauding Mr. Tyler for the course he had taken, the popularity of the latter was very seriously affected. In several places he was burnt in effigy, and, what was of far greater importance, his whole Cabinet resigned, with the one exception of Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State. It was asserted that the President had shown a want of confidence in his Government, and had acted disingenuously towards its members. Mr. Ewing, the Secretary of the Treasury, publicly stated that at a Cabinet conference the Head of the State had approved of the very Bill (the second of the two) which he afterwards vetoed, although it had passed through Congress without amendments. A new Cabinet was formed in September, consisting of Mr. Webster in his former post; Mr. Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. John C. Spencer, of New York, Secretary of War; Mr. Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina, Attorney-General; and Mr. Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. Mr. Edward Everett was at the same time appointed American Minister in England.

In the course of 1841, the Sub-Treasury Act of 1840—a favourite scheme of Mr. Van Buren's, the object of which was to create an independent Treasury, entirely separated from banking institutions—was repealed. A general bankruptcy law gave relief to a large number of persons who had been hopelessly involved in debt during the recent financial disturbances; but this was subsequently repealed, on its provisions being misapplied by the dishonest to fraudulent purposes. In his annual

Message to Congress, delivered to that body at its opening on the 7th of December, Mr. Tyler reviewed in no very hopeful spirit the fiscal condition of the country. On the first day of the ensuing year, he said, there would be a deficiency of 627,557 dollars; and he added that, of the loan of 62,000,000 dollars previously authorised by Congress, only 5,432,726 had been taken up. The United States, which had been virtually free from indebtedness in 1835 and 1836, had now a National Debt of 6,737,398 dollars, which in 1842 ran up to 15,028,486, and in subsequent years to much larger sums. President Tyler recommended a moderate revision of the tariff, and, as regarded the general administration of the finances, reiterated his former objections to placing the national funds under the control of the Executive.

Together with the Message, Congress received the correspondence between the English Foreign Secretary and Mr. Stevenson, late Minister for the United States in London, respecting the question of the Right of Search—that question which thirty years before had involved the two countries in war. Mr. Stevenson, recapitulating the leading facts of the case, said that the United States had declined to become a party to certain treaties for the suppression of the African slave-trade, by which the vessels of each of the contracting parties were empowered to exercise, under stated limitations, a mutual right of search. One reason of the American Ministers for refusing to join in this agreement was that they considered it inexpedient, under any modification or in any form, to yield the right of having their vessels interfered with in time of peace upon the high seas. It was alleged by Mr. Stevenson that some of the Powers concerned in these treaties, together with others who had contracted no such obligations, continued systematically to prosecute the objectionable traffic, and in some instances did so under cover of the American flag. To put a stop to such practices, English cruisers in the African seas exercised the right of detaining and examining all vessels navigating those waters, for the purpose of ascertaining their real character and nationality. The Government of the United States, however, protested against this custom, and numerous cases arising out of it had been made subjects of negotiation between England and America. The British view on these delicate points was explained by Lord Palmerston (Foreign Secretary in the Government of Lord Melbourne) in a despatch in which he said:—"The cruisers employed by her Majesty's Government for the suppression of the slave-trade must ascertain, by inspection of the papers, the nationality of vessels met with by them under circumstances which justify a suspicion that such vessels are engaged in the slave-trade, in order that if such vessels are found to belong to a country which has conceded to Great Britain the mutual right of search, they may be searched accordingly; and that if they be found to belong to a country which, like the United States, has not conceded that mutual right, they may be allowed to pass on free and unexamined, and so consummate their intended iniquity."

When the Foreign Secretaryship had passed into the hands of Lord Aberdeen, in the Government of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Stevenson, in a letter dated September 10th, 1841, strongly dissented from the principles laid down by Lord Palmerston, and quoted the very high authority of Lord Stowell to show that the slave-trade was not piracy, nor cognisable under the law of nations. The question, he argued, was not whether the power asserted might be necessary or expedient, but whether any such power existed. This alleged right had never before been maintained in the manner or to the extent which was then being made the subject of complaint. On the contrary, the right of visitation and search had always (said Mr. Stevenson) been regarded as exclusively one of a belligerent character. The United States could not be responsible for the conduct of other nations who sought to cover their infamous traffic by the fraudulent use of the American ensign, and would follow up by other measures those which had already been taken for the protection of their flag against abuse. These statements and arguments did not convince the British Government. Lord Aberdeen was as little disposed as Lord Palmerston to give up the right of search under all circumstances. He contended that where there was good reason to apprehend the illegal character of a merchant-vessel met with on the high seas, it had been the invariable practice of the British navy, and he believed of all other navies as well, to ascertain by visit the real nationality of such vessel. "The undersigned, although with pain," pursued Lord Aberdeen, "must add, that if such visit should lead to the proof of the American origin of the vessel, and that she was avowedly engaged in the slave-trade, exhibiting to view the manacles, fetters, and other implements of torture, or had even a number of these unfortunate beings on board, no British officer could interfere further. He might give information to the cruisers of the United States, but it would not be in his power to arrest or impede the prosecution of the voyage and the success of the undertaking." The Foreign Secretary renounced, on the part of his Government, all pretension to search American vessels in time of

peace. It was only slavers dishonestly flying the American flag which they claimed a right to visit and examine. But it is obvious that the distinction was futile, and involved either a subterfuge or a confusion of ideas. From the case supposed, it is clear that American vessels might be boarded and examined under the impression that they were not truly of that nationality; and indeed, in a great variety of instances, it could only be by the exercise of the alleged right of search that the true character of the vessel sailing under American colours could be ascertained. What the British Government really renounced, then, was not the right of search, but the right (which in truth had never been asserted) of seizing or detaining genuine American vessels engaged in the slave-trade. The right of search itself, however, was the very thing which the Government of the United States persistently and strenuously denied. That Government would probably not have objected to any number of vessels falsely bearing its flag being boarded or captured; but the falsehood could only be established by examination of the vessel and its papers. This necessarily involved the right to search *any* vessel under the American flag, since that flag might be a deception; and this again would be certain sometimes to lead to actual American ships being visited. Here was the point at issue, and neither Lord Palmerston nor Lord Aberdeen did anything towards surmounting the difficulty.

The difficulty was indeed serious. Mr. Stevenson, in his rejoinder to Lord Aberdeen, remarked:—"In cases of conflicting rights between nations, the precise line which neither can pass, but to which each may advance, is not easily found or marked; and yet it exists, whatever may be the difficulty of discerning it. In ordinary cases of disagreement there is little danger; each nation may, and often does, yield something to the other. Such, however, it is to be feared, is not the present case. The peculiar nature of the power asserted, and the consequences which may be apprehended from its exercise, make it one of an important and momentous character. Involving, as it does, questions of high and dangerous sovereignty, it may justly be regarded as deeply endangering the good understanding of the two countries." Matters were made still worse by an incident which occurred towards the close of 1841. On the 27th of October in that year, the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, Virginia, sailed from Hampton Roads to New Orleans, with a cargo of merchandise, and one hundred and thirty-three slaves. On the evening of the 7th of November, a number of these slaves rose upon the crew, killed a passenger who was the owner of some of them, severely wounded the captain and three others, and, obtaining complete mastery of the vessel, carried her to the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence—a British possession. At the request of the American consul at that place, the Governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and to take measures for an investigation. The inquiry resulted in nineteen of the slaves, who were identified as having been concerned in the outrage, being placed in confinement till the arrival of instructions from England. The others were set at liberty, on the ground that, as nothing had been made out against them, they became free men by the act of landing on British territory. Great efforts were instituted by the American consul at New Providence to persuade the Governor to give up the nineteen accused, that they might be sent to the United States; but they were detained in the gaol at Nassau until their trial in the British colony which they had sought. This righteous determination not to surrender the wretched men to the fury of exasperated slave-owners provoked a great outburst of rage in the Southern States of America; but amongst the Abolitionist circles in the North the conduct of the British Government was applauded. The Americans had, indeed, themselves furnished a precedent for this course of action not long before. Some negroes, who had been carried off from the coast of Africa by a Spanish slaver, rose in revolt during the middle passage, seized the ship, and slaughtered some of the crew. Having landed in the United States, they were there tried on charges of murder, and acquitted; it being decided that slave-trading was unlawful, and that any kind of resistance might be resorted to by those who were being forcibly torn from their native country.*

Questions of slavery, the slave-trade, and the right of search, continued to occupy attention in the year 1842; but another matter now arose to agitate the minds of men, both in America and Europe. Several of the States repudiated the engagements they had contracted by bonds towards the people of other countries. It was urged by the repudiating communities that the bonds were not assignable, and that, as they had been negotiated by the original holders, payment could not be legally enforced by the assignees. One of the principal defaulting States was Pennsylvania, which was for the time in a state of great embarrassment. Nevertheless, so eminent an American statesman as Mr. Webster did not believe that Pennsylvania was

* Annual Register for 1842.

unable to pay her debts, if she would but resolve to take from her pocket the money that she had in it. England's debt, he remarked at a meeting of an agricultural society at Rochester, New York, in the month of September, was engrafted on her very soil, and her population was bound down to the earth by it. But the debt of Pennsylvania, the debt of Illinois, the debt of any State in the Union, did not amount to a sixpence in comparison. "Let us be Americans," continued Mr. Webster, "but let us avoid, as we despise, the character of an acknowledged insolvent community. What importance is it what other nations say of us, or what they think of us, if they can nevertheless say, 'You don't pay your debts'? . . . . Don't let it be said by the proud capitalists of England, 'You don't pay your debts; you Republican Governments don't pay your debts.' . . . . If America owes a debt, let her pay it."

DANIEL WEBSTER.

This powerful appeal came in aid of a singular

petition to Congress, sent to that body in April by the celebrated English wit, the Rev. Sydney Smith. He was a holder of American securities, and a sufferer by the repudiation, and he turned his trenchant pen with stinging effect against the doers of the evil. If, he said, the disavowal of her obligations by Pennsylvania had been the result of misfortune, every friend of America would have been content to wait. "But," continued the canon of St. Paul's, "the fraud is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania by the richest State in the Union, after the wise investment of the borrowed money in roads and canals, of which the repudiators are every day reaping the advantage. It is an act of bad faith, which, all its circumstances considered, has no parallel and no excuse. Nor is it only the loss of property which your petitioner laments; he laments still more that immense power which the bad faith of America has given to aristocratical opinions, and to the enemies of free institutions in the old world. It is in vain any longer to appeal to history, and to point out the wrongs which the many have received from the few. The Americans, who boast to have improved the institutions of the old world, have at least equalled its crimes. A great nation, after trampling under foot all earthly tyranny, has been guilty of a fraud as enormous as ever disgraced the worst king of the most degraded nation of Europe. It is most painful to your petitioner to see that American citizens excite, wherever they may go, the recollection that they belong to a dishonest people, who pride themselves on having tricked and having pillaged Europe; and this mark is fixed by their faithless legislators on some of the best and most honourable men in the world, whom every Englishman has been eager to see and proud to receive. It is a subject of serious concern to your petitioner that you are losing all that power which the friends of freedom rejoiced that you possessed—looking upon you as the ark of human happiness, and the most splendid picture of justice and of wisdom that the world had ever seen. Little did the friends of America expect it; and sad is the spectacle to see you rejected by every State in Europe as a nation with whom no contract can be made, because none will be kept; unstable in the very foundations of social life; deficient in the elements of good faith; men who prefer any load of infamy, however great, to any pressure of taxation, however light."

Just as these reproaches were in some respects, they were not entirely just, for they charged upon the whole nation what was only the act of certain parts of the nation. As a general fact, the hopes of the human race were not blasted by the bad faith of a few American States; but, as far as it went, the repudiation was disgraceful and disastrous, and the cry of indignation which it aroused was perfectly natural. A memorial was presented to the American Minister in London by holders of the repudiated stocks; yet for a long while nothing was done to remove their grievance. In subsequent years, most of the defaulting States resumed payment; but in the meanwhile much inconvenience was suffered by the unfortunate bondholders. English ignorance of American institutions led to a wide diffusion of Sydney Smith's mistake. It was said by many that the United States had repudiated their obligations; but in truth the Federal Government had nothing to do with the matter. The defalcation was that of certain individual States, acting on their own behalf, with reference to their own local debts. The United States, in their collective capacity, were in no respect answerable for these bonds, or mixed up with their repudiation. A writer such as Sydney Smith should more carefully have indicated this very important distinction.

The repudiation of the insolvent States increased a tendency which had been acquiring force in England for some years—the tendency to denounce and satirise American institutions, American character, and American manners, in a spirit of the most unsparing severity. For a long while, English writers rather neglected America than either reviled or ridiculed her. Even the memories of the War of Independence seem to have created no other feeling than a sullen desire to be rid of such rebellious and ungrateful children, and to forget all about them. Nor did the war which followed, some thirty years later, do more than arouse a sentiment of momentary exasperation. At the peace of 1815, the Americans were still the alien descendants of their English congeners, with whom the latter felt loftily displeased, but whom they hardly thought it worth their while, or consistent with their dignity, to criticise very narrowly. It was the extraordinary progress and development of the young Republic during the next twenty years which first excited the keen wits of English censors. English authors went over to the wonderful, half-unshaped, tumultuous, heterogeneous, *bizarre* new country, which threatened to eclipse all others, yet in some respects needed so much tuition herself. English actors crossed the Atlantic, and brought back types of character, or of caricature. It is doubtful if Englishmen generally had any conception at all—whether a true or a false conception—of what an American was like, until the second half of the decade extending from 1820 to 1830. Then it was that the Yankee of the popular mind

sprang up, and took his place side by side with the familiar figures of John Bull, the frog-eating Frenchman, the grandiose Spaniard, the stilettoed Italian, and the turbaned Oriental. Knowledge had been increased, but it had not brought charity or discernment with it, as half-knowledge never will. The Americans, perhaps, had provoked some amount of retaliation by a habit of boastfulness, and the implied depreciation of other countries. At any rate, the retaliation came, and that with venomous intensity. An English writer of American history lamented it as early as 1832.* It was in that very year that the novelist, Mrs. Trollope, who had been to the United States in 1829, published a volume of sketches of Transatlantic life which created the utmost soreness amongst the people concerned. In 1839, Captain Marryat (himself the son of a lady who came of a family of American loyalists) put forth "A Diary in America," which was dipped in the sharpest extract of bitterness and sarcasm. Again, in the year at which this narrative has now arrived, the most popular of English writers—one, moreover, who had been idolised in the New World—submitted to his readers a collection of "American Notes," embodying, in many ludicrous and some repellent forms, the results of a few months' tour in the United States. Charles Dickens gave mortal offence to his admirers in America by having, after all the unparalleled adulation of which he had been the object, presented a picture of the people and the country widely different from what they had hoped. The strictures made by these English writers may have been partially true; but the spirit in which they wrote was so unmistakably depreciatory, so laboriously caustic, that it was not in human nature to be otherwise than deeply hurt. Mrs. Trollope and Captain Marryat in particular, and Dickens in a less degree (though perhaps in an equal degree in his subsequent work, "Martin Chuzzlewit"), produced their effects by isolating the worst and vulgarest specimens of American life, the most grotesque combinations of American society, and causing them to stand for the whole. But Dickens left no permanent sting, for he meant to leave none. It was sometimes said in America, in those now rather distant days, that, if Dickens revisited the United States, he would be flogged, or tarred-and-feathered. Yet when he went again in 1867–8, near the close of his life, his welcome even surpassed the first, and he announced that a specific acknowledgment of all that kindness should thenceforward accompany every copy of his two works referring to America.

The "Notes" of 1842, however, helped to swell the English feeling against America and all things American. It was said, "Here is the lively portraiture of the people who don't pay their debts." Another writer, who about the same period contributed to a similar, though a more good-natured, impression, was the Nova-Scotian, Judge Haliburton. "Sam Slick" did not present a very dignified, or even respectable, type of national character; but he came to be accepted as the representative of the Anglo-American in the North, while at the same time—and perhaps with more reason—a slave-driver was taken as the fitting and sufficient exemplar of the South. These views of American nature were all that the great mass of the English people cared to form in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. There was no English work, by any author of position, except the production of Harriet Martineau (1837), giving a thoughtful, temperate, serious account of American society and institutions. It was left to a Frenchman to make the chief attempt in this direction. The same country which had produced the Marquis de Lafayette, produced also the Count Alexis de Tocqueville; and the one aided America by his pen, as the other had by his sword. The celebrated work by de Tocqueville on "Democracy in America" was first published in 1835, when the author was only thirty years of age. It is an elaborate, and on the whole friendly, examination of the political and social condition of the United States, as affected by the institutions of the country. The writer had himself been in America, and he recorded what he observed. Nothing, he remarks in the introduction to his work, struck him more forcibly than the general equality of conditions. "I readily discovered," continues he, "the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, by giving a certain direction to public opinion, and a certain tenor to the laws; by imparting new maxims to the governing powers, and peculiar habits to the governed. I speedily perceived that the influence of this fact extends far beyond the political character and the laws of the country, and that it has no less empire over civil society than over the Government. It creates opinions, engenders sentiments, suggests the ordinary practices of life, and modifies whatever it does not produce. The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that the equality of conditions is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations

* History of the United States in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, Vol. II., 1832.

constantly terminated."* This, no doubt, goes far towards explaining many of the most salient features of American politics and history. Power is equally divided among the masses, and the masses rule in all things, even to the determining of manners. But, as late as the Presidency of Mr. Tyler, the bulk of the American people lacked sufficient refinement to present in all respects an agreeable picture to the older civilisations of Europe. Hence the impatience of so many English authors, who would not look beyond the primordial chaos to the completed orb. They were wanting in the analytical acumen and philosophical observation of the Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville; and England, in 1842, was exactly in the humour to enjoy their bitterest gibes.

CHAPTER VI.

The Tariff Bills of 1842—President Tyler's Exercise of the Right of Veto—Report of a Committee of the Senate on the Subject—Severe Condemnation of the President—Mr. Tyler's Protest against the Report—Intemperate Language of Mr. John Quincy Adams—The Ashburton Treaty—Settlement of the North-eastern Boundary—Provisions with respect to the Slave-Trade and the Surrender of Fugitive Criminals—Cordial Reception of Lord Ashburton in America—Return of the United States Exploring Expedition—The President's Message to Congress of December, 1842—State of Foreign Relations—Commercial Embarrassment and its Causes—Condition of the Currency—Mr. Tyler's Proposals for an Exchequer—Low State of American Credit—Troubles in Rhode Island—The Misadventures of Thomas W. Dorr—Anti-Rent Disturbances in New York, in consequence of the Patroon System—Strange Attempt to revive the System of Buccaneering—Alterations in the Cabinet—Accidental Death of Two of the Ministers—Violent Speech of Mr. Robert Tyler, Son of the President—Influence of the Irish in America on the Character of American Politics.

One of the most frequent sources of perplexity in the politics of the United States was the Tariff. This had often been seen previous to 1842; it was seen again in that year. By the Act of 1833, introduced by Henry Clay as a compromise between the Congress and the nullifiers of South Carolina, it had been provided that the duties on foreign goods were to reach their minimum of reduction on the 30th of June, 1842, when they would stand at so low a point that protection to native industry would be greatly modified, and the South would cease to be burdened by the excessive imposts of earlier years. As the time was now at hand when this condition would be realised, Congress, not approving the abandonment of Protection, passed a temporary Act on the 29th of June, by which the duties in force on the 1st of that month were extended to the 11th of August, together with the laws for collecting them. This measure, which was called the Little Tariff Bill, was vetoed by President Tyler. Another measure, denominated the Revenue or Tariff Bill, was then passed by both Houses; upon which, on the 10th of August, Mr. Tyler sent a Message to Congress, stating that he should exercise his veto in that case also. Provision was made in the second Bill for distributing the proceeds of the sale of public lands amongst the several States; but the embarrassed condition of the national funds would not, in the President's opinion, allow of this, and he doubted whether that was a time for parting with a fund which of all others might be made most useful in sustaining the public credit. In September, Congress passed a new Tariff and Revenue Bill, which omitted the clauses for distributing the proceeds of the land-sales; and this was at once sanctioned by the President. Mr. Tyler had now exercised his right of veto five times since his elevation to the chief post—a period of barely a year and a half; and to many it seemed that this prerogative of the Presidential office had been strained to an alarming degree.

The Whigs were offended and troubled; and when Mr. Tyler signified his intention to forbid the second Tariff Bill, a select committee of the Senate was appointed to consider the subject. The report of this body was drawn up by Mr. John Quincy Adams. It was couched in very strong, or rather in very violent, language, and amounted to a severe condemnation of the President for the manner in which he was discharging the duties of his office. It spoke of "the purchased presses of the Executive Chief" casting upon Congress, without rebuke or restraint from him, the blame of delay in the passing of the Tariff Bill. The conciliatory measures of Congress, it was observed, had been contemptuously rejected by the Chief Magistrate,

* Translation by Henry Reeve.

and the avowed opinions of the President's own Secretary of the Treasury, concurring with those of the most eminent lawyers, had been totally disregarded. The President had "undertaken, not only to levy taxes to the amount of millions upon the people, but to prescribe regulations for its collection, and for ascertaining the value of imported merchandise, which the law had in express terms reserved for the legislative action of Congress." He had adopted a system "of continual and unrelenting exercise of executive legislation by the alternate gross abuse of constitutional power, and bold assumption of powers never vested in him by any law." Are view of the several vetoes of the President, "illustrated by contemporaneous effusions of temper and of sentiment, divulged at convivial festivals, and obtruded upon the public eye by the fatal friendship of sycophant private correspondents, and stripped to its naked nature by the repeated and daring assumption both of legislative and of judicial power, would present anomalies of character and conduct rarely seen upon earth." The will of one man had five times annulled the legislative action of the people's representatives, and to the majority of the committee it appeared that, for the first time in the history of the Union, a case had occurred in which the House of Representatives might exercise its power, granted by the founders of the Republic, to impeach the President. It was considered, however, that to resort to such an expedient in the existing condition of public affairs might prove abortive, and that the irreconcilable difference of opinion and of action between the Legislative and Executive departments of the Government was but sympathetic with the discordant views and feelings of the people.

Here was a plain confession of a very serious malady in the body politic; but one very remarkable circumstance was the fact that Tyler, who had begun his Administration by emphatic assertions of a desire to curtail the Presidential prerogatives, as being in dangerous antagonism to the liberties of the people, was himself, after so short a period, accused of endeavouring to establish, and indeed almost establishing, a dictatorship. Mr. Tyler was not at all inclined to submit to the judgment formed by the select committee of the Senate, and so hotly expressed by Mr. John Quincy Adams. He protested against the adoption of the report, in a Message sent by him to the House of Representatives. In this document he maintained that his exercise of the power to forbid Bills, however unusual, was performed in a regular and constitutional manner, and in strict accordance with his sense of responsibility for the duties imposed on him. Had he been impeached before the Senate, he would have met the accusation with firmness; and in conclusion he complained of the unfairness and unconstitutionality of the report. It can hardly be questioned that that production was conceived in a very intemperate and undignified spirit. American institutions could have received nothing but damage in the eyes of foreigners from the spectacle of an ex-President and a Senator attacking the existing President with the verbal abuse of a mob-orator, and that not in an extemporary address, where some degree of passion may be excused, but in a deliberate piece of writing which was supposed to represent the views of a section of the Upper Chamber. Besides, it was childish to revile Mr. Tyler, and to threaten him with impeachment, for the exercise of a power with which the Constitution had invested him. It may have been regrettable, it may have been bad policy, to use that power so frequently; but it was not a crime against the written law.

Among the leading events of 1842 must be placed the Ashburton Treaty for the adjustment of the North-eastern boundary, and for the settlement of other questions important to the interests of the United States and of Great Britain. The negotiator on the English side was Lord Ashburton, a member of the great commercial family of the Barings, and a man of marked business capacity, who, having in early life been much employed in the United States and Canada, in the service of the house founded by his father, and having since then had Parliamentary and Ministerial experience in his own country, was considered eminently fitted for the conduct of such a transaction. The American representative was Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State—one of the most able politicians of the time. After much discussion, the treaty was signed at Washington on the 9th of August. As regarded the territorial question, seven-twelfths of the disputed ground, and the British settlement of Madawaska, were given to the United States, and the remaining five-twelfths to England. It was believed, however, that this arrangement afforded the latter a better military frontier than she possessed before, and it certainly included some heights, commanding the St. Lawrence, which a previous award of the King of the Netherlands, who had been constituted arbiter, had assigned to the Americans. Sir Robert Peel, in announcing the conclusion of the treaty to the House of Commons at the opening of the session of 1843, was therefore enabled to state that the adjustment of the boundary was far more favourable to England than the

award of the Dutch monarch. Lord Palmerston, nevertheless, spoke of the agreement as "the Ashburton capitulation," and in recent times it has been generally held in England that Lord Ashburton yielded more than Mr. Webster was justified in demanding. Apart from the boundary question, however, the Treaty had some good points. By the eighth article, it was stipulated that each of the contracting Powers should prepare, equip, and maintain in service on the coast of Africa, a sufficient squadron for the suppression of the slave-trade—the two squadrons, though independent of each other, to act in concert, as exigencies might arise. The ninth article pledged the parties to the Treaty to unite in all becoming representations to those Powers within whose dominions markets for the carrying on of the slave-trade might be found to exist. In the tenth article, provision was made for the delivering up to justice by either country of certain classes of criminals from the other country who might seek refuge there, and against whom a sufficient case should be established after due process of law.

Previous to the conclusion of this treaty, a long correspondence had taken place between Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster, in the course of which the latter, in the name of the President, gave the British Government a full discharge from all further blame on account of the *Caroline*, on the ground that England had apologised, and had expressed entire respect and regard for the inviolable and sacred character of the neutral rights of America. On the whole, the visit of Lord Ashburton to the United States was productive of good, since it led to the expression of much cordial feeling. The English plenipotentiary was received everywhere with the greatest warmth and kindness on his arrival in the western continent, even before the negotiations had commenced; and, at a banquet at New York, he expressed his gratitude for this reception, and repudiated the idea of war between England and America being at all likely. Both countries had learned something since 1812.

An exploring expedition, which had been sent out in 1838 by the United States Government to traverse the great Southern Ocean, returned in the course of 1842. It was under the command of Lieutenant Wilkes, who, several years later, when advanced to a higher rank, was concerned in a painful incident arising out of the civil war. The entire distance sailed by the squadron was about ninety thousand miles, and for one thousand seven hundred miles Lieutenant Wilkes (who had also examined the shores of Oregon and California) coasted along what seemed to be an Antarctic continent. He advanced as far as 97° 30' E. long., and altogether discovered a coast-line extending over nearly fifty degrees of longitude. The explorers brought back with them many interesting specimens of the productions of those wild regions; but their investigations led to no practical result at the time. While men were talking about them, as matters interesting to the scientific mind, the great business of politics went on without interruption, and on the 7th of December the President's Message was delivered to Congress. In this document Mr. Tyler enlarged on the stipulations of the recent Treaty with Great Britain, and referred to the eighth article as removing all pretence for interference, on the part of English cruisers, with the commerce of the United States. Unfortunately, other subjects of disagreement remained, and the President alluded to a matter which, in the course of a few years, caused serious difficulties between the two countries. The territory of Oregon, lying on the Pacific Ocean north of the forty-second degree of latitude, was claimed in part by England. A great tide of emigration was preparing to flow over the vast wilderness in that portion of America, and the President expressed his desire that the two Governments should at once settle their respective claims.

In the course of this Message, Mr. Tyler referred to the commercial depression of the country still existing as a consequence of the enormous addition to the Bank-note circulation which had taken place between the years 1833 and 1838, and of the subsequent withdrawal of a large proportion of those issues. These notes, falsely called money, because for the time being they answered the purpose of a better medium, had produced the natural effect of enhancing prices to an extravagant degree, and of stimulating a speculative mania all over the land. They had also led to "a general indebtedness on the part of States and individuals, the prostration of public and private credit, and a depreciation in the market-value of real and personal estate." Large districts had been left almost entirely without any circulating medium; private fortunes had been shipwrecked; and several States had experienced a difficulty in meeting their engagements. In 1830, the whole of the Bank-note circulation of the United States amounted to no more than 61,323,893 dollars. By the 1st of January, 1837, the enormous sum of nearly 88,000,000 dollars had been added to the paper-money of the country. The unsubstantial and delusive prosperity thus created had been speedily followed by a disastrous collapse; and the only matter of surprise to the mind of President Tyler was the fact that so many

of his fellow-citizens had escaped the blighting influence of the times. To remedy these evils, and to meet the pressing necessities of the people, Mr. Tyler had, at the commencement of the previous session of Congress, submitted the plan of an Exchequer, the main features of which he now recapitulated, advancing, moreover, various arguments in support of the proposition. The whole power and duty of maintaining this contemplated Exchequer in purity and vigour was to be exercised by the representatives of the people themselves. of 15,000,000 dollars of Exchequer-bills. For the redemption of such bills the Government was to hold itself responsible, and Mr. Tyler believed that they would readily enter into general circulation, and be maintained at all times at or above par with gold and silver. To this scheme many objections had been made; amongst others, that it would create a Government Bank of fearful and dangerous import. The President could not recognise the validity of such criticisms, and he therefore urged upon Congress the adoption of the contemplated

ICE-BARRIER OF THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT.

"It was proposed," said the President in his Message of December, 1842, "to place it under the control and direction of a Treasury Board, to consist of three commissioners, whose duty it should be to see that the law of its creation was faithfully executed, and that the great end of supplying a paper medium of exchange, at all times convertible into gold and silver, should be attained." Subordinate boards were to be established in each of the States, with the same restrictions and limitations as to the power of removal as those of the central board. These boards were to receive, safely keep, and disburse, the public funds, and paper-money was to be permitted, in the proportion of a dollar and a half for every dollar in specie, to the extent measure. Congress, however, refused to adopt Mr. Tyler's suggestion. At that period, the credit of America had sunk extremely low, owing to the defalcations of the repudiating States. A loan being required by the Government, the American market was sought in the first instance, but without success; then the great capitalists of Europe were applied to, with the same result. "Thus," observed the President, "the mortifying spectacle has been presented of the inability of this Government to obtain a loan so small as not in the whole to amount to more than one-fourth of its ordinary annual income, at a time when the Governments of Europe, although involved in debt, and with their subjects heavily burthened with taxation, readily obtain

loans of any amount, at a greatly-reduced rate of interest."

A troublesome disturbance in Rhode Island was by this time acquiring some gravity. The government of that State had hitherto been administered under the old charter granted by Charles II. in 1663, the features of which were highly liberal and democratic, but which nevertheless it was considered that the community had now outgrown. It was therefore determined to adopt a State constitution; but the people were much at issue among themselves as to its character and provisions. Two parties were formed in 1842, called, respectively, the Suffrage (or Radical) Party, and the Law and Order (or Conservative) Party. The former of these bodies adopted a constitution, chose Thomas W. Dorr as Governor, and elected a Legislature. The Law and Order faction thereupon chose Samuel W. King for Governor, and in May, 1843, each party organised an Administration. It is remarkable that the very earliest days of the Rhode Island settlement were distinguished by furious contentions as to the form of its political institutions. The colony (as far as the insular part is concerned) was founded in 1638 by the Antinomian enthusiast, Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been expelled from Massachusetts by the tyranny of other Puritans, from whom she disagreed on certain subtleties of faith; but it was not long before the Hutchinsonians quarrelled among themselves, and established for a time two distinct communities, although their total number was but a handful. Their descendants were now acting in a very similar spirit. The claims of the two parties were found incapable of compromise, and both resorted to arms for the settlement of their differences. The Law and Order partisans were first in the field, and their avowed object was to put down what they described as a rebellion. Several arrests were made, and Dorr found it necessary to leave the State. Returning on the 16th of May, he made preparations for civil war, and a serious struggle would doubtless have ensued, had not the Federal Government interposed with a body of troops. Dorr once more fled, but, again appearing on the 25th of June, placed himself at the head of a number of armed followers. His partisans, however, had little inclination for fighting, and, on the approach of a body of soldiers, dispersed with scarcely any resistance. It was evident that Dorr had in him none of the qualities of a successful revolutionary leader. His plan of action was to make feeble demonstrations, and then run away. He left Rhode Island for the third time after the dissipation of his armed followers, but, returning when he thought he could do so with impunity, was arrested, tried for treason in June, 1844, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The constitution adopted by the Law and Order party in November, 1842, with a provision that it was to come into operation the first Tuesday in May, 1843, had in the meanwhile been sanctioned by a majority of the people, and was now law. Nevertheless, the imprisoned head of the Suffrage party refused to accept a pardon on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the State Government. In June, 1845, when the internal excitement had greatly calmed down, he was released without conditions, but was deprived of all the civil rights of a citizen, to which, however, he was restored in the autumn of 1853. There was never a less eventful civil war, nor one for which there was a smaller modicum of reason.

Much more serious disturbances happened during several successive years in the State of New York. They arose out of the peculiar terms on which certain lands in that State were held, and were in fact a rough popular protest against the feudal conditions created by the early Dutch settlers, and still existing, by a strange anomaly, in the midst of democratic institutions. When the Dutch West India Company, in the year 1629, determined to encourage emigration to New Netherland, they granted large estates, with ample privileges attached, to all persons who should lead or send a given number of emigrants to occupy and till the soil. In this way were created several manorial estates in what afterwards became the colony of New York. The proprietors of these lands were called in the Dutch tongue *Patroons* (patrons), and were a species of feudal lords, whose privileges were transmitted from father to son, and were not in any way affected by the establishment of the Federal Republic. The Van Rensselaers, two members of which race fought in the war with England commencing in 1812, were among the most celebrated and most powerful of the Patroons. The estates of this family comprehended the greater part of Albany and Rensselaer counties, and the lands were divided into farms containing from a hundred to a hundred and sixty acres, leased in perpetuity on conditions which, though light in some respects, were onerous in others. The tenant was each year to pay to the landlord, or patron, a quantity of wheat, from twenty-two bushels and a half to ten, together with four fat fowls, and a day's service with waggon and horses. Whenever the tenant sold his lease, the landlord was entitled to a quarter of the purchase-money. The landlord had also an interest in all water-power, and an absolute property in all mines. These privileges for a long time passed unquestioned;

but the progress of Republican opinion at length brought them into disrepute. The feeling of discontent was staved off for awhile by the liberality of Stephen Van Rensselaer, who came into possession of his estates in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and who refrained from exacting his legal rights. But this generosity actually increased the evil at a later date. Stephen Van Rensselaer died in 1840, at an advanced age, and by that time 200,000 dollars of back rent were owing, which the heirs determined to enforce. The demand was resisted; disturbances ensued; the military were called out, but it was found impossible to collect the dues. Year after year, riots took place whenever application was made for the arrears which Stephen Van Rensselaer had suffered to accumulate; and in the summer of 1844 acts of great violence were committed in the eastern towns of Rensselaer county, and on the Livingston Manor in Columbia county. By this time it was determined by the malcontents to refuse the payment of rent altogether. Armed bands, disguised as Indians, paraded the country, and with threats compelled all whom they met to adopt their principles. A thousand of these rioters would sometimes be collected in one place; the unpopular were tarred-and-feathered; and the outbreak spread into the neighbouring county of Delaware, where a deputy-sheriff was murdered in discharging the duties of his office. This state of things, which originated before the Presidency of Mr. Tyler, continued for some time after that gentleman's Administration had come to a close. Order was not restored until the latter part of 1846, when Mr. Silas Wright, who had been elected Governor of New York, proclaimed the county of Delaware in a state of insurrection, and, with the help of the military, succeeded in arresting the chief of the Anti-Renters. These were brought to trial, and the murderers of the deputy-sheriff were condemned to death, though their punishment was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life. Conciliatory measures were then proposed, and the excitement ultimately died out, without anything being finally settled.

A melancholy incident occurred in the closing days of 1842. The Secretary-at-War, Mr. J. C. Spencer, had a son serving as a midshipman on board the *Somers*, a ten-gun brig, having a crew of about seventy-five persons, including officers. While this vessel was on a cruise, it came to the knowledge of the chief officer, Captain Mackenzie, that a mutiny had been concocted by young Spencer; and, on that person being arrested, papers were found on him, signed by several of the crew, which left no doubt as to the criminality of his plans. The conspirators, it is stated, had sworn to rise when the moment was favourable for such a proceeding, to take possession of the ship, to kill every officer except the surgeon (who might be necessary to them), and then to sail for the vicinity of New York harbour. Their object when they got there was to seize the homeward-bound packets, which they expected would contain large amounts in specie; and they pledged themselves by oath to murder every one on board the captured vessels, so that nobody might be left to bear witness against them. This wild design to emulate the daring feats and sanguinary crimes of the old buccaneers and pirates—of Morgan, and Kidd, and Black Beard—would almost appear to have been the idle dream of an ill-conditioned youth, whose mind had been led astray by melodramatic fictions. But the investigations of a court-martial showed that the plot was real. It was necessary to make an example of the ring-leaders, and accordingly Spencer and two petty officers were hanged at the yard-arm. Captain Mackenzie was afterwards tried for this act of retribution, but acquitted.

In July, 1843, the Cabinet of the President was remodelled, and the Government then consisted of Mr. A. P. Upshur, Secretary of State; Mr. J. C. Spencer, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. J. M. Porter, Secretary of War; Mr. D. Henshaw, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. C. A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General; and Mr. J. Nelson, Attorney-General. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Gilmer was appointed Secretary of the Navy, in place of Mr. Henshaw. On the 28th of February, 1844, Mr. Upshur, Mr. Gilmer, and several other gentlemen not connected with the Government, were killed on board the steamship *Princeton*, while on an excursion on the Potomac, by the bursting of a gun. The President was on board at the time, but escaped unhurt. A son of the President unpleasantly distinguished himself on the 29th of August, 1843, by a speech which he delivered at an Irish Repeal meeting at New York. On this occasion, Mr. Robert Tyler said he appeared there to denounce a Government which he hated—namely, that of England; that he abhorred the history of the British Government; and that he demanded legislative emancipation for Ireland, in the name of the enlightened age in which they lived. Ireland, he said, was a country in which they would find churches desecrated, daughters outraged in sight of their mothers, sons slain, and the Irish halls of justice turned into scenes of Saturnalian orgies, at which the British judge had stained his ermine with the blood of his victims. As the ancient Saturnalia were festivals at which the most entire

freedom and equality prevailed, and even slaves were permitted to criticise and ridicule their masters, it might fairly be inferred from these expressions that the orgies by which the Irish courts of justice had been distinguished were opportunities mercifully afforded to the down-trodden Celt for venting his spleen against the oppressor. But that was clearly not the meaning of Mr. Robert Tyler, whose classical knowledge was probably less than his undying hatred of England.

The incident would hardly be worthy of permanent historical record, if it might not be taken as a sign of the growing influence of the Irish element over the politics of the United States. Since 1838, a large number of Irish emigrants, of the poorest and most ignorant orders, had settled in America, where in earlier years others had preceded them. These men, after a residence of five years in their adopted country, and at a trifling expense, could obtain all the privileges of native citizens, including the right of voting. Many availed themselves of this advantage, and the Irish vote has become a matter of great importance to active or intriguing politicians, for the whole mass leans one way, and can often turn the scale for or against a candidate. Of course the Irish vote can be obtained only by flattering Irish ideas, and indulging in the wildest declamation against England. The better class of American politicians have always scorned and detested these ignoble arts, and, apart from political ends, the Irish in America are not liked. But by 1843 they had developed into a political power in the United States, and the unscrupulous courted them, as they would have courted any other agency that could promote their views. In that year, Ireland was on the verge of rebellion, owing to the Repeal agitation of Daniel O'Connell; and Mr. Robert Tyler thought he could not do better than encourage the revolt. The Irish in America have ever since then been one of the moving forces of the Federal Republic, and their strength has been seen in hundreds of intemperate speeches, of which Mr. Robert Tyler's was among the earliest instances.

CHAPTER VII.

Mexico and the United States—Texas and its Characteristics—Want of Sympathy between the Anglo-Americans and the Hispano-Americans, and its Causes—Texas coveted by the People of the United States—Colonisation of Texas by Anglo-Americans—General Houston and his Plans—Revolutionary Disturbances—Texas made an Independent Republic—Movement for joining the American Federation—President Tyler's Allusion to the Subject in a Message to Congress—Opposition in the North to the Proposed Annexation—Channing's Letter to Henry Clay on Texas and Slavery—Design of the Slave States with respect to Texas—Progress of the Annexation Movement—Warlike Anticipations—Election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency—His Previous Career—Financial State of the Country on his Inauguration (March 4th, 1845)—The New Cabinet—Annexation of Texas to the United States—Withdrawal of the Mexican Minister from Washington—Terms of the Annexation—Grievances alleged by the United States against Mexico—Preparations for War—Rise and Development of the Oregon Question—Rival Claims of Great Britain and the United States—Position of the Dispute in the Early Part of 1845.

Mexico and the United States were about to come into collision, and the chief cause of quarrel was Texas. The province so called was originally a portion of that Mexican Empire which was subdued by Cortes. It lies to the north-east of the other parts of Mexico, and is a solid block of territory, seven hundred miles in length from north to south, and eight hundred miles broad, where the land is at its widest. So immense is this region that its area has been estimated at nearly equal to the united areas of Great Britain and France. So fertile is its soil that it will produce everything which will grow in the temperate zone, with many things which require a semi-tropical country for their due development. The character of the land varies in different parts. Along the coast-line of the Gulf of Mexico extends a swampy belt, spreading inland, in a north-westerly direction, for ten or twelve miles. This is followed by a gently-rising plain, in some places thickly shadowed with timber-trees, in others rolling out into great waves of prairie. Then the land breaks into gentle undulations, throws up hills of more or less altitude, grows barren of trees, but rich in grassy verdure, and, stretching onward and upward into the savage and little-known west, where the hunter and the colonist have scarcely yet dispossessed the wandering Indians and the creatures of the desert, ends in great ranges of mountains, from the valleys of which well forth the inexhaustible waters of numerous rivers. The agricultural capabilities of the country are magnificent, while beneath the surface are mines of metal and of coal, quarries of stone, and abundance of those minerals which add to the wealth of States.

Such a territory had many attractions for the adventurous and speculative, and more than one European nation desired to obtain possession of it. After the fall of Montezuma, in 1521, it was nominally a part of the Spanish realm, but, being remote from the Mexican capital, was not peopled by the conquerors. The French, who claimed priority of discovery, formed a settlement at Matagorda, but were expelled by the Spaniards in the latter part of the seventeenth century. After the rising of the Mexicans against the dominion of the mother country, Texas became a province of the Mexican Republic; but it was not long to remain in that position. A more energetic race than the descendants of Spaniards and Indians was predestined to its inheritance.

Between the Anglo-Americans and the Hispano-Americans there had never been any real sympathy. When the latter were fighting for emancipation from European rule, a certain delusive enthusiasm for them was reflected from the days of Northern America's own struggle for freedom, and it was made a point of patriotism to prophesy great things of their future. It was considered that the cause of Republicanism against Monarchy was involved; and the Monroe Doctrine, to the effect that the European Powers should as much as possible be excluded from the Western Continent, gave sharpness and intensity to a sentiment which might otherwise have lost itself in vague diffusion. But there could be no great community of feeling between the virile descendants of British and other northern races, for the most part Protestant in their religion, and the listless, priest-ridden, barbarian half-breeds who peopled the lands which Columbus and his contemporaries discovered, and the swords of Cortes and Pizarro reduced to subjection. The vigour of these Mexicans and Peruvians, with their fellows of other southern lands, was seen only in wild outbreaks and tameless ferocity—in spasmodic action and declamatory speech. Liberty with them degenerated at once into anarchy, and the very word Republicanism was dishonoured by such associations. With the Mexicans, a collision was more likely to result than with any of the other States, because of their proximity to the Americans of English origin. To the latter, Mexico was a land of splendid capabilities, wasted by being thrown into the hands of a set of degenerate mongrels, who knew not how to govern or to fight, to trade or to colonise. The superior race was irritated by the incapacity of the inferior, and spoke in the language of contempt and abhorrence. With this emotion—not unnatural, nor in itself discreditable—was mixed up a good deal of mere cupidity and disregard of other people's rights. The citizens of the United States coveted that northern part of Mexico called Texas, and began by degrees to spread themselves over it.

Texas was in the first instance claimed by the American Government as a part of Louisiana, but the claim was in 1819 abandoned in favour of Mexico. Nevertheless, in 1821 and the following year, a colony from the United States made a settlement on both sides of the river Colorado, in what was then Mexican territory, and the local Government, not foreseeing that such a movement was likely to prove their own ruin, encouraged emigration. Numbers flowed into the province, and in 1833 ten thousand Americans were domiciled there. It is probable enough that they disliked Mexican rule, with its alternations of imbecility and military dictatorship; they certainly desired to establish a separate Government, and ultimately to transfer Texas to the American Union; and secret preparations were made for a revolt. The leader of these movements was General Sam Houston, a man who had already served in Congress, and been Governor of the State of Tennessee, and who as early as 1830 mentioned at Washington to a certain Dr. Robert Mayo that he had in his mind a grand project for wresting Texas from Mexico, and setting her up as an independent Republic. Dr. Mayo treacherously revealed the secret to President Jackson, who was obliged to express an official disapproval of the plan, but who unquestionably applauded it in his heart.* The very similar scheme of Aaron Burr, in 1805–6, was for awhile supported by Jackson, who always desired to see an extension of the country in that direction, although he had assented to the treaty of 1819, which relinquished Texas in consideration of gaining Florida.

It was part of Houston's project to assume the Indian costume, habits, and associations; to settle among the savages in the neighbourhood of Texas; to obtain their co-operation, together with recruits from all parts of the Union; and to bring his reinforcements down the Mississippi in steamboats which had been chartered for the purpose. When the time came for carrying the plot into execution, no real hindrance was put in the way of the adventurers by the Administration of General Jackson. Hostilities broke out in 1835. Every nerve was strained by the Mexican Government to suppress the rising; but it spread with alarming rapidity, and several battles ensued, some of which were obstinate and sanguinary. On the 2nd of

* Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson, Vol. III., chap. 46.

THE CITY OF VERA CRUZ, MEXICO.

March, 1836, a convention declared Texas independent; and Santa Anna, the President of the Mexican Republic, underwent a crushing defeat at San Jacinto on the 21st of April of the same year, on which occasion the Americans were commanded by General Houston. Santa Anna was captured, and, to obtain his release, signed a treaty acknowledging the independence of the province. The Mexican Government denied the authority of their President to make any such treaty, by which, accordingly, they refused to be bound, and Santa Anna himself seems to have been willing enough to break his word; but the hopelessness of expelling the Americans was so obvious that no very serious attempt at reconquering Texas was made by its former possessors, though a kind of guerilla warfare on the borders was long kept up. The province therefore remained for some years a perfectly independent Republic, ruled by a dominant class of Anglo-Americans, but not officially connected with the United States, any more than with Mexico itself. General Houston became the first President of the Republic, and was subsequently elected for a second term.

In time, however, it was felt desirable that this

PRESIDENT TYLER.

detached Republic should connect itself with the great Confederation to which a large part of its population was now allied. The question began to be agitated in the United States, and the propriety of admitting Texas into the Union was much discussed in the years 1843 and 1844. In his Message to Congress towards the end of the former year, President Tyler communicated to both Houses certain despatches received from the American Minister at Mexico, together with a correspondence which had recently occurred between the Envoy

from that Republic and the Secretary of State. In these documents, the Mexican Government so far anticipated all discussion on the question at issue as to announce its determination to meet any resolution for the annexation of Texas by a declaration of war. Alluding to the predatory border warfare which the Mexicans had waged against the Texans since the defeat of Santa Anna in 1836, the President alleged that on one occasion these raids had been attended by the breaking up of the courts of justice, by the seizure of the judges, jury, and officers of the court, and by their forcible detention in Mexican prisons, together with a number of unarmed and non-combatant citizens. "Considering," observed Mr. Tyler, "that Texas is separated from the United States by a mere geographical line, that her territory, in the opinion of many, formed a portion of the territory of the United States, that it is homogeneous in its population and pursuits with the adjoining States, makes contributions to the commerce of the world in the same articles with them, and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language, and live under similar political institutions with ourselves, this Government is bound by every consideration of interest, as well as of sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force, and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries." The Government of Mexico was therefore plainly told that it was high time this irregular warfare were brought to a close; that, as the attempt to reduce Texas to submission had clearly failed, it should no longer be persisted in, but that Mexico should imitate the example of Great Britain in recognising the independence of the United States when the futility of further contest had become evident. The independence of Texas had long since been acknowledged by the United States, and that province would in any case be treated as entirely separate from Mexico. Before dismissing this subject, the President mentioned, as another grievance against the Mexican Government, that all foreigners had recently been forbidden to carry on business by retail within the territory of the Republic.

Opinion in the United States was by no means undivided on the subject of adopting Texas. By most people in the Southern States such a step was indeed greatly desired; but a large party at the North warmly protested against the proposed annexation, on the grounds that it would be unjust towards Mexico, that it would lead to a war with that country, and that it would strengthen and perpetuate slavery, by adding another slave-holding State to the Senate. The last reason was probably the one which had the greatest influence, for the Abolitionist agitation had by this time acquired considerable force. What may be called the anti-Texan view of the subject was very ably and eloquently expressed by the celebrated Unitarian minister, William Ellery Channing, in a long letter, dated the 1st of August, 1837, which he addressed to Mr. Clay, and which is printed among his works.* By this writer it was affirmed that the American colonists in Texas entered that country under certain distinct conditions, which they promised to respect, but which they seized the first opportunity of violating. They swore allegiance to the Government, and soon afterwards engaged in plots against it. They undertook to observe the laws which they found established, but broke or evaded them in many instances, especially those having relation to the revenue and to the exclusion of slaves. They promised to adopt the Roman Catholic faith, yet they had introduced Protestantism, and now complained of persecution, though in fact no persecution whatever had taken place. Many of the grievances alleged by the Texans were described by Dr. Channing as purely fanciful, and he ridiculed the idea that so small a number of people—about twenty thousand, including women and children, at the breaking out of the rebellion—had any right to detach a large province from the rest of a State, and set up an independent sovereignty which they could have no power to maintain. A great many even of the Anglo-Americans in Texas had been opposed to violent change, and the declaration of independence, according to a writer quoted by Dr. Channing, was adopted by not more than ninety persons, representing none but themselves. Slavery and fraud, it was argued, lay at the root of Texan risings and Texan sympathies. Land-speculators and slave-holders had been foremost to engage in the crusade. Of the Texan army of eight hundred which defeated Santa Anna, only fifty were natives of the province. The attack was piratical, and the United States were asked to accept the prize thus dishonestly won.

It cannot be doubted that there was a vast amount of truth in Dr. Channing's remarks. Whatever the vices of the Mexican Government, it was supplanted in Texas by one which, though superior in energy, stood even lower on the moral ground. Mexico prohibited slavery; the Americans who settled in Texas brought slaves with them from the neighbouring States, and adopted every art and

* People's Edition of the Entire Works of W. E. Channing, D.D. Belfast, 1843. Vol. I., pp. 288-327.

subterfuge to establish the institution on soil from which it was legally excluded. The slave-holding and slave-breeding States of the South and of the South-west were those which coveted the possession of Texas, and plotted to effect its seizure. Their determination to spread the detestable shadow of negro bondage over an ever-increasing tract of country, was each year becoming more obvious, and was now leading to deplorable results. It was infecting the policy of the Federal Government, and lowering its character. It was offering a premium to chicanery and base devices. It was encouraging in the masses a spirit of lawless violence, of organised piracy, of brutal licence, which was certain before long to cause a serious degeneracy in the people who so abused their liberties and their strength. The Americans who poured into Texas were for the most part desperate adventurers, who did not hesitate at any excesses which were necessary to the accomplishment of an end bad in itself. Texas must be dragged into the Federation as a slave-holding State, that the majority in Congress might be strengthened. The Missouri Compromise had shut out the North-west from the domain of negro servitude; it was all the more important that the South-west should be secured. To effect this purpose, any agency, however coarse or discreditable, was to be employed, and the rights of white men, if they stood in the way, were as little to be considered as those of blacks.

This attack upon the territory of a neighbour was conducted, it is true, by private citizens; but the complicity of the Government was obvious. "The purpose of dismembering Mexico," writes Channing in his letter to Henry Clay, "was not wrapped in mystery. It was proclaimed in our public prints. Expeditions were openly fitted out within our borders for the Texan war. Troops were organised, equipped, and marched for the scene of action. Advertisements for volunteers, to be enrolled and conducted to Texas at the expense of that territory, were inserted in our newspapers. The Government, indeed, issued its proclamation, forbidding these hostile preparations; but this was a dead letter. Military companies, with officers and standards, in defiance of proclamations, and in the face of day, directed their steps to the revolted province." That these expeditions might have been turned back, had there been the will to do so, is certain, for the United States had an army near the Mexican frontier at that time. But it was not desired to prevent the action of the pioneers of slavery, and they were left to cross the frontiers unmolested, and to aid the malcontents in throwing off the rule of Mexico.

President Tyler's allusion to the Texan question, in his Message to Congress at the close of 1843, was the first official intimation of the coming war with Mexico. The declared resolve of the Mexican Government to make the contemplated annexation a *casus belli*, stimulated in a yet higher degree the determination of the American Government to get possession of Texas at the earliest opportunity. An attempt to secure this end was made during 1844, but was defeated by the Senate. In that year, a treaty, dated the 12th of April, was concluded at Washington, subject to the approval of Congress. It was here provided that the Republic of Texas should become one of the Territories of the United States, and be in due time admitted to the Federation on the same terms as the other members; and that the United States should assume the public debts and liabilities of Texas, however created. The treaty was submitted by President Tyler to the Senate, but was rejected by that body on the 8th of June. It was clear, however, that this decision did not represent the views of the majority of Americans. The demand for Texas grew louder and louder, and the President showed every inclination to gratify it, as far as the limitations on his power enabled him. Though elected on Whig principles, he had by this time thoroughly identified himself with the Democrats. An army of observation was placed by him on the frontiers of Texas, and a naval squadron was sent to the Gulf of Mexico and its vicinity. A new President of Texas, recently elected, threatened, if any more forays were made by Mexicans into the Republic over which he had been placed, to retaliate, and carry the sword into the enemy's country. Everything betokened the approach of war, and Mr. Tyler would concede nothing to Mexican pride or Mexican susceptibilities. Having been asked by the Senate whether he had negotiated with Mexico to obtain her consent to the proposed annexation, he replied that he had not done so, because, if the Senate should ratify the treaty, the title to Texas would be perfect, without seeking the assent of any third Power. A conciliatory course would possibly have resulted in some pacific arrangement; but Mexico was to be crushed, and conciliation did not suit the humour of her antagonists.

Had it been the intention of Mr. Tyler to offer himself for re-election, it is probable that the stand he had taken on this question would have ensured his success. But he had determined not to seek a renewal of his term. The contest for the Presidency, which took place in the autumn of 1844, lay between Mr. Henry Clay, who represented Whig or Northern principles, and was therefore opposed

to the annexation of Texas, and Mr. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, who was chosen by a Democratic convention at Baltimore as their candidate, and supported by the whole of the pro-slavery party throughout the Union. Mr. George M. Dallas was at the same time nominated by the Democrats for Vice-President; and the elections, which occurred in November, were entirely in favour of that party. A majority of 65 gave the reversion of power to Mr. Polk; and the new elections to Congress showed how completely the Northern States were overwhelmed by their opponents.

On the 3rd of March, 1845, Mr. Tyler signed the Bill for the admission of Florida and Iowa into the Union, and next day Mr. Polk, the eleventh in the line of American Chief Magistrates, took the oath of office. He was a native of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, where he was born in November, 1795; but his father having settled in Tennessee while the future President was yet a child, the latter was more identified with the State of his adoption than with that of his birth. His profession was the law, and, after acquiring some name as a local politician, he was elected to Congress in 1825. In 1835 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and in 1839 Governor of Tennessee. Yet, although filling these distinguished offices, he was not a leading force in American politics until his warm adoption of the Texan annexation scheme made him the favourite of the majority. On succeeding to the Presidential chair, he found the financial affairs of the Republic in a much better state than that of four years previously. In his final Message to Congress, delivered on the 3rd of December, 1844, Mr. Tyler had congratulated the country upon its improved condition. He remarked that the credit of the Government, which had experienced a temporary embarrassment, had been thoroughly restored; that its coffers, which for a season were empty, had been replenished; that a currency nearly uniform in its value had taken the place of one which had proved almost worthless; and that commerce and manufactures, which had suffered in common with every other interest, had once more revived. Such was the happy internal state which Mr. Polk inherited, and which enabled him the more readily to turn his attention to ambitious schemes. The inaugural address clearly indicated his resolve to follow out a vigorous, or as some would have said an aggressive, policy; and the Cabinet which he nominated showed that that policy would not want seconders. It consisted of well-known Democrats, like himself, and had the entire approval of the Senate. Mr. James Buchanan (subsequently President) was Secretary of State; Mr. Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. William L. Marcy, Secretary of War; Mr. George Bancroft (the historian), Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Cave Johnson, Postmaster-General; and Mr. John Y. Mason, Attorney-General.

The first subject of importance which claimed the attention of the new President was Texas. Another step towards the desired end had been taken just before Mr. Polk's entrance into office. The Congress recently elected had affirmed, on the 1st of March, 1845, a resolution in favour of receiving Texas into the Union as a State. Mr. Tyler gave his assent the same day, and on his very last day of power sent a messenger to Texas with a copy of the joint resolution of both branches of the Legislature in favour of annexation. The resolution was considered by a convention of delegates called for the purpose of forming a State constitution for Texas, and was approved by that body on the 4th of July. Thus, this province of the far South-west, which until nine years previously had been an integral part of Mexico, and which since then had maintained its existence as an independent Republic, became one of the States of the American Union.* On the 6th of March, General Almonte, the Mexican Minister at Washington, protested against the resolution of Congress as constituting an act of warlike aggression, which Mexico would resist with all the means in her power; and, demanding his passports, returned home. The independence of Texas having been acknowledged, not only by the United States, but by England, France, and some other countries, the right of its citizens to effect any change they pleased in their condition was necessarily implied, in the estimation of the Governments making that acknowledgment. But this of course could not bind Mexico, who had, indeed, legitimate grounds of complaint. She resolved on fighting, and on the 4th of June, General Herrera, the Mexican President, issued a proclamation, declaring the rights of his country, and his determination to defend them by a resort to arms, if that should prove necessary.

The conditions of annexation required of the Texans by the American Congress were—that all questions of boundary should be settled by the United States; that Texas should give up her mines, salt-lakes, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbours, arms, docks, magazines, &c., while retaining her funds, debts, taxes, and

* General Sam Houston was immediately elected to the United States Senate, and continued a member of that body until 1859, when he was elected Governor of Texas. He died at Huntersville, in that State, July 25th, 1863.

unappropriated lands; and that, in any new States which might be formed out of the country, slavery might exist where the northern boundary was south of lat. 368 20′ (commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line), but not in the contrary case. This handed over to the slave-power nearly the whole of what is now understood by Texas. To get the territory on almost any conditions was an advantage to the Americans, for it added greatly to their resources, and was the first step towards wringing still more from the weak and unhappy Mexicans. Against the Government of Mexico the Government of the United States alleged many grievances. In addition to the complaints already noticed, it was alleged that American vessels had been plundered in the Gulf of Mexico, and that the property of American merchants had been confiscated within the boundaries of the Mexican Republic. In 1831, promises of redress were made, and a treaty was concluded; yet the wrongful acts continued, and in 1840 the aggregate of American property seized by the Mexicans was stated at more than six millions of dollars. The major part of this claim was still unsettled when the rupture between the two Republics occurred.

President Polk was beforehand with his adversary in taking military measures. In July, 1845, he ordered General Zachary Taylor, then in command of troops in the South-west, to proceed to Texas, and occupy a position as near the Rio Grande (sometimes called the Rio Bravo del Norte) as might appear prudent. The force was about fifteen hundred strong, and its commander had acquired great distinction a few years before by his gallant conduct against the Seminole Indians. The Rio Grande is the stream which divides Texas from Mexico, so that the latter State was openly threatened by the movement of General Taylor. At the same time, a naval squadron, under Commodore Connor, sailed for the Mexican Gulf. In the first instance, General Taylor landed on St. Joseph's Island, but afterwards, by the advice of the Texan authorities, concentrated his troops at the post of Corpus Christi, at the mouth of the river Nueces, on the western shore of Corpus Christi Bay, a branch of Aranzas Bay, about a hundred miles from the Rio Grande. At this point there was a Texan settlement, and here Taylor established himself at the beginning of August. By the following November, he had under his command an army of rather more than four thousand men. A camp was formed, but the General remained inactive during the following autumn and the early part of the winter.

Another difficult question, besides that of Texas, was now demanding the attention of the American Government. This had reference to the territory of Oregon, to a portion of which Great Britain laid claim. The country in question was a vast extent of land bordering on the Pacific, to the north of California and Utah. It is traversed by the great ranges of the Cascade and Blue Mountains, while its boundary towards the east was at that period formed by the Rocky Mountains. When Mr. Polk was President, Oregon was very slightly known, and lay for the most part desolate; but it presented fine capabilities for the future, and neither Power was willing to give up its claims. The coast was visited both by English and Spanish mariners in the sixteenth century, but it is doubtful which had the priority. Drake was there in 1579; it is asserted, however, that a Spanish navigator had discovered the territory, though to a less extent, thirty-six years before. Very little regard was paid to this remote and savage realm for another two centuries; but in 1792 Captain Gray, the master of an American trading ship, and Captain Baker, of the English merchant service, entered the estuary of the river Columbia. The Americans allege that Captain Gray preceded the English seaman; yet, allowing this to be so, it is not denied that Lieutenant Broughton, R.N., acting under Captain Vancouver, sailed up the river, for above a hundred miles, a few months after Gray had done little more than enter its mouth, and that he then took possession of the country in the name of King George III. It appears also that the Spaniard Heceta in 1775, and the Englishman Vancouver early in 1792 (before either Gray or Baker had examined the locality), suspected the existence of a great river from the appearance of the adjacent bay. In 1789 and the following year, the sovereignty of Oregon was a matter in dispute between England and Spain; but, by the Convention of Madrid, concluded in 1790, the right of exclusive possession was relinquished by both countries. Early in the present century, the Americans formed a trading settlement at Astoria, situated on the Columbia, eight miles from its mouth. This was seized by the British during the ensuing war, but given up on the restoration of peace. No claim of exclusive jurisdiction was made by the Americans until 1819, when it was maintained by the Federal Government that Spain, by the treaty of that year, ceded to the United States the entire right of occupancy. It was so doubtful, however, whether Spain was entitled to make any such cession that America chiefly relied on her priority in discovering the Columbia; but she also contended that, by the terms of the Treaty of Peace concluded between

France and England in 1763, the Mississippi was irrevocably fixed as the line dividing the dominions of the two countries, and that the lands west of that river, thus assigned to the former Power, had since been transferred to the United States by the sale of Louisiana. The British Government, in reply, maintained that, at the time when Louisiana was ceded to the United States, and indeed at all other times, its acknowledged western boundary was the line of the Rocky Mountains, which of course excluded Oregon; and that, even were it otherwise, the claim of France was transferred to Spain when Louisiana was made over to that Power in 1762, and was subsequently renounced by Spain in the convention of 1790.

The differences between Great Britain and the United States with reference to Oregon were still further complicated by a treaty concluded between the two Powers in November, 1818, the third article of which stipulated (without prejudice to the claims of either nation) that "whatever territory may be claimed by one or other of the contracting parties on the North-west coast of America, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, as also all bays, harbours, creeks, or rivers thereon, shall be free and open to the ships, citizens, and subjects of both Powers, for ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention." This period of ten years was afterwards, in 1827, indefinitely extended by consent of both Governments, with the understanding that either party might rescind the stipulation by giving the other twelve months' notice; and the Oregon Territory was for several years occupied by colonists from the two countries, in accordance with the treaty of 1818. During those years, the boundaries of Oregon were the subject of frequent negotiation between England and the United States, and at one time Lord Castlereagh told Mr. Rush, the American Minister at London, that he could bring about a war in respect of Oregon by holding up a finger. The question awoke again in the year 1843, when a Bill for the occupation and military organisation of Oregon was brought into Congress. It was here set forth that "the title of the United States to the territory of Oregon is certain, and will not be abandoned." The opposition to this Bill in the Senate was very serious, and at first it seemed as if the votes for and against were equal. It was officially declared that the measure was lost, but, on its appearing that a vote had been erroneously recorded in the negative, the Bill finally passed the Upper Chamber. In the House of Representatives, the committee on Foreign Affairs reported against it, and the measure was abandoned for the session. Nevertheless, the subject was not allowed to drop out of view, and, in his Message to Congress in December, 1843, President Tyler briefly reviewed the latest aspects of the dispute, and affirmed that the United States had always contended that their rights appertained to the entire region lying on the Pacific, and embraced within the 42nd and 54th degrees 40 minutes of North latitude. Every proper expedient, it was added, would be employed to bring the negotiation with Great Britain to a satisfactory close. In the following year, some conferences took place at Washington between Mr. Pakenham, the British Minister in the United States, and Mr. John C. Calhoun, who had just succeeded Mr. Upshur as Secretary of State. The claims of both parties were very fully stated in the course of these discussions, and reduced to writing on each side; but nothing was determined. Great Britain proposed a division of the territory, giving to the United States all that lay south of a certain line, and furthermore making free to that Power any port which might be desired, either on the mainland or on Vancouver's Island, south of the 49th degree of latitude. The American Government refused this arrangement, and also declined an offer by Mr. Pakenham to submit the question to arbitration.

Mr. Tyler again alluded to the subject in his final Message to Congress (December, 1844). After referring to the progress of the negotiations, he urged on the Legislature the advisability of establishing military posts at suitable points on the extended line of communication with the rest of the Republic, which would materially facilitate the peopling of the country, and constitute "places of rest for the weary emigrant, where he would be sheltered securely against the danger of attack from Indians, and be enabled to recover from the exhaustion of a long line of travel." The American settlers should also, he thought, be protected by the laws of the United States, as those of England were already secured by the watchful care of their Government. Population was indeed beginning to flow into the territory from various parts of the Union. A thousand entered in 1843, and fifteen hundred in the first eight months or so of 1844; and Mr. Calhoun, in one of his State papers addressed to Mr. Pakenham, averred his belief that the current thus commenced would continue to flow with increased volume, so that the same causes which had impelled the American population westward from the shores of the Atlantic, across the Alleghanies to the valley of the Mississippi, would drive them onward with accumulating force across the Rocky Mountains into the valley of the

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Columbia, until the whole region drained by that stream should be peopled by citizens of the United States.

Thus the question stood in the early part of 1845, when Mr. Polk succeeded to the Presidency. The Americans based their right on specific treaties with France and Spain, and on alleged priority of discovery and colonisation. To these arguments, the reply of Great Britain was clear and effective. The right of France (if any existed) had been transferred to Spain, and that asserted right had been waived by her, together with what she possessed on her own account, in a convention with England antecedent to any arrangement on the part of the United States with either Spain or France. As regards priority of discovery, it was well urged by Mr. Pakenham that if the explorations of Captain Gray were to annul those of Heceta, because of their being further extended, they must themselves be superseded by the operations of Vancouver (or rather of his lieutenant) in entering, and examining to a considerable distance inland, the river Columbia. As regards land explorations, the Americans contended that two citizens of the United States, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, performed a journey across the territory in 1804–6, by which the country was first made accurately known to the world. On the part of England it was alleged that as far back as 1733 a British subject named Mackenzie had effected a passage across Oregon from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, in the course of which he explored the upper waters of Fraser's River, which in process of time was traced to its junction with the sea, near the 49th degree of latitude, which was now proposed by the British Government as a part of the line of demarcation between the possessions of the two Powers. We shall find that the dispute was ultimately settled by an amicable arrangement; but for a time it threatened war.

CHAPTER VIII.

Determination of President Polk to support the Institution of Slavery, and the Territorial Aggrandisement of the United States—His Views on the Questions of Texas and Oregon—Resumption of the Negotiations with respect to the Oregon Territory—American Proposal for a Compromise—The Proposal declined by the English Plenipotentiary—Speech of Mr. Webster—A "Pacific Republic"—Declaration of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons—Presidential Message to Congress—Warlike Tone adopted by Mr. Polk—Reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine—Debate in the Senate on the Oregon Question—Opinions of General Cass and Mr. Webster—Debate in the House of Representatives—Various Resolutions discussed—Meeting of the British Parliament (January, 1846)—Further Discussion in Congress—Joint Resolution of both Houses in favour of terminating the Oregon Convention—Rise of a more Conciliatory Spirit—Compromise agreed on—The Disputed Territory divided—The Colony of British Columbia.

Mr. Polk was elected to do the bidding of the Democratic party, and he determined to discharge his trust. The dearest objects of that party were the maintenance if not the extension of slavery, and territorial aggrandisement. Both designs had a faithful agent in Mr. Polk. His inaugural address, after the usual congratulations on the growing power and wealth of the United States, and the excellence of the political principles embodied in the Constitution, alluded, with but little ambiguity, to the movement for the abolition of negro bondage which was at that time acquiring immense force throughout the Northern States, and exciting a corresponding fear and anger in the Southern. "It is a source of deep regret," said the President, "that in some sections of our country misguided persons have occasionally indulged in schemes and agitations whose object is the destruction of domestic institutions existing in other sections—institutions which existed at the adoption of the Constitution, and were recognised and protected by it. All must see that, if it were possible for them to be successful in attaining their object, the dissolution of the Union, and the consequent destruction of our happy form of government, must speedily follow." This was the assumption of a pro-slavery position, to be maintained in the teeth of Northern opinion, and of all the best traditions of American history. The other desire of the South—that of territorial aggrandisement—led Mr. Polk into a very emphatic expression of opinion with respect both to Texas and to Oregon. He laid it down as an axiom that for the United States to enlarge their limits was to extend the dominion of peace over additional territories and increasing millions. The world, he said, had nothing to fear from military ambition in the American Government; and foreign Governments should therefore look on the annexation of Texas as the peaceful acquisition of a country which desired to be incor-

porated with the Union. As regarded Oregon, the President asserted that the title of the United States was "clear and unquestionable;" and he remarked that already were the American people preparing to perfect that title by occupying the land with their wives and children. But he gave no explanation as to what he believed to be the limits of that right, and contented himself with saying that the jurisdiction of American laws, and the benefit of Republican institutions, should be extended over those emigrants from the old States who had entered the territory in dispute, where the formation of a new State could not be long delayed. In the meanwhile, however, treaty obligations and conventional stipulations were to be sacredly respected.

The discussion of the Oregon question was resumed between the English and American representatives on the 16th of July, 1845. Mr. Buchanan had succeeded Mr. Calhoun as Secretary of State, but the claims of America lost nothing in his hands. He presented a paper, in which he repeated the assertion by his predecessor of the right of the United States to the entire region drained by the Columbia and its branches, and dwelt once more on the American priority of discovery and colonisation, as well as on the alleged treaty rights derived from Spain. All these facts, he maintained, established a complete title on the part of his Government to the whole region, as against Great Britain. But Mr. Calhoun, while asserting this title in its plenitude as a matter of right, had intimated a willingness on the part of Mr. Tyler's Government to proceed on the principle of compromise, and to treat the respective claims of the contending parties with a view to establishing some permanent boundary between the two countries westward of the Rocky Mountains. The proposed course did not at all harmonise with the ideas of the new President, and Mr. Buchanan assured Mr. Pakenham that Mr. Polk would not have consented to yield any portion of the Oregon territory, had he not found himself embarrassed by the acts of his predecessors. He hesitated for awhile whether he would not abruptly terminate the discussion, and demand the entire country; but he had ultimately resolved to pursue the existing negotiations to their conclusion, upon the same principle with which they had commenced. He therefore again proposed to the British Government that the Oregon territory should be divided between the two countries by the 49th parallel of North latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean; at the same time offering to make free to Great Britain any port or ports on Vancouver's Island, south of that parallel, which might be desired. The suggested line (Mr. Buchanan observed) would carry out the principle of continuity equally for both parties, by extending the limits of ancient Louisiana and of Canada to the Pacific, along the same parallel of latitude which divides them east of the Rocky Mountains. The British demand was that the dividing line should be the 49th parallel of latitude up to the river Columbia, and that it should then follow the course of that stream as it turned to the south; which would have given to England much larger possessions than if the line were carried on due west to the Pacific.

In replying to Mr. Buchanan's communication, Mr. Pakenham said he did not feel at liberty to accept the terms submitted by the American plenipotentiary for the settlement of the question. The proposal, he remarked, offered less than that tendered by the United States in the negotiation of 1826, and then declined by the British Government. Mr. Buchanan responded with another elaborate statement of the grounds on which his Government asserted a right to the whole territory. After dilating on the desire which the President had felt to compromise matters for the sake of peace and harmony between the two nations, he added that he was instructed by the Head of the State to say that he owed it to his country, and to a just appreciation of her title to Oregon, to withdraw the proposition which had been made. Nevertheless, Mr. Buchanan still cherished the hope that the controversy might yet be adjusted in such a manner as not to disturb the peace subsisting between the two Powers. This very hope implied a corresponding fear; and as it was obvious that Mr. Polk had now fallen back on his original intention of claiming the entire region, the prospects of peace looked sufficiently disheartening. On both sides of the Atlantic the feeling was equally resolute and unflinching. War was openly talked of; a good deal of inconsiderate declamation was uttered by irresponsible speakers and writers; and if the conduct of affairs had not been under the direction of cooler heads, a war like that of 1812–15 would have dipped both countries deep in blood.

A sensible and well-felt speech by Mr. Webster, delivered in the early part of November at a public meeting in Boston, put the matter at issue in a new light. "Where is Oregon?" he asked. "On the shores of the Pacific, 3,000 miles from us, and twice as far from England. Who is to settle it? Americans mainly; some settlers, undoubtedly, from England; but all Anglo-Saxons—all men educated in notions of independent government, and all self-dependent. And now let me ask if there be any

sensible man in the whole United States who will say for a moment that when 50,000 or 100,000 persons of this description shall find themselves on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, they will long consent to be under the rule either of the American Congress or of the British Parliament? They will raise a standard for themselves; and they ought to do it. I look forward to the period when they will do this as not so far distant but that many now present, and those not among the youngest of us, will see a great Pacific Republican nation. I believe that it is in the course of Providence, and of human destiny, that a great State is to arise, of English and American descent, whose power will be established over the country on the shores of the Pacific; and that all those rights of natural and political liberty, all those great principles that both nations have inherited from their fathers, will be transmitted through us to them, so that there will exist at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably farther south, a great Pacific Republic, a nation where our children may go for a residence, separating themselves from this Government, and forming an integral part of a new Government, half way between England and China, in the most healthful, fertile, and desirable portion of the globe, and quite too far remote from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country." Mr. Webster, it will be seen, contemplated the formation of a new Republic on the Pacific Ocean, which would be entirely distinct from that which had its Federal seat at Washington. There can be no doubt that he foreshadowed this Republic as a community of freemen without any contradiction of slavery, and looked forward to it as a counterpoise to the growing influence of the South.

The rather arrogant and unguarded language of President Polk in his inaugural address elicited a counter-statement from Sir Robert Peel in the British House of Commons on the 4th of April. Lord John Russell having called attention to the subject, the Premier expressed his regret, not only at the allusion made by Mr. Polk, but also at the tone and temper by which it was characterised. He said he felt it to be his duty, on the part of the Government, to state, in language the most temperate, but at the same time the most decisive, that England had a right to the territory of Oregon—a right which was clear and unquestionable; that Ministers desired an amicable adjustment of the differences between Great Britain and the United States; but that, having exhausted every effort to obtain it, they were resolved and prepared, if their rights were invaded, to maintain them. This announcement was received with tremendous cheering from every part of the House. The strength of the popular feeling in England was immense, and would have fully supported any Government in prosecuting a war, rather than give up the national claims. But happily that dread issue was avoided.

Congress assembled, for its twenty-ninth session since the Declaration of Independence, on the 1st of December. The Presidential Message was delivered next day, and, amongst other subjects, the Oregon dispute was referred to at great length. Having recapitulated the various attempts at compromise which had been made for some years, Mr. Polk said that, as a consequence of the British refusal of what had recently been proposed by his Government, it had been determined to assert the right of the United States to the entire territory. The Legislature would now have to consider what measures it would be proper to adopt for the security and protection of American citizens then inhabiting, or who might subsequently inhabit, the country in question, and for the maintenance of the American claim. By the convention of 1827 it was obligatory on each party to give the other a year's notice of the termination of the joint occupancy. This notice, in the opinion of President Polk, it would be proper now to give, so that the United States might be in a position to assert and exercise exclusive jurisdiction. The Americans settled in Oregon had established a provisional government for themselves; but they desired the protection of the Federal arm, and the President recommended that this should be rendered by Congress with as little delay as possible. He also suggested the erection of stockades and blockhouses along the route taken by the emigrants, and the raising of an adequate force of mounted riflemen, to protect them from the attacks of Indian tribes occupying the intervening desert.

These measures looked like a determination to make the Oregon question a cause of war, unless England should give way on all points. But, as if this element of disturbance were not sufficient, the President assumed a position towards European Powers generally, which, being characterised by a spirit of considerable arrogance, had the appearance of a species of haughty challenge thrown out to the Old World. Mr. Polk remarked that the rapid extension of their settlements, and the addition of new States to the Federation, had attracted the notice of Europe, and had in some quarters induced politicians to talk of a balance of power on the American continent, to check the advance of the United States. Supposing any such design to have been seriously entertained, it would undoubtedly

have been the duty of any American President to declare in emphatic terms his resolution to oppose it. But Mr. Polk did not content himself with simply indicating that the doctrine of the balance of power had no application to the New World, and would not be tolerated there. He went on to reaffirm the well-known principle which, in the year 1823, President Monroe promulgated in a special Message to Congress, and which he formulated in the celebrated words, that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Power." In reiterating this political dogma, Mr. Polk observed :— "Existing rights of every European nation should be respected ; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent." That the protection of the laws of the United States should be extended over the whole territorial limits of the Federation, was so obviously just and reasonable that it seems unnecessary to have made any such declaration. Mr. Polk, however, asserted a right of interference in lands beyond the jurisdiction of the Washington Government. According to this doctrine, if England or Mexico chose to cede any part of her possessions in North America to some European Power, in order that the subjects of that Power might establish a colony there, the United States would forbid it. This was, in truth, introducing into the western world that very doctrine of the balance of power which Mr. Polk had just repudiated, and doing so in a manner the most openly defiant of all principles of fairness, reason, and equity. Mr. Polk made himself many enemies in Europe by this imprudent manifesto, which, moreover, threw a sinister light on the policy of the United States with reference to Oregon.

The Oregon question was made the subject of a debate in the Senate on the 15th of December, when General Cass, of Michigan (a great supporter of slavery), spoke in terms of the utmost violence with reference to the conduct of Great Britain. Having moved certain resolutions, the object of which was to issue instructions to the committee on naval affairs to inquire into the condition of the navy, to the military committee to institute a similar inquiry into the condition of the land defences, and to the militia committee respecting the re-organisation of the irregular forces, he observed that it was impossible to read the President's Message, and the commentaries of the press, without apprehending that a crisis was at hand, which would demand the cordial co-operation of the whole country. It was better, in the opinion of General Cass, to fight for the first inch of Oregon than the last ; better to meet the enemy at the threshold than await his approach to the hearthstone. "We must give the twelve months' notice," he continued. "If England then persists in her claims, war must inevitably follow, and it will be a war in which all the strength and all the prejudices of both nations will be brought into force. Let us, then, make adequate preparation ; let us show to the world that we are a united people, anxious for peace, yet prepared for war. The President has discharged his duty ably and fearlessly. Let us co-operate with him, and sustain him, not by words, but by deeds." There were some members of the Senate who deprecated this tone of hostility ; but the weight of opinion was in favour of General Cass. On the following day, Mr. Allen, chairman on foreign relations in the Senate, gave notice of a joint resolution (that is to say, a resolution to be adopted by both Houses), giving the twelve months' notice to Great Britain for dissolving the joint occupancy of Oregon. The discussion upon the resolutions moved by General Cass was then resumed. More violent language against England was indulged in by various senators, and it required all the authority of Mr. Webster to make a stand against the prevalent mood. This eminent man endeavoured to disabuse the Senate of the idea that war was inevitable. He did not believe that the President anticipated hostilities, and a collision between the two countries would be deplorable. He painted, in vivid terms, the losses which would affect the commerce and the sea-board of America in the event of a war with England, and he denied that any such dreadful exigency was to be seriously apprehended. The result of the discussion, however, was that the resolutions of General Cass were carried without a dissentient voice. The joint resolution of Mr. Allen was afterwards brought forward, and read a first time.

In the House of Representatives, on the 16th of December, Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, introduced a Bill for the extension of the United States Government over Oregon until the joint occupancy should be terminated. It provided that Oregon be considered a part of Wisconsin Territory up to 54° 40′ of North latitude, established military posts, mail-routes, &c., and appropriated 200,000 dollars for these objects. Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts,

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a descendant of the great founder of that colony, offered a series of resolutions which declared that the differences between the United States and Great Britain on the subject of the Oregon territory were still a fit subject for negotiation and compromise; that satisfactory evidence had not yet been afforded that no compromise which the United States ought to accept could be effected; that it would be a dishonour to the age, and in the highest degree discreditable to both nations, if they should suffer themselves to be drawn into a war upon a question of no immediate or practical interest to either of them; that, if no other mode for the amicable adjustment of the question remained, resort should be had to arbitration; that the American Government could not relieve itself from all responsibility while that resort remained untried; and that, should it be found unadvisable to refer the dispute to Royal arbitrators, a commission of able and dispassionate citizens, either from the two countries concerned or from the world at large, offered itself as an obvious and unobjectionable alternative. These resolutions, conceived in the loftiest and most admirable spirit, were met by two others, brought forward by Mr. Douglas, which declared that the title to any part of the Oregon territory south of 54° 40′ of North latitude was not open to compromise, and that the American title to the territory should not be submitted to arbitration. Some further resolutions were moved by Mr. Bowlin, of Missouri, the object of which was to extend the jurisdiction of the United States over the country in question. The decision on all these resolutions stood over until the following year.

The British Parliament re-assembled on the 22nd of January, 1846. It was a period at which the minds of Englishmen were absorbed by matters of internal policy. The great question of Protection and Free Trade had been nearly fought out to its issue, and it was known that the Government of Sir Robert Peel had resolved to put an end to the Corn-laws. Yet, although the country was deeply agitated throughout by this momentous financial revolution, upon which not only the fate of the Government, but the existence of parties, was seen to depend, the difference between England and the United States on the subject of Oregon was not suffered to pass out of view. In the Queen's Speech, her Majesty remarked:—"I regret that the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United

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States in respect of the territory on the north-western coast of America, although they have been made the subject of repeated negotiation, still remain unsettled. You may be assured that no effort consistent with national honour shall be wanting on my part to bring this question to an early and peaceful termination." When the report of the Royal Speech arrived in America, the subject in controversy was again brought forward in Congress. Mr. Dayton moved in the Senate, on the 25th of February, that all further discussion should be postponed for a fortnight. To him it appeared that the last intelligence from England was of an amicable character, and he desired to meet it in the same spirit. This, however, was not the general feeling of the House, and the motion was accordingly withdrawn. It was followed by a joint resolution, proposed by Mr. Colquitt, the intention of which was to express the opinion of Congress that the Oregon question was a fit subject for negotiation and compromise; but, although the Senate was more inclined to a pacific course than the House of Representatives, Mr. Colquitt's resolution came to nothing. The final result of all these debates was, that it was resolved by both Houses to authorise the President to give the British Government, at his discretion, due notice of the abrogation of the convention with reference to Oregon. But this resolution was qualified by the avowed belief of Congress that the divided allegiance of the settlers in Oregon was dangerous to the cherished peace and good understanding of the two countries. It was therefore a triumph for the moderate party, but a triumph which was not won without a conference between the two Houses, in which the more temperate views of the Senate at length prevailed. Considerable majorities in both Chambers ratified the joint resolution, which on the 27th of April was submitted to the President, and received his signature. Yet it was still a doubtful matter whether war would not ensue. On the 24th of March, a special Message had been sent by the President to the Senate, in answer to a resolution of that body inquiring of him whether the foreign relations of the United States at that time demanded an increase of naval or military force; to which Mr. Polk replied that in his opinion a wise precaution dictated such increase. England, on her side, was making military preparations in her North American colonies; and on these occasions there is always the danger of an unexpected collision. On the 18th of April, a Bill providing for the occupation of Oregon passed the House of Representatives by a majority of 103 against 46. This Bill extended the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa, and the laws of that Territory, over all that portion of the United States which lies west of the Rocky Mountains, as well as over the intermediate country west of the River Missouri, and between the 40th and 43rd parallels of North latitude. It was provided, however, that the Act should not be construed nor executed in such a manner as to deprive the subjects of Great Britain of any of the rights and privileges secured to them by the treaty of 1818, and continued in force by the later agreement of August 6th, 1827. The heat of controversy had now abated, and a more conciliatory disposition prevailed.

The joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives, adopted by the President on the 27th of April, seemed to Lord Aberdeen, the English Foreign Secretary, to present a favourable opportunity for effecting a compromise; especially as the President's notification, that the existing convention with respect to Oregon would be considered at an end after the expiration of twelve months, was accompanied by the expression of a hope that an amicable termination of all disputes might thus be brought about. On the 29th of June—the day on which the Government of Sir Robert Peel came to a close—it was announced by the Premier in the House of Commons, and by the Earl of Aberdeen in the House of Lords, that the dispute with America was concluded. The Government had made a fresh offer to divide the territory, and that offer had been accepted without any modification whatever. The two main articles of the convention stipulated that the line of boundary between the British and American territories should be continued along the 49th parallel of North latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean; that the navigation of the whole of the channel and straits south of the 49th parallel should remain open to both nationalities; and that the navigation of the great northern branch of the Columbia should be free to all British subjects. The lands thus confirmed to England have become the colony of British Columbia. For the American portion, a Territorial Government was established in 1848. In March, 1853, Oregon was divided, and on that occasion the northern part received a separate existence, under the title of Washington Territory.

CHAPTER IX.

The War with Mexico—Advance of General Taylor to the Mexican Frontier—Unsuccessful Attempt at Negotiation—Declaration of War—Serious Position of the Americans before Matamoras—Vigorous Movements of General Taylor—Defeat of the Mexicans at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—Siege and Relief of Fort Brown—General Scott's Plan of the Campaign—Matamoras occupied by General Taylor—Siege and Capture of Monterey (New Leon) by the Americans—Santa Anna at the Head of the Mexican Army—The American Volunteers—Operations of Generals Wool and Worth—Naval Success at Tampico—Occupation of Victoria by General Taylor, and of Santa Fé by General Kearney—Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont and his Explorations in the South-west—Revolution in California—Dissensions between Fremont and Kearney—General Taylor superseded in the Chief Command by General Scott—Defeat of Santa Anna by Taylor at Buena Vista (February, 1847)—Further American Victories—Reduction of the Northern Parts of Mexico—General Winfield Scott and his Career.

While the Oregon question was being debated and finally settled, the war with Mexico was entering on its first stages. We left General Taylor in his intrenched camp near the mouth of the Nueces, where he remained through the early part of the winter of 1845–6. On the 13th of January in the latter year, however, the Secretary of War ordered him to advance from Corpus Christi to a spot near the outfall of the Rio Grande, opposite the Spanish city of Matamoras, where a number of Mexican troops were gathering, apparently with the design of invading Texas. The locality in question, which is flanked by the river Nueces and the Rio Grande, was a kind of neutral ground between Texas and the Mexican province of Tamaulipas, and both States laid claim to it. When, on the 25th of March, General Taylor encamped at Point Isabel, on the Gulf of Mexico, some twenty-eight miles from Matamoras, he was warned by the Mexicans that he was on foreign soil. Taking no heed of this intimation, the American commander left his stores at Port Isabel under a guard, and, marching forward, reached the north-east bank of the Rio Grande on the 28th of March. Here he established a fortified camp opposite Matamoras, and commenced the erection of a fort large enough for two thousand men, to which the name of Fort Brown was given. Before this date, affairs in Mexico had undergone another change. President Herrera, who towards the close of 1845 had shown a disposition to enter into amicable negotiations with the United States, was deposed by a species of military revolution, and on the 30th of December, General Paredes succeeded to the supreme power. The American Government had despatched a Minister to Mexico, with instructions to adjust the quarrel, if that were possible; but the Mexican authorities refused to receive or accredit him. He therefore demanded his passports on the 12th of March, 1846, and returned to the United States. A formal declaration of war by the latter Power shortly afterwards followed. On the 11th of May, the President transmitted to Congress a Message, in which he spoke of the necessity of a resort to arms, in consequence of the "long-continued and unredressed wrongs and injuries committed by the Mexican Government on citizens of the United States, their persons and property." He recommended to Congress the most energetic and prompt measures, and the immediate appearance in arms of a large and overwhelming force, as the most certain means of bringing the collision to a speedy and successful termination. In making these suggestions, Mr. Polk declared that it was his anxious desire to effect an early and amicable adjustment of all matters in dispute, and that he would be prepared to renew negotiations whenever Mexico should be ready to receive propositions, or to make offers of her own. The declaration of war was dated from Washington on the 13th of May. The Mexican declaration was issued on the 23rd of the same month.

When General Taylor advanced to the north-east bank of the Rio Grande, the town and fortress of Matamoras, on the opposite bank, were strongly garrisoned by Mexican troops, and the position of the Americans soon proved rather serious. The soldiers, many of them hastily recruited, were found to be not of the best quality. Several deserted, and the remainder were held in check by the enemy. Taylor's supplies were cut off; a reconnoitring party, under Captain Thornton, was partly killed and partly captured, on the 24th of April, on the Texas side of the Rio Grande; and the whole army was surrounded by a superior force of Mexicans, some of whom had got between the main body and the detachment at Port Isabel. The little force stationed there was in imminent danger of being overpowered, and General Taylor set out on the 1st of May with eleven hundred men for the relief of the position. This he accomplished after a good deal of hard fighting, and, on being reinforced by 23,000 men, left on his return to the camp before Matamoras. On their way, the Americans saw in front of them a Mexican force, six thousand

strong, drawn up in battle-array, on a prairie flanked by ponds of water and trees, at a spot called Palo Alto, not far from the Rio Grande. A contest of five hours' duration ensued, and in the end the Mexicans gave way, and fled. This was on the 8th of May. Next day, a still more decisive engagement took place at Resaca de la Palma, three miles from Matamoras, when the Americans were again triumphant, and General La Vega was captured, together with a hundred men, eight pieces of cannon, three standards, and a quantity of military stores. The Mexican Commander-in-Chief, Arista, a man of some energy and skill, saved himself by flight across the Rio Grande, and the invading army on the north-east bank of that stream was completely shattered. During the absence of General Taylor, Fort Brown had been besieged by the Mexicans. On the morning of the 3rd of May, a battery at Matamoras, on the other side of the river, opened a heavy fire on the fort, while a large body of troops crossed to attack the position. The garrison, though few in number, made a spirited defence, and succeeded in silencing the Mexican battery; but soon afterwards the attacking forces established themselves in the rear, and began to plant cannon. Major Brown, the commander of the fort, lost a leg by the bursting of a bomb-shell, and expired on the 9th of May. He had served, when a young man, in the war with England, and the deprivation of his services greatly distressed the beleaguered garrison. After he was mortally wounded, but before his death, it was resolved to fire heavy signal-guns, for General Taylor to come to the assistance of the fort. Taylor had left directions that this should be done if the necessity arose; and on the 6th of May the signal was given. The American commander was not able to leave Port Isabel before the evening of the 7th, and the actions of the 8th and 9th still further delayed his progress; but he arrived in time to relieve Fort Brown, and to save the detachment stationed there.

It was evident, even before intelligence of these events reached the United States, that the Americans had entered on a difficult task, and it was accordingly resolved to conduct the campaign on a more extensive scale than had at first been contemplated. Congress authorised the President to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and appropriated ten million dollars towards carrying on the contest. On the 15th of May, the Secretary of War and General Scott sketched out a plan which was to include within its scope an enormous tract of country. A fleet was to pass round Cape Horn, and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico. From Fort Leavenworth—a post on the western bank of the Missouri, near the Great Plains extending to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains—a force, to be entitled the Army of the West, was to invade New Mexico (situated to the west of Texas), and to co-operate with the Pacific fleet; while an Army of the Centre was to invade Old Mexico from the north. In General Taylor, the army aleady operating on the frontiers had a commander of excellent abilities and great vigour. He crossed the Rio Grande on the 18th of May, and occupied Matamoras, which had been evacuated by the Mexicans. Here, however, he was obliged to remain inactive for some months, while he awaited reinforcements. It was the 20th of August before the first division of his army, under General Worth, moved towards Monterey, the capital of New Leon. Taylor himself followed with the remainder on the 3rd of September, reducing some towns by the way. On the 9th, the whole army, amounting in all to about 6,600 men, encamped within three or four miles of the city, which was held by General Ampudia, at the head of rather more than 9,000 Mexican troops. The situation of this town, which is planted at the foot of the Sierra Madre, is well adapted to defence, and was at that time strongly fortified. General Taylor therefore determined, in the first instance, to cut off the supplies. The only communication between Monterey and the provinces of Coahuila and Durango, from which the city derived its food, was by the Saltillo road, which penetrated the mountains along the course of the river San Juan. A party under General Worth seized on this road, after a severe contest with Mexican cavalry; and on the 21st of September the siege began. Before the close of the day, several fortified heights in the rear of the town were in possession of the Americans. The attack was continued during the 22nd, when a strongly-fortified position, called the Bishop's Palace, was carried by the troops of General Worth. Next morning, the lower part of the city was stormed by General Quitman, and the American troops, breaking their way through the stone walls of the houses, advanced from street to street with terrible carnage, and by nightfall had driven the enemy into the citadel and the great central square. Early on the morning of the 24th, Ampudia submitted propositions of surrender, which were accepted. The Mexican troops were allowed to march out with the honours of war; and General Taylor, who was now getting short of provisions, agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if sanctioned by his Government. He then left General Worth

in command at Monterey, and himself encamped at Walnut Springs, three miles off.

Taylor was all the more disposed to grant the eight weeks' truce because he had received news that another revolution had taken place at the Mexican capital, that General Paredes had been deposed and banished, and that Santa Anna (who had undergone the same fate in the previous year) was again in the ascendant. He believed that that famous chieftain desired peace; but he was mistaken. Santa Anna declined the Presidency, which was again offered to him, and resolved to devote his entire energies to the command of the army. The Government of the United States refused to confirm the armistice, and General Taylor was ordered to advance into the country, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. The military forces at the command of the War Office were by this time considerably augmented. General Wool had been commissioned to prepare for service the volunteers who had been requested to join the national flag. There was no lack of men. The war was so popular that, within a few weeks, more than three hundred thousand enthusiasts in the cause had offered their services, though only fifty thousand were required. By the middle of July, twelve thousand had been inspected and drafted into service; and nine thousand of these were at once sent to the Rio Grande, to reinforce Taylor, while the rest were despatched to Bexar, in Texas, where they were subjected to a course of discipline preparatory to marching into the Mexican province of Chihuahua. When these preparations were completed, General Wool ascended the Rio Grande, and, crossing the river at Presidio, reached Monclova, seventy miles north-west of Monterey, on the 31st of October. Hearing of the capture of Monterey, and finding that it would be a matter of much difficulty to surmount the great ranges of the Sierra Madre, he abandoned his original design, and marched into the district of Parras, in Coahuila, where he was able to collect supplies for the whole of the invading forces.

After the resumption of hostilities, which was on the 13th of November, General Worth marched towards Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, of which he took possession on the 15th. General Taylor, leaving a garrison at Monterey, proceeded towards Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, but returned on learning that Tampico, a town on the coast, which he had designed to attack, had surrendered on the 14th to Commodore Connor. That officer had intended to bombard the city; but when the smaller vessels from his squadron were seen approaching, a deputation from the citizens offered to surrender the place, on condition that their laws, institutions, and property, were respected. The Americans had now established a strict blockade of the Mexican coast. Vera Cruz and St. Juan d'Ulloa were closely watched by cruisers, and the Mexicans had no naval power wherewith to oppose the ships of their enemy. One of Taylor's reasons for returning to Monterey was because of a report that Santa Anna was collecting a large force at San Luis Potosi, which might possibly endanger the American base of operations. When, however, the divisions of Generals Worth and Wool had effected a junction near Saltillo on the 20th of December, the danger was at an end, and, nine days later, General Taylor occupied Victoria. At an earlier date, General Kearney, who had command of the Army of the West, marched nearly a thousand miles across the wilderness known as the Great Plains, and among the mountain ranges by which it is bordered, and, taking possession of Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, on the 18th of August, reduced the whole province to subjection, without the necessity of any further operations. The Governor and four thousand troops are stated to have fled at the approach of Kearney, who thereupon constituted a new Government, and made preparations for further exploits.

It was at this period that a name which had already attracted a great deal of attention in America became first associated with political events. John Charles Fremont, who occupied a position in the Engineering corps of the United States army, was a native of Savannah, in Georgia, the son of a French father and of a Virginian mother. His early years were spent in the wilds of the south-west; but, being afterwards educated as a civil engineer, he acquired distinction in the pursuit of that profession. While still a young man, he was appointed a second lieutenant in the corps of Topographical Engineers, and was soon afterwards directed to explore and report upon the country between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. The expedition was absent between four and five months, extending from the end of May to the 10th of October, 1842, and during that time a large tract of wild and desert land had been examined. Fremont, after being advanced to the brevet rank of captain, was ordered to connect his survey of 1842 with the explorations of Lieutenant Wilkes on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, so as to bring within the circle of exact knowledge the whole route from the frontiers of Missouri to the west coast of America. This expedition, which took place in 1843–4, was of a very difficult and onerous nature,

since the explorers had to traverse a vast extent of barren country, so void of natural products that the miserable tribes of wandering Indians were compelled to support themselves on roots, insects, and worms. The principal regions visited were those of a large part of Upper California. A revolution occurred in that province after the breaking out of the war between Mexico and the United States; and this led to a complication, in which Colonel Fremont and General Kearney were concerned.

J. C. Fremont.

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF FREMONT.

Kansas, Arkansas, Utah, Oregon, and California, and in the course of their travels the little party saw and examined the Great Salt Lake, which has since been so strangely associated with the fortunes of the Mormons. In a third expedition, commencing in the spring of 1845, Fremont explored, under circumstances of much hardship, but with very successful results, the chain of the Sierra Nevada, and

Kearney departed from Santa Fé on the 25th of September, 1846, at the head of four hundred dragoons, for the Californian settlements of Mexico bordering on the Pacific Ocean; but, learning on his route that California was already in possession of the Americans, he sent back three hundred of his men, and with the remaining hundred continued his expedition towards the west. Arriving at

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA.

Los Angelos, in California, on the 27th of December, he found a singular state of affairs. California had for some years been little more than nominally under the dominion of Mexico. Several Anglo-Americans settled in the country shortly after the revolt against Spain; and an insurrection, mainly incited by them, broke out in 1836, and resulted in so complete a subversion of Mexican authority that the central Government was compelled to allow the Californians to choose their own rulers. A state of anarchy ensued, and the prevailing influence was that of the Americans. In the spring of 1846, Fremont, while engaged in his explorations at the head of sixty men, had been threatened with attack by De Castro, the Mexican Governor on the Californian coast, who shortly afterwards began to prepare an expedition against the American settlers near San Francisco. Fremont, losing no time, roused the menaced colony, captured a Mexican post and garrison (together with nine cannon and two hundred and fifty muskets) at Sonora Pass on the 15th of June, and then, advancing to Sonora itself, defeated Castro and his troops. The Mexican rule being thus completely crushed, an Anglo-American Government was formed, with Fremont for its head, on the 4th of July. On the 7th, Commodore Sloat, then in command of the squadron in the Pacific, bombarded and captured the Californian town of Monterey, and, on the 9th, Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Fremont, being joined some time after by Commodore Stockton, seized the city of Los Angelos on the 17th of August. It was here that he was found by General Kearney at the close of the year, and that officer took part with the other two in the final struggle—the battle of San Gabriel, which was fought on the 8th of January, 1847, and which completed the conquest of California, after some vain efforts on the part of the Mexicans to restore their sovereignty. But now arose a feud among the victors. As the chief agent by whom the revolution had been brought about, Fremont not unnaturally desired to retain the power conferred on him by his countrymen. To this, however, Kearney, who was the superior officer of Fremont, would not accede, and, finding that his rival repudiated his authority, he sailed to Monterey, where, in conjunction with Commodore Shubrick, he assumed the office of Governor, and on the 8th of February proclaimed the annexation of California to the United States. Shortly afterwards, Kearney and Fremont both returned home, when, on reaching Fort Leavenworth, the former arrested the latter, and brought him to trial before a court-martial, for disobedience of orders. Fremont (who had by this time been created a Lieutenant-Colonel) was found guilty, with the loss of his commission; but the President, though he signed the sentence, offered him a new commission, of the same rank as that of which he had been deprived. The great explorer refused to accept it, and, retiring into private life, comforted himself with the support which he received from a large proportion of the American people.

Up to the close of 1846, General Taylor had been the chief hero of the war; but he was now to be superseded by another officer of higher standing. In January, 1847, General Scott arrived before Vera Cruz, for the purpose of invading Mexico from that point. Being General-in-Chief of the whole American army, he took command of all the forces in Mexico, and despatched an order to Taylor, directing him to send a large number of his best officers and troops to join the contemplated expedition. For the future, Taylor was to act only on the defensive. Scott himself felt that there was something ungracious in this course, and, before leaving Washington, wrote a long private letter to his subordinate, informing him of the change in his position, speaking in high praise of his recent victories, and expressing regret at the necessity of superseding him in the prosecution of an enlarged plan of operations. Although feeling much mortified, Taylor obeyed the commands of his chief, and, sending off the required reinforcements, was left at Victoria with not more than five thousand men in all, of whom only five hundred were regulars, to guard a line extending from Matamoras to Agua Nueva; while in his front was an army of twenty thousand, stationed at San Luis Potosi under Santa Anna. On the 4th of February, Generals Taylor and Wool united their forces at Agua Nueva, twenty miles south of Saltillo, on the San Luis road. The adversary was now advancing in force, and Taylor, disregarding the numerical weakness of his army, determined to accept battle. He considered it advisable, however, to select a favourable spot in which to meet the enemy, and therefore, on the 21st of February, fell back to Buena Vista, at a distance of eleven miles from Saltillo, where he drew up in battle-order on an elevated plateau among the mountains, skirted on the west by impassable ravines, and on the east by a succession of rugged heights. The Mexicans were seen approaching about noon on the 22nd, and Santa Anna presently despatched from his camp at Encatada a letter to General Taylor, which was expressed in these singular terms:—"God and Liberty!—You are surrounded by twenty thousand men, and can-

not, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces with your troops; but, as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice, in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives in your camp. With this view, I assure you of my particular consideration.—Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna." Taylor's reply was brief, but decisive. "Sir," he wrote,—"In reply to your note of this date, summoning me to surrender my forces at discretion, I beg leave to say that I decline acceding to your request. —With high respect, I am, Sir, your obedient servant, Z. Taylor, Major-General U. S. Army."

Some fighting followed in the afternoon, when the Americans, calling to mind that that was the anniversary of the birth of him who had been the chief founder of their Republic, advanced to battle with the cry, "The Memory of Washington!" The principal conflict took place on the following day, February 23rd. The battle lasted from morning until sunset, and at times appeared as if, owing to superior numbers, it would terminate in favour of the Mexicans. Towards the close of the day, a desperate assault upon the American centre, commanded by Taylor himself, was made by Santa Anna. It was withstood with extraordinary firmness and resolution, and, the American artillery being brought into effective operation, the Mexicans were hurled back, and victory declared itself for their opponents. To aid his final attack, Santa Anna had resorted to the device of sending out a flag in token of surrender, in the hope that the enemy's attention would in this way be distracted. Taylor, however, did not fall into the snare, and his courage and vigilance were again rewarded by a brilliant success. Santa Anna afterwards claimed the victory as his own; boasted of having taken five of the enemy's positions, three pieces of artillery, two flags, and two thousand men; and attributed his retreat to the necessity of obtaining food, of which his army was totally devoid. It is certain, however, that the Mexicans withdrew during the night, leaving their dead and wounded behind them, and it was afterwards ascertained that they had lost fifteen hundred men. In their flight, many perished of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; and General Taylor, hearing of the miserable condition of those who had dropped by the way, humanely sent provisions and medical attendants to their relief. The American loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was seven hundred and forty-six, of whom twenty-eight officers were killed on the field. The victory was not only important in itself; it had the still more valuable consequence of breaking up the army of Santa Anna. The frontier of the Rio Grande being now secured, General Scott was enabled to turn his whole attention to the capture of Vera Cruz. In the following September, General Taylor returned home, leaving General Worth in command of his detachment. On the day that was distinguished by the great battle of Buena Vista, General Minon, with eight hundred cavalry, was driven from Saltillo by Captain Webster. On the 26th of February, a number of Mexicans were defeated at Agua Frio; and on the 7th of March, Major Giddings was successful against the enemy at Ceralvo.

Some operations were about the same period being directed against the Mexican province of Chihuahua. Early in December, 1846, a portion of General Kearney's command set out from Santa Fé, in New Mexico, on an expedition towards the south, the object of which was to effect a junction with General Wool at Chihuahua. The force consisted of nine hundred men, under the command of Colonel Doniphan. They marched more than a thousand miles through the enemy's country, fighting two battles against superior forces, and in both instances prevailing. The battle of Bracito, on the east bank of the Rio Grande, was fought on Christmas Day, and resulted in the capture of El Paso, situated in a valley thirty miles south of Bracito, on the opposite side of the river. This action was followed, on the 28th of February, 1847, by the battle of Sacramento. The scene of the latter conflict was a small stream about twenty miles north of Chihuahua, a city containing at that time more than forty thousand inhabitants. The surrender of this place ensued shortly afterwards, and Doniphan, planting the flag of the United States upon its citadel on the 2nd of March, took possession of the whole province in the name of his Government. Having stayed there six weeks, he joined General Wool at Saltillo; and by these brilliant feats all the northern parts of Mexico were placed in possession of the stronger nationality.

General Winfield Scott, to whom the direction of the American armies on Mexican soil had now been confided, was a man of distinction, and of proved capacity in the military art. He was born in Virginia in 1786, so that at the period of his going to Mexico he was about sixty years of age. When a youth, he studied law, as many Americans do, but, joining the army in 1808, soon acquired

promotion by his abilities. In 1812 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel, though not more than twenty-six years old at the time; and in the ensuing war (during which he was raised to the brevet rank of Major-General) he attracted the attention of his countrymen on more than one occasion. It was he who captured Fort Erie in 1814, and in the same year he was wounded while fighting bravely at the battle of Burlington Heights. In 1836 and 1838, he conducted several operations against the rebellious Indians; and, after being employed in various capacities, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American army in 1841. The course of events after he took the command in Mexico amply justified the confidence which had been reposed in his genius. Whatever glory belongs to a conqueror must be assigned to him. His career was one of uninterrupted success, and his achievements proved that America could produce, not merely soldiers who could defend her own territory from invasion and affront, but those who could carry victory into the territory of others. The latter is a doubtful advantage; but Scott added it to the many trophies of his land.

CHAPTER X.

Determination to conquer the whole of Mexico—Advance of General Scott on Vera Cruz—Surrender of that City, with the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa—Hatred of the Americans by the Mexicans—Proposals by the United States for concluding a Peace—The Attempt unsuccessful—Defeat of Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo—Other Successes of the Americans—Surrender of Puebla—Pause in the Operations of the War—Losses of the Invading Army—Renewal of the March on the Capital—Romantic Character of the Expedition—The Military Position in Front of the Metropolis—Contreras taken—Capture of St. Antonio—Further Negotiations for Peace—Proposals and Counter-Proposals—Failure of the Endeavour—Mutual Complaints of Violation of Armistice—Successful Attack by the Americans on El Molinos del Rey and the Casa de Mata—Position and Surroundings of the City of Mexico—Proclamation of Santa Anna—Storming of the Castle of Chepultepec—Entrance of the Americans into the Mexican Metropolis—Retreat and Deposition of Santa Anna—American Rule in Mexico—Conclusion of Peace.

HITHERTO, it had been hoped to bring the Mexicans to terms by operating on their remoter provinces; but, as they showed no signs of yielding, it was resolved to subjugate the whole country, and strike at the very capital itself. This was the plan which General Scott undertook to carry out, and the first step towards its realisation was to be the capture of Vera Cruz, the principal sea-port of Mexico, built on the spot where Cortes first landed on Mexican territory. The city was regarded as the key to the entire realm, and was certainly a position of first-class importance. It was defended by the fortress of San Juan d'Ulloa, situated on an island or reef, not more than four hundred fathoms from the shore. The fortress was exceedingly strong, and by the Mexicans was supposed to be impregnable. Scott collected his forces at Lobos Island, a hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz, and thence sailed in the squadron of Commodore Connor for his place of destination. On the 9th of March, 1847, he landed near Vera Cruz, with an army of thirteen thousand men. The city was invested on the 13th, and five days later the town and fortress were summoned to surrender. This being refused, the trenches were at once completed, and on the 22nd the first batteries opened fire, at a distance of eight hundred yards from the city. The attack was aided by the guns of the fleet, and answered by the artillery of the city and castle. Until the morning of the 26th, this horrible storm of destruction glared and clamoured to and fro between the besiegers and the besieged, causing a large destruction of property in the city, and the loss of many lives. Arrangements were then commenced for an assault, when the Governor of Vera Cruz made overtures of surrender. On the night of the 27th, articles of capitulation were signed, and on the 29th the city, the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, five thousand prisoners, and five hundred pieces of artillery, were given up to the Americans.

In spite of numerous successes, the position of the invaders was difficult, and in some measure perilous. They were hated by the Mexicans, who, regarding them as oppressors and heretics, strove wildly to throw off the yoke that had been fastened on their necks. A revolt against the alien Government broke out in New Mexico in January, 1847. Governor Bent and others were murdered at Fernando de Taos on the 19th, and massacres occurred in other places as well. A large body of insurgents assembled in arms, and it was found necessary to despatch a force against them. They were defeated and dispersed at a ravine called the Pass of Embudo; but, although suppressed in its outward manifesta-

tions, the feeling of bitter opposition did not cease to exist. The Government of the United States was, from an early period of the war, impressed with the desirability of a speedy peace, if it could be obtained on favourable terms. In the second half of 1846, overtures of this nature were made to the Mexican authorities, but they were attended by no result. The Mexicans still thought they could vanquish their antagonists, and the war went on. Santa Anna accepted the Presidency on the 6th of December, 1846, but, leaving the conduct of political affairs to the Vice-President, Gomez Fanas, he placed himself at the head of the army. After his defeat by Taylor at Buena Vista on the 22nd and 23rd of February, 1847, he took up a position at Cerro Gordo, a narrow pass at the foot of the eastern chain of the Cordilleras, to the north-west of Vera Cruz. Here he strongly fortified himself at points which dominate the only road leading through the mountain fastnesses into the country beyond. He had with him a large force of men and several pieces of cannon; and to dislodge him from this post would evidently be a work of difficulty. The Americans, however, did not shrink from attempting it. On the 8th of April, General Scott sent forward the advanced guard of his army, under General Twiggs. Leaving a garrison at Vera Cruz, Scott himself followed with the main body, about 8,500 strong. The assault was made on the morning of the 18th of April, when, after much hard fighting, every one of the Mexican positions was taken by storm, and the Americans captured three thousand prisoners, forty-three pieces of bronze artillery, five thousand stand of arms, and all the munitions and materials of the opposing army. Santa Anna, who, before the battle, had boasted that he would die fighting rather than yield, was glad to escape on a mule, leaving his papers behind him.

Continuing their march towards the metropolis, the victorious army entered Jalapa on the 19th, and on the 22nd the castle of Perote, situated about ninety miles in a direct line north-west of Vera Cruz, surrendered without any resistance, together with a large number of cannon, and many warlike stores. General Scott again pushed on, and on the 15th of May the advance, under General Worth, entered the city of Puebla, which, though walled and fortified, made no opposition to the conquering hosts. The invading army was now to the south-east of the capital, and the reduction of that city had yet to be effected. It was necessary, however, to allow the soldiers some amount of rest, for their labours had been extreme, and they had, in the course of two months, gained a series of brilliant victories, and carried dismay into the very heart of Mexico. In that brief period they had captured several fortified places, scattered the ranks of the enemy, made ten thousand prisoners, and taken seven hundred pieces of artillery, ten thousand stand of arms, and thirty thousand shells and cannon-balls. These results were due partly to the weakness of the enemy, but in a greater degree to the valour, discipline, and perseverance of the assailants. The difficulties that they had had to encounter were by no means slight. The mountainous character of the country made it perplexing for an invader, and proportionately easy of defence. Another adverse influence was the climate; and the number of strong fortresses to be taken added to the troublesome nature of the task. Yet all these obstacles were overcome by the skill of General Scott and his companions; and for the present they recruited themselves at Puebla.

The army of thirteen thousand men with which the Commander-in-Chief started from Lobos Island, about the beginning of March, had by this time been greatly reduced by sickness, the numerous casualties of war, and the expiration of the period of enlistment in the volunteer corps. The total, indeed, did not exceed five thousand effectives in the latter days of May; and with these it was found impossible to keep open the communications with Vera Cruz. Scott therefore remained inactive until the 7th of August, when, having been reinforced, so that he had now eleven thousand troops under his orders, he began his march to the capital. The route at first lay through a rich and fertile region, well watered, and abounding in tropical vegetation. Beyond this came the towering ramparts of the Cordilleras; and on the other side of that rough mountain-chain lay the great valley of Mexico—a vast expanse of broken and undulating ground, shining with lakes, studded with cities, and peopled with memories of old dominion, of haughty conquest, of extinguished power, of dead religions, of the mystery, the splendour, and the pathos left behind them by all vanished civilisations, as to which men are led to imagine more than they can really know. Prescott's famous work on the conquest of Mexico had been published a few years before, and, while the events of the day gave a fresh impetus to its sale, the picturesque details which it contains increased the interest of the American public in the progress of the war, and threw a kind of romantic colour over the news which kept constantly arriving from the south. The Mexican campaign is certainly the most brilliantly coloured, dramatic, and striking chapter in the records of the United States. It has a background of majestic scenes, the pageantry of diverse

nationalities, the reflected glory of former history, the charm of adventure, the climax of a glowing triumph. Whether it also possesses the higher attractiveness of a moral purpose and result, is to many, even among the Americans themselves, a matter of doubt.*

The advanced guard of the invading forces was led by General Twiggs, and on the 11th of August that commander reached Ayotla, fifteen miles from the metropolis. It had been originally intended to march forward in a direct line to the capital; but the great national road presented so many difficulties, in the shape of natural obstacles and strong fortresses, that it was determined to proceed by a different route, passing round Lake Chalco, to the south, and approaching the chief city by St. Augustine. Santa Anna had concentrated the larger number of his troops at El Penon and Mexicalcingo, where he had raised a line of fortifications which it would not have been easy to carry. On this account, General Scott, after a reconnaissance on the 14th, resolved to diverge from the main road; and by the 18th the entire army had reached St. Augustine, ten miles from the city of Mexico. In this change of position, the right flank of the American divisions was protected by the lakes round which they marched, so that there was no danger of a sudden attack. The Americans now had in their front the fortress of St. Antonio, while they were at the same time threatened by the battlements crowning the heights of Churubusco, by the fortified camp of Contreras, where General Valencia lay with six thousand troops, and by the army under Santa Anna, stationed in the position already described.

General Worth established himself in the Hacienda of Burco on the 18th of August, and from this point could see the enemy at work upon his batteries. The Mexicans opened on the advancing columns, but little was done until the 19th, when the fire was so hot that the Americans were compelled to shelter themselves behind the farm buildings. Several attempts were made to dislodge the Mexicans from their position, but without success. Violent rain was now falling, and the troops, being ill-equipped, were obliged to bivouac for the night without any blankets. On the following morning, however, the batteries in the vicinity of Contreras were carried by assault, and, after only seventeen minutes' fighting, were in the hands of the Americans. In this brief but fiery passage of arms, the Mexicans lost seven hundred killed, numerous pieces of artillery, and fifteen hundred prisoners. At the same time, Scott himself, in a prolonged and sanguinary action, carried the heights of Churubusco. The main body of the army now pushed on towards the capital; but General Worth was ordered to remain behind, and effect the capture of St. Antonio. The place was held by 15,000 Mexicans, while Worth had only 6,000 troops at his disposal. Nevertheless, the position was taken, after two hours' fighting. The garrison were much cut up in their retreat, and the Mexican cause now looked so hopeless that a truce, proposed by Scott, was gladly accepted, with a view to negotiations for peace.

In the spring of that year, the American Government had made renewed efforts for effecting a peaceful arrangement. Shortly after the capture of Vera Cruz, a commissioner was appointed to proceed to General Scott's head-quarters, with full powers to enter upon negotiations, and if possible to conclude a treaty of peace; but that gentleman did not reach the army until after the victory of Cerro Gordo. His presence was made known to the Mexican Government from Puebla on the 12th of June, and many weeks elapsed before any desire was expressed by Mexico to enter into negotiations. Hostilities, however, being now temporarily suspended, five commissioners were appointed on the part of Mexico to meet the plenipotentiary of the United States. The chief of these commissioners was General Herrera, formerly President of the Republic. Mr. Trist, on the part of the Washington Government, made a series of propositions, according to which Mexico was to surrender to the United States a large portion of her northern territory, and the United States were to pay to Mexico a sum of money not then specified, and to discharge all claims of Mexican citizens upon the Government, provided they did not exceed three million dollars. The territorial cession was to be in satisfaction of the long-deferred claims of American citizens against the Mexican Government; that being, as President Polk observed, in his Annual Message to Congress delivered in December, the only means by which Mexico could reimburse the United States for all that they had lost in their dealings with the sister Republic. The new boundary proposed by Mr. Trist was the Rio Grande, from its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico to its intersection of the southern boundary of New Mexico, at about the 32nd parallel of North latitude —thus transferring to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California. The

* The First Series of "The Biglow Papers," by Mr. James Russell Lowell, gave an admirably witty, yet deeply emotional, expression to the New England view of the Mexican war—the idea that that war was designed for the perpetuation and extension of slavery.

Americans were, moreover, to enjoy the privilege of a right of way across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. On the other hand, the Americans agreed to restore to Mexico all the conquests which they had recently made, and a pecuniary consideration was to be given to the vanquished, because it was believed that the proposed territorial acquisitions might be more than a fair equivalent for the American demands. The Mexican commissioners declined to accept these terms, and proposed others, which were regarded by their adversaries as wholly inadmissible. "They negotiated," said the American President, "as if Mexico were the victorious, and not the vanquished, party. Their ultimatum required the United States to dismember Texas, but surrendered to Mexico that part of the territory of that State, lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, included within her limits by her laws when she was an independent Republic, and when she was annexed to the United States, and admitted by Congress as one of the States of our Union. It contained no provision for the payment by Mexico of the first claims of our citizens. It required indemnity to Mexican citizens for injuries they may have sustained by our troops in the prosecution of the war. It demanded the right for Mexico to levy and collect the Mexican tariff of duties on goods imported into her ports while in our military occupation during the war, and the owners of which had paid to officers of the United States the military contributions which had been levied upon them; and it offered to cede to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration, that part of Upper California lying north of latitude 37 degrees."

The Mexican commissioners and the American plenipotentiary being quite unable to agree as to the conditions of peace, Santa Anna, on the 7th of September, gave notice that the armistice would be considered at an end, and hostilities would recommence, on the 9th. On the same day (viz., the 7th), General Scott addressed an angry letter to the Mexican Commander-in-Chief, accusing him of having violated several articles of the armistice, and of preventing the American army from obtaining supplies from the city of Mexico. The American General demanded an explanation, and concluded by saying:—"I hereby formally notify you, that if I do not receive the most complete satisfaction on all these points before twelve o'clock to-morrow, I shall consider the armistice as terminated from

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that hour." Santa Anna replied by bringing a counter-charge of violation of the armistice against General Scott, and by accusing him of having sacked the Mexican towns in the vicinity of the capital, robbed and desecrated the churches, and stolen or destroyed articles held sacred by every Mexican. There were now but few positions remaining between the advancing ranks of the invaders and the metropolis of Mexico itself. General Herrera, the commandant of the city, saw that matters had nearly reached their most desperate extremity, and, addressing himself to the clergy, he exhorted them to exert their utmost influence over the people, so that they might be induced to arm themselves, and resist the American forces to the death. But the Mexicans were not a warlike race, and, under the best of circumstances, a mob can do very little against an army. On the 8th of September, General Scott, not waiting for the termination of the armistice on the later date, attacked the position called El Molinos del Rey (the King's Mills), near Chepultepec. The post was one of much strength, and is said to have been held by 14,000 Mexicans, under the immediate command of Santa Anna, while the attacking force consisted of scarcely four thousand. In the first instance, the Americans were driven back with great slaughter; but, on rallying, they carried the position, after a desperate conflict of an hour. The Mexican loss was nearly a thousand; that of the Americans, eight hundred. On the same morning, the Casa de Mata, another of the principal outer defences of Chepultepec, was also stormed and carried; and the castle itself, situated on a rocky height, a hundred and fifty feet above the adjacent ground, was now the only obstacle which remained to be overcome before the victorious legions should plant their flag within the capital itself.

The situation of the Mexican metropolis is peculiar. It stands in the centre of a wide plain surrounded by mountains, a portion of which plain is occupied by four lakes. The surface of three of the lakes is above the level of the city, while the other is only a few feet below it. In the rainy season, the rush of water from the neighbouring mountains is so great that the lakes overflow, and convert the land about the capital into a marsh. The approaches to Mexico are by long narrow causeways leading to the several gates; and these causeways were in 1847 defended by the fortified posts which the Americans carried before them in such rapid succession. The last of the defences was the castle or fortress of Chepultepec, the outworks of which, as we have just related, were taken by General Scott on the 8th of September. Before the final operations, Santa Anna issued an address to the inhabitants of Mexico, in which he said :—"The enemy proclaimed that he would propose to us a peace honourable for both nations, and it became our duty to listen to him, that his treachery might be made known. His propositions, and all the sequel of the negotiations, are to be published, so that the civilised world may see that we were ready to sacrifice all that our honour would permit us to sacrifice; and that, on the other hand, our enemies set up measureless pretensions, which would have destroyed the Republic, and converted it into a miserable colony of the United States. To such audacity we could oppose nothing but our firmness and our valour. Mexicans! you will find me, as ever, foremost in your defence, striving to free you from a heavy yoke, and to preserve your altars from infamous violation, and your daughters and wives from the extremity of insult. The enemy raises the sword to wound your noble fronts: do you draw it likewise, to chastise the rancorous pride of the invader."

Several batteries were raised by General Scott against the castle of Chepultepec on the night of the 11th of September, and a heavy bombardment was opened on the 12th. This was followed on the 13th by an assault, in which the attacking forces drove the defenders from all their positions, and obtained complete possession of the fortress. The Mexicans fled towards the city, pursued by General Quitman. Fighting was renewed during the day on the lines of the great causeways; but by nightfall one division of the American army had reached the suburbs of Mexico, while another had penetrated within the gates. Santa Anna, the remains of his army, and the officers of Government, sought refuge in flight; and early on the morning of September 14th, a deputation from the municipal authorities waited upon General Scott, and begged him to spare the town, and once more enter on negotiations for peace. General Herrera's appeal to the clergy had evidently produced but slight effect, for the citizens of Mexico showed no disposition to adopt the advice of Santa Anna, and chastise with their drawn swords the rancorous pride of the invader. General Scott was not then willing to discuss terms of submission. He had expended a large amount of life in reaching the metropolis of the Republic, and he resolved to humble the pride of the enemy by entering in force into the ancient capital of the Mexican dominions. He accordingly directed Generals Worth and Quitman to move forward along two of the chief causeways, and plant the flag of the United States upon the National Palace. The Commander-in-Chief entered

at the head of his Staff, accompanied by a squadron of cavalry, at ten o'clock in the morning, and in the Grand Plaza, or large public square, in the principal part of the city, took formal possession of the conquered metropolis. It was a moment of pride and exultation for all concerned, which, when the news came to be known in the United States, sent a glow of satisfaction through the popular heart.

On quitting Mexico, Santa Anna retreated, with his companions-in-arms and the members of the Administration, to Guadaloupe Hidalgo, from which place Alcosta, the Minister of War and Marine, issued a proclamation to the Generals of the several departments, instructing them as to their future proceedings. His Excellency said he was firmly resolved to prosecute military operations against the invaders, and, whatever might be the consequences, to wage war with them in every possible manner, and by every attainable means. One more effort to re-establish the national cause was made by Santa Anna. Since the 13th of September, Colonel Childs and his small force of Americans had been besieged at Puebla, and before the walls of that city Santa Anna appeared on the 22nd, in the hope of reducing it. General Lane, however, was speedily sent to the assistance of the besieged; when Santa Anna moved off in the direction of Huamantla, where he was encountered by the Americans, and defeated. He sustained a further defeat, on the 18th of October, at Atlixco, where many of his troops deserted him. In the course of November, he was superseded in the command of the army by General Renion. Loudly protesting against what he called the violation of his rights as Chief Magistrate of the nation, he refused obedience to the orders of the Government (which had now assembled at Queretaro), and withdrew to Tehuacan. The supreme authority of the Republic was provisionally exercised by the President of the Mexican Congress, and negotiations were shortly after opened with a view to a pacific arrangement of all disputes.

In the meanwhile, the American troops continued to occupy the capital which their swords had won. They were at first very badly received by the populace, and a state of anarchy prevailed which threatened serious consequences. Two thousand convicts were let loose from the prisons, and, making their way to the roofs of the houses, they attacked the soldiers below with any missiles they could obtain. These ruffians, however, were speedily quelled with a strong hand, and General Scott took effectual measures for ensuring the peace and order of the town. His position was one of great responsibility, for he had to guard against possible excesses on the part of his own men, as well as to curb the insubordinate tendencies of the Mexican *lazzaroni*. He therefore directed that the companies and regiments of the occupying force should be kept well together, and especially enjoined that there should be no straggling and no drunkenness. Marauders were to be punished by court-martial, and the army was exhorted to consider the honour of the country to which it belonged, and to act in a merciful manner towards the vanquished enemy. Military law was proclaimed on the 19th of September, and the citizens of Mexico were more secure from violence under this stern but equable rule than they had ever been under their own authorities. The approach of the invaders had not unnaturally been heralded by the wildest apprehensions. The Roman Catholic priests worked upon the fears and religious animosities of their flocks, and gave them to understand that the Protestants from the North were a set of infuriated demons, who would commit every outrage that it was possible to conceive. When at length they came, the conquering hosts proved to be well-conducted men, not inclined to take advantage of a population which, little disposed to war, was willing to submit to any settled rule that respected the national feelings and customs. Some species of vigorous police was indeed much wanted in the city of Mexico. With a population not greatly exceeding 130,000, there was at that time an average of 9,237 offences (many of the most serious character) committed every year. In addition to these crimes, 900 dead bodies were annually found in the streets and suburbs (again taking an average of some years), and in these cases the criminals were never known, and the acts but seldom inquired into. Jealousy was probably a frequent cause of these homicides, and to an indulgence in the same passion must doubtless be attributed the horrible iniquity of throwing vitriol into the face and eyes, which it seems was frequently practised, not only by the lower classes, but by the wealthy also.

The negotiations for peace terminated, on the 2nd of February, 1848, in the conclusion of a treaty, which was signed at Guadaloupe Hidalgo. This treaty, after being to some extent modified by the American Senate, was adopted by that body on the 10th of March, and subsequently ratified by the Mexican Congress at Queretaro on the 30th of May. It was proclaimed in the United States on the 4th of July by President Polk, and the long quarrel between the two Republics was brought to an end. Among the chief stipulations of this agreement were the evacuation of Mexico by the American

armies within three months; the payment of 3,000,000 dollars in hand, and of 12,000,000 in four annual instalments, by the United States to Mexico, on account of the ceded territory; and the assumption by the former of certain debts due to their citizens, to the amount of 3,500,000 dollars. Fresh boundaries between the two countries were determined on; New Mexico and Upper California were handed over to the American Federation; and the free navigation of the Gulf of California, and of the river Colorado up to the mouth of the Gila, was guaranteed to the United States. The old dominion of the Montezumas was thus miserably curtailed. The realm which Cortes added to the Spanish Monarchy was reduced to comparatively small proportions. A singularly successful war had terminated in a peace which brought substantial advantages to the conquerors; and the conquered, relieved from the iron grip of their enemies, and left to the influence of domestic factions, fell back into that condition of anarchy which with them seems chronic and incurable.

CHAPTER XI.

The President's Message of December, 1847—Effect of the Treasury Act—Discovery of Gold in Upper California—Rush of Emigrants to the Diggings—A Land teeming with Wealth—Official Reports—Gold-seeking Fever in the United States, England, and other Parts of the World—The Three Routes to the Gold Fields—Hardships and Perils of the Overland Route—Enormous Influx of People—Rapid Growth of the City of Sacramento—Yield of Gold by the Californian Mines and Diggings—Effects of the Vast Increase of Gold on the Commerce and Social Condition of the Civilised World—President Polk's Estimates of the Territorial Additions to the United States—Prospects of California—Fresh Impetus given to the National Dissensions on the Question of Slavery—Rise of the Free Soil Party—Election of General Taylor to the Presidency, and of Millard Fillmore to the Second Post—President Polk on Slavery in the Territories—Wisconsin admitted to the Union as a State—The American Fiscal System—Free Trade and Protection.

THE Presidential Message, at the close of 1847, was mainly occupied with the war then in progress, and the financial and political measures arising out of it. But there were some other topics of which it was necessary to take notice; and among these was an Act, passed on the 6th of August, 1846, to provide for the better organisation of the Treasury, and for the collection, safe keeping, and disbursement of the public revenue. By this Act (the principle of which was similar to that of Mr. Van Buren's Sub-Treasury Bill, repealed under Tyler's Presidency), all banks were discontinued as fiscal agents of the Government, and the paper currency issued by them was no longer permitted to be received in payment of public dues. The Constitutional Treasury, created by the same measure, came into operation on the 1st of January, 1847; and, under the system thus established, the public moneys (said the President) had during the year been collected, safely kept, and disbursed, by the direct agency of officers of the Government, in gold and silver. Transfers of large amounts had been made from points of collection to points of disbursement, without loss to the Treasury or injury to the trade of the country; and the system had had a salutary effect in preventing an undue inflation of the paper currency issued by the banks existing under the State charters. "Requiring, as it does," observed the President, "all dues to the Government to be paid in gold and silver, its effect is to restrain excessive issues of bank paper by the banks, disproportioned to the specie in their vaults, for the reason that they are at all times liable to be called on by the holders of the notes for their redemption, in order to obtain specie for the payment of duties and other public dues. The banks, therefore, must keep their business within prudent limits, and be always in a condition to meet such calls, or run the hazard of being compelled to suspend specie payments, and be thereby discredited." In this way, the feverish over-trading and injurious panics of earlier years were avoided.

A very extraordinary impetus to the trading spirit, however, and to the adventurous spirit as well, was just about to be given. It is a remarkable fact, that during the long period of Mexican rule over the province of Upper California, the existence of vast metallic riches immediately below the surface, and in the very sands of the rivers, was not suspected; while no sooner was the possession of that region confirmed to a more energetic race than the hidden wealth of the country was suddenly discovered or revealed. In the very month which saw the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Guadaloupe Hidalgo—the month of February, 1848—an American, employed at a mill situated twenty-five miles up the American fork of the river Sacramento, discovered gold in

the bed of that stream.* That California possessed gold-mines was indeed known before; the fact was suspected, and almost ascertained, by Sir Francis Drake when he visited the country; but that enormous stores of the precious metal were to be obtained by the rudest and most primitive labour, was a new and startling fact. When the intelligence first reached the great cities of the United States, it was received with some incredulity. The presence of such boundless metallic deposits in the sands of a river was unparalleled, and it was believed that the accounts were exaggerated. They soon proved to be even within the mark. Not only was the soil of the Sacramento found to be thus impregnated with auriferous grains, the amount of which was apparently exhaustless, but other rivers were similarly productive. The thinly-scattered populations of the neighbouring lands were of course first on the spot; but it was not long ere a stream of emigration flowed into California, intent on gold-digging, or, more properly speaking, on gold-washing, for the precious metal lay so near the surface that a very little trouble sufficed to separate it from the mud and ooze of the rivers. The gold appears to have been brought down by the torrents from the neighbouring mountains; and a shovel for digging up the sands, together with a tin bowl for washing the metal from the more earthy alluvial matter, was the whole equipment needed. All classes and conditions of people flocked to the diggings. Nearly the entire male population of the country were engaged in this exciting chase after sudden riches. Ships arriving on the coast were abandoned by their crews. Desertions from the army in that quarter were numerous.† Men of education and refinement were seen toiling side by side with navigators, adventurers, ruffians, Indians, and Sandwich Islanders. Gold was in the mountains; gold was in the river-tides, as they flowed downward from the higher lands; gold was in the very earth all round, and could be extracted as easily as the ground-nuts which the long nails of Caliban could root up at the call of hunger. Timon, striking his spade into the soil beneath the woods of Athens, discovered the yellow slave which he had learned to abhor. There were thousands of Timons in California, hunting for the visible god which they had learned to worship.

To get eight or ten ounces a day in this teeming land was no uncommon circumstance. It was usual with the more business-like among the immigrants to hire a number of Indians to work for them; and these provident speculators gained the most, for the Indians, knowing nothing of the value of gold, and wondering much at the eagerness of the white men, were willing to sell their labour for any trash that was offered them. A writer from the spot, in one of the American newspapers of the day, spoke of a man who employed sixty of these savages to collect the gold for him. The profits of this man were a dollar a minute. The same authority spoke of seven men who, after working for seven weeks and two days, Sundays excepted, on Feather River, with the assistance (on an average) of fifty Indians, found themselves possessed of two hundred and seventy-five pounds of pure gold. The metal thus extracted was pronounced by American assayers to be equal to the best in quality. Another man collected two pounds and a half of gold in fifteen minutes, and this by simply washing the earth with water in a small basin. The average earnings of individual diggers at this early period, by the use of the very rudest machinery, the operation of which was necessarily highly wasteful, were sixteen dollars a day for each man engaged; but in one case two hundred dollars had been made. It was not merely gold-dust that was found in this overflowing abundance: some of the pieces weighed half an ounce, and were called "nuggets." The whole country was a mine, which asked only the barest labour to yield unparalleled results.

The Government of the United States, unwilling to believe without confirmation the extraordinary reports which arrived from the newly-acquired territory, caused official inquiries to be made into the facts which had been stated, and the upshot was a complete verification of the alleged riches of the country. The officer commanding the Federal forces in California visited the mineral district in July, 1848, and his report to the War Department was laid before Congress on its assembling. When he visited the diggings, about four thousand persons were engaged in the search for gold, and the number was considerably augmented before the close of the year. The rush of emigrants, and the abundance of gold, caused an unprecedented rise in the price of necessaries within a very few months, and the workers at the mines became so reckless that they would give eighteen dollars' worth of gold for a bottle of brandy or a small quantity of tobacco. The allusion to the subject in the President's Message of December 5th added greatly to the popular excitement, and caused a marked increase in the flow of emigration. From the States of the Union, from the coasts of South America, from the English colonies of Australia and New Zealand,

* According to some accounts, the discovery of gold was made in December, 1847; but the point is immaterial.

† President Polk's Message to Congress, Dec. 5th, 1848.

from England itself, from China and the Malay Peninsula, came thousands of adventurers, wild with dreams of fabulous riches, to be gained by a few months' hardship and labour. In England, scores of ships were fitted out for emigrants; companies were formed for working the mines; joint-stock speculations were set on foot; and tradesmen, selling their goods, embarked for the distant gold-fields.* The communication between the older parts of the Union and the banks of the Sacramento was exceedingly difficult and irksome; but this did not deter the adventurous from proceeding to the place of attraction. The three great routes were—by sea along the eastern shores of North America to the Isthmus of Darien, across that narrow strip of land to the opposite coast, and thence by the Pacific to San Francisco; round Cape Horn (a distance of seventeen thousand miles from New York, occupying seven months); and across the deserts. The last-named was the nearest route, but in many respects the most perilous and the most fatiguing. It could be performed, as soon as the deserts were entered, only by stages of fifteen miles a day, and was practicable to none but the young and hardy. But the route by the Isthmus was also full of danger, for the climate of Central America is one of the most deadly in the world. Nevertheless, 30,000 persons from the United States alone left their homes for California in 1849. Many of them, including women and children, who accompanied their male relations, traversed the wastes which stretched from what were then the farthest western settlements to the new land of gold. More than two thousand miles of wilderness were passed by these bands of adventurers, who had to climb two mountain ranges of vast height, and to cross sandy deserts and barren plains, where water could hardly be obtained, and shelter there was none. An American writer (Mr. Bayard Taylor) has recorded some details of this wonderful exodus, which show how terrible was the task undertaken.

The starting-point for those who followed the northern route was the city of Independence, in Missouri, near the river of that name. Throughout the whole of May, numerous companies took their departure in mule-trains and waggons, and a line of enormous length trailed off into the desert, to the surprise and consternation of the wandering Indians, who withdrew into the further recesses of those wild and interminable lands. It was not long before the emigrants were attacked by cholera, which was at that time prevalent, and to which these unfortunate people were the more liable on account of the frequent rains of early spring, and the deprivations of their mode of life. As many as four thousand persons are said to have died from this malady, and their graves were thickly strewn along the route. The epidemic ceased by the time the travellers reached Fort Laramie, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, where the purer air of a more elevated region restored the general tone of health. But the passage of these western Alps, with their gigantic masses of cliff, their narrow and stony valleys, and their tortuous defiles, was a most arduous undertaking. The pasturage here became so scarce that the companies were obliged to divide into separate trails, to obtain sufficient grass for their teams. Provisions also ran short, and it was found necessary to kill many of the horses and mules for food, and to eke out their scanty stores by an occasional dish of rattlesnakes. The party would have suffered even more, had they not been generously assisted in the great valley of Utah by the newly-formed colony of the Mormons, whose singular history we have yet to relate. Two or three thousand of the emigrants to California remained in the valley during the whole of the ensuing winter. The others, who comprised the greater number, pushed on, and presently found themselves among the sandy wastes and beetling crags of the Valley of Humboldt's River. Fierce midsummer heats were drying up the grass, and the cattle drooped for want of provender. The stream named after the great German naturalist loses itself in the sands at a place called the Sink. At this point, the single trail divided itself into three branches—one remaining for awhile beside the dwindling river to recruit their beasts, and the others proceeding through the mountains by different paths. The crossing of the Sierra Nevada was a toilsome exploit; but, that granite barrier being surmounted, the settlement of San Francisco was presently reached.

Information being here given that a body of emigrants had halted at the Sink, and were in danger of being lost, or perishing of hunger, relief companies were despatched in search of them. By extraordinary exertions they were discovered, and the greater number were brought in to San Francisco a day or two before the heavy snows of winter. One party, however, was caught in the storm, and with difficulty rescued. Many of the mules died of exhaustion, and the men, stupified with cold and fatigue, could hardly be induced to make sufficient exertion to save themselves. The emigrants who arrived by the lower routes reached the mining region at an earlier date, and built themselves log-huts for the winter, or pitched their tents by the

* Annual Register for 1848.

GOLD-WASHING IN CALIFORNIA.

side of the river Sacramento, where they felled timber, for which they found a ready market at San Francisco.* While these emigrants were arriving by land, others were proceeding by sea. Between the 7th of December, 1848, and the 20th of January, 1849, ninety-nine vessels left the ports of the United States for California; and from October, 1849, to the same month in the following year, not far short of 70,000 emigrants reached San Francisco by sea and land. The growth of the city of Sacramento, in consequence of these immigrations, was so remarkably rapid that, whereas in April, 1849, there were only four houses on the site, it had become, in little more than a twelvemonth, a large and well-built town of nearly 7,000 inhabitants. In another two years, the number was 10,000.

The yield of the mines cannot be exactly estimated. For a considerable period, however, it increased every year, and the total amount of gold thrown into the general currency of the world was immense. The quantity found in 1850 was valued at more than forty-eight millions of dollars, and a few years later the yearly average was greatly in excess of this. In 1852, the amount shipped on board steamers and sailing vessels from San Francisco was certainly worth not less than fifty-six millions of dollars; according to some accounts, it was worth much more. The quantity received at the United States Mint and its branches up to September 30th, 1852, was 136,747,935 dollars; on the 30th of June, 1861, it was 501,290,998. The auriferous region is about five hundred miles in length, and from forty to fifty in breadth. But gold is not the only metal found in this wonderful land. Silver, quicksilver, platina, iron, and copper, are also there; and in addition to these stores are great beds of coal, which may be profitably worked. Nevertheless, it was the gold which proved the chief agent in bringing population to California, and laying the bases of her extraordinary prosperity. The gold-discoveries of 1849 and the succeeding years, together with the vast stores of precious metal shortly afterwards found in Australia, have had a revolutionary effect on the commercial condition of the world. Money has been more abundant, and speculation more rife. At the same time, the superflux of gold has deteriorated its value, so that the purchasing power of the sovereign is less than it was, and the price both of labour and of commodities has increased. The balance, however, speaking in the main, has certainly been in favour of social interests. In the best sense of the word, the nations are richer now than they were in 1849. There are not merely more men of fortune, but, what is far more important, there is less poverty—a more general diffusion of competence. The springs of industry have been quickened through the augmented powers of the capitalist.

In addressing Congress on the 5th of December, 1848, Mr. Polk congratulated his countrymen on the large territorial acquisitions which had marked the history of the previous few years. Referring to Oregon, to Texas, to New Mexico, and to Upper California, the President observed that the area of these several territories, according to a report prepared by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, contained 1,193,061 square miles, while the area of the remaining States, and of the lands not then organised into States, east of the Rocky Mountains—the older part of the Union—contained 2,059,513 square miles; so that the regions lately acquired constituted a country more than half as large as that which was held by the United States before their acquisition, and nearly equal to the whole of Europe, if we exclude Russia. By the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, it had been estimated that the extent of the sea-coast of Texas, in the Gulf of Mexico, was upwards of 400 miles; of the coast of Upper California, on the Pacific, more than 970 miles; and of Oregon, including the Straits of Fuca, 650 miles; making the extent of sea-coast on the Pacific 1,620 miles, and the whole extent on both the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, 2,020 miles. The length of coast on the Atlantic, from the northern limits of the United States, round the Capes of Florida to the Sabine, on the eastern boundary of Texas, was estimated by the same authority at 3,100 miles; and it accordingly appeared that the addition of sea-coast, including Oregon, was very nearly two-thirds as great as all that the Federation possessed before. The Republic had thus acquired three great maritime fronts—on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific; making, on the whole, an extent of sea-coast exceeding five thousand miles, exclusive of the bays, sounds, and small irregularities of the main shore and of the sea-islands. The importance of California, even irrespective of the gold-discoveries, was pointed out by the President. From the position and resources of that country, extending nearly ten degrees of latitude along the Pacific, and embracing the only safe and commodious harbours on the coast for several hundred miles, Mr. Polk inferred that it must command the rich commerce of China, of other parts of Asia, of the Pacific

* Bayard Taylor's El Dorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire, 1850. Vol. II.

Islands, of Western Mexico, Central America, the South American States, and the Russian possessions bordering on the Pacific Ocean. He contemplated the rise of a great emporium on the Californian coast, which might be destined to rival New Orleans itself; prophesied that the depôt of western commerce would probably be at some point on the Bay of San Francisco; and expressed his belief that to this depôt the whale-ships of North America would resort with their cargoes, to trade, refit, and obtain supplies. Thus, a great and prosperous city would speedily spring up. The President's forecast was soon realised. The city of San Francisco, founded by the Spaniards in 1776, but always a place of great insignificance until it fell into the hands of the Americans, is now a grand seat of commerce, with a large population, fine buildings, and all the concomitants of civilisation.

But the great territorial accessions in which the war had resulted did not bring unmixed good with them. They called forth into violent and dangerous prominence the exasperating questions which were mixed up with the institution of slavery. Before the close of 1848, the different sections of the Union had begun to ask whether or not slavery should be allowed to exist in the vast regions lately conquered by the arms and financial resources of the whole nation. The Southern States asserted the right of every citizen to remove with his property in slaves into any territory purchased by the common treasure of the Republic, or subdued by its forces. The Northern States denied this position, and demanded—in accordance with justice and morals—that all lands free from slavery at the time of their acquisition should remain so. Hence arose what was called the Free Soil Party, and it was upon these difficult and irritating matters that the Presidential election of 1848 chiefly turned. The contest, as usual, took place in the autumn. Three candidates were in the field: General Taylor, whose popularity, in consequence of his share in the Mexican war, was so great that he was nominated before his return home; General Lewis Cass, of Michigan; and Mr. Martin Van Buren, who had filled the chief post before. Taylor, who secured the election by 163 votes, was a man unknown to politics, and owed his success entirely to his repute as a soldier. He was the favourite of the Whig party, but was so little identified with particular views that he received some support from the opposite faction as well. Cass was the regular Democratic candidate, but, in the general confusion of political principles at that period, was not entirely without Whig countenance; while Mr. Van Buren, forsaking his former connections, took his stand on the Free Soil platform. At the same time that General Taylor was elected to the principal office, the Vice-Presidency was conferred on Mr. Millard Fillmore, of New York.

President Polk alluded to the Free Soil question in his Message to Congress at the close of 1848. "The whole people of the United States, and of every State," he said, "contributed to defray the expenses of the war; and it would not be just for any section to exclude another from all participation in the acquired territory. This would not be in consonance with the just system of government which the framers of the Constitution adopted. . . . In organising Governments over these Territories, no duty imposed on Congress by the Constitution requires that they should legislate on the subject of slavery, while their power to do so is not only seriously questioned, but denied, by many of the soundest expounders of that instrument. Whether Congress shall legislate or not, the people of the acquired Territories, when assembled in convention to form State Constitutions, will possess the sole and exclusive power to determine for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits." This, no doubt, was perfectly true; but it did not in the slightest degree remove the existing difficulty, which had reference to the intermediate condition of the new territorial possessions, before the Constitution had granted them power to organise themselves as States. The condition of the Territories is at all times one for which the entire Federation is responsible; and the question was, whether that responsibility should cover the institution of slavery or not. "If this were an original question," continued Mr. Polk, "it might well be insisted on that the principle of non-interference is the true doctrine. Upon a great emergency, however, and under menacing dangers to the Union, the Missouri Compromise line in respect to slavery was adopted. The same line was extended further west in the acquisition of Texas. After an acquiescence of nearly thirty years in the principle of compromise recognised and established by these Acts, and to avoid the danger to the Union which might follow if it were now disregarded, I have heretofore expressed the opinion that that line of compromise should be extended on the parallel of 36° 30′ from the western boundary of Texas, where it now terminates, to the Pacific Ocean." The question, however, was not so easily settled, and we shall find it a cause of frequent agitation in the later history of the United States, until the great outburst of the civil war put an end to all compromises.

The Presidency of Mr. Polk reached its termination in March, 1849, and Mr. Polk himself died in

the middle of June. During the last whole year of his Administration (1848), Wisconsin was admitted into the Union of States, making the whole number thirty. The country now comprised within this State had successively formed parts of the Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan Territories. It was organised as a separate Territory on the 4th of July, 1836, and nearly two years later a division took place, by which that portion on the west side of the Mississippi, which had been attached to Michigan in 1834, was erected into the Iowa Territory. On the admission of Wisconsin into the Union, which was by an Act of Congress passed on the 29th of May, 1848, its limits were further curtailed by making the river St. Croix its western boundary, and giving the lands between that river and the Mississippi to the new Territory of Minnesota. The surface of Wisconsin is for the most part undulating; but the south-eastern portion is characterised by prairies, lakes, and woodlands. The abundance of lakes and water-courses in this State gives admirable facilities for navigation and manufactures. On the north is Lake Superior; on the east, Lake Michigan; on the west, the Mississippi and the river St. Croix; and on the north-east the rivers Montreal and Menomonee. The interior of the country has abundance of other streams, while Lake Winnebago presents a surface of five hundred and four square miles. The climate of Wisconsin is singularly healthy, and both agriculture and grazing are there pursued on a very large scale.* Among the Western States, not one has better opportunities or a more encouraging future than Wisconsin.

One of the best features of Mr. Polk's Administration was a revision of the tariff laws, by an Act passed in 1846, the effect of which was to lessen still further the system of taxation originally instituted for the supposed benefit of American manufactures. The protective laws formed part of a series of measures which in their totality were termed "The American System." The National Bank was a part of this system; the imposition of heavy taxes upon foreign manufactures was another part. The arrangement with the bank was now at an end; but the system of protection to native manufactures still existed in some degree, though in a degree far less than had been seen in earlier years. This system was an attempt on the part of the United States to imitate those fiscal and commercial arrangements which had for many years existed in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, but which the wisest thinkers were now repudiating. The authors of the system, as developed in the United States, had, in the language of Mr. Polk, viewed in the Old World "enormous wealth concentrated in few hands, and had seen the splendour of the overgrown establishments of an aristocracy which was upheld by the restrictive policy. They forgot to look down upon the poorer classes of the English population, upon whose daily and yearly labour the great establishments they so much admired were sustained and supported. They failed to perceive that the scantily-fed and half-clad operatives were not only in abject poverty, but were bound in chains of oppressive servitude for the benefit of favoured classes, who were the exclusive objects of the care of the Government." It would have been better for the recent career of the United States had its leading politicians been more impressed with the wisdom of Mr. Polk's opinions in this respect; had they shown a greater zeal in reversing the mischievous policy of their predecessors, and in restoring to industry and capital the freedom to which they are naturally entitled.

CHAPTER XII.

Inauguration of General Taylor as Twelfth President of the United States—Contrast between the Condition of the United States in 1849, and that of European Nations—Dangers below the Surface of American Society—Progress of the Abolition Movement—The Evils of Slavery—Persecution and Martyrdom of Abolitionists in the South—Habitual Ill-usage of the Slaves—Instances quoted from Southern Newspapers—Rewards for the Return of Fugitive Slaves "Dead or Alive"—Burning of Negroes at the Stake—Laws against giving Instruction to Persons of Colour—Low Intellectual Condition of the Planters—Exceptions to the Rule of Cruelty—Systematic Immorality in the Southern States—The Quadroons—Condition of White Women—The Reign of Violence—Feeling of the Negroes towards their Masters—General Corruption—Degradation of the Black—Complicity of the Federation in the Oppression of the Slave—Evasion of Laws for the Protection of the Servile Class—The Northern Abolitionists the only Friends of the Negro—Career of William Lloyd Garrison—Other Prominent Advocates of the Cause—Extraordinary Effect of Mrs. Stowe's Novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—The Authors of New England in Favour of Emancipation—President Taylor on the African Slave-trade—The Coming Battle.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, the twelfth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 5th of March, 1849, the 4th falling that year on Sunday. He appointed Mr. John M. Clayton Secretary of State; Mr. William M. Meredith Secretary of the

* Colton's American Atlas.

Treasury; Mr. George W. Crawford Secretary of War; Mr. William B. Preston Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Jacob Collamer Postmaster-General; and Mr. Reverdy Johnson Attorney-General. A new Department of State had been recently created —that of Home Secretary, to which some of the duties previously performed by the Secretaries of State and of the Treasury were assigned; and the post was now conferred on Mr. Thomas H. Ewing. All these gentlemen belonged to the Whig party, and were men of moderate opinions. Their appointment was confirmed by the Senate, and it seemed probable that the Administration would be conducted in a prudent and steady fashion. The position of the United States at this period presented in some respects a happy contrast to that of most European nations. About a year before the accession of General Taylor to the Presidency, a successful revolution in Paris, preceded by several national uprisings in Italy, had led to a condition of general disturbance, from which scarcely any country in that quarter of the globe was wholly exempt. Even England, the most stable of all European Powers, was considerably agitated, and, while troubled by Chartist movements among the working classes, had to deal with an attempt at insurrection in Ireland. Although Great Britain had surmounted her difficulties by 1849, the Continental realms were still in a state of anarchy and intestine warfare. France was endeavouring to heap one convulsion upon another; Germany was painfully, and for the time vainly, striving after national unity; Hungary was seeking to throw off the yoke of Austria; Italy was aflame with revolution, from Piedmont to Rome, from Rome to Sicily. The political fortunes of the United States seemed peaceful indeed in comparison with these fiery agonies; and it was with some degree of reason that President Taylor, in addressing Congress on the 24th of December in that year, congratulated his countrymen on the repose and prosperity they were then enjoying in the midst of so much general distraction.

Yet the Federation was not without its troubles and its dangers. If, looking beneath the surface of what existed in 1849, we examine the pent-up forces of American society at that epoch by the light of subsequent events, we shall find that those troubles and dangers were of the gravest nature—not inferior, indeed, to the worst which threatened older communities. The Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery parties had fairly joined issue on the Free Soil question. California was to be the first battle-ground of their opposing interests, and the Union itself was imperilled by the bitterness of the contest. The Abolitionists—those who insisted on the total destruction of slavery over the whole extent of the Republic, and who refused to sanction any compromise—had lately acquired very great power, and were exercising an important influence on the development of opinion and the progress of events. It was at the North that these men were principally to be found; but even among the Southern States there were some who secretly believed that slavery was a curse, and that neither the country generally, nor any section of it, would be truly and thoroughly prosperous until that curse was removed. In all discussions which powerfully excite the popular conscience, and appeal to the emotion of pity and the sense of justice, some degree of imprudence is certain to be found. Dispassionate observers will not deny that the American Abolitionists were at times inconsiderate in the methods of their agitation, and that they did not sufficiently regard the immense difficulties which surround the conversion of a servile race into a race of freemen.* They were wrong in demanding immediate, instead of gradual, emancipation; and they roused a not unnatural feeling of alarm in the South by sending their inflammatory circulars all over that part of the country. But they were the prophets of a better day; the denouncers of a gigantic evil; the thinkers whose higher moral tone lifted the whole nation to a more majestic level; the politicians who rescued politics from the reproach of being nothing better than a game of tricksters and of buccaneers. Such men as Dr. Channing, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips, are the instruments by which Providence works out, through storm, and darkness, and agony, the slow emancipation of the world from shameful tyranny and abominable wrong.

Slavery existed in the American colonies from an early date, and even in the first half of the eighteenth century had attained proportions of an alarming kind, and developed an amount of brutality which moved the indignation of all decent men. When Charles Wesley, brother of the celebrated

* Even Dr. Channing considered that the Abolitionists were blamable in certain respects, and that the writings of some among them had been deformed by "a spirit of intolerance, sweeping censure, and rash, injurious judgment." (Letter to James G. Birney, Nov. 1st, 1836.) He condemned their fierce and emotional appeals to the ignorant and the young, to women and to people of colour; and he thought that the violence of the South had been in some measure provoked by that of the more extreme Abolitionists. (Essay on Slavery.) On the other hand, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips persistently maintained that this fervour of denunciation was necessary to stir the national conscience, and destroy its dull and selfish indifference. (Speech of Wendell Phillips on the Abolition Movement, delivered at Boston, Jan. 27th, 1853.)

IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

John Wesley, visited South Carolina in 1736, he observed the most shocking instances of cruelty to slaves.* But the magnitude of the evil necessarily increased with the growth of the Republic which tolerated it. The condition of the individual slave might not have been worse in the middle of the nineteenth century than in the middle of the eighteenth; but there were many more slaves at the later period than at the earlier, and there was a greater determination on the part of slave-owners to maintain and extend the system. In the days of Charles Wesley, slavery was to a certain extent an accident of colonial life. After the establishment of American Independence, it

* See Vol. I., chap. 57, of this History.

became, by a strange and bitter anomaly, a principle of government, and the main prop of a vicious social state. The very contrast of liberty—the unquenchable aspirations of the better part of the American people towards a more virtuous life—confirmed the miseries of the slave by working on the fears of the master. The Abolitionists of the North sent forth their missionaries into the South, to preach the cause of emancipation, to denounce the tyranny of slave-owners, to work on the hopes of the negro, and to force the current of opinion into those channels where they desired to see it flow. The whole South flamed up into passion, not unqualified by fear, and revenged its misgivings, now on the unhappy blacks, now on the heroic preachers of a higher law. Abolitionist riots occurred as early as 1835. In 1836, Mr. James G. Birney, the proprietor of an anti-slavery paper at Cincinnati, was driven from that city, with the loss of his presses, by a furious mob. In 1837, the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy was shot dead by a number of ruffians at Alton, Illinois, while attempting to defend his presses from a pro-slavery attack. Harriet Martineau, who travelled through the United States from 1834 to 1836, has recorded that, upon a mere vague report or bare suspicion of being opposed to slavery, strangers in the South had been arrested, imprisoned, and in some cases flogged, or otherwise tortured. A few persons had even been hanged; and it was said that if Dr. Channing had entered South Carolina, surrounded by a body guard of 20,000 men, he would never have left it alive. Committees of Vigilance publicly offered rewards for the heads or ears of prominent Aboli-

PRESIDENT TAYLOR.

tionists. The Government of South Carolina, at the period to which Miss Martineau referred, recommended the summary execution, without benefit of clergy, of all persons holding anti-slavery opinions who might be caught within the limits of the State; and this recommendation was endorsed by a select committee of the Legislature.* The tarring and feathering of known or suspected Abolitionists was frequent. Outrages, in which life itself was scarcely spared, were so common that in the South they came at length to be little regarded. A member from South Carolina, in the Federal House of Representatives, warned the Abolitionists that if chance should throw any of them into the hands of the slave-owners, they would receive a felon's death. Another gentleman from the same State declared that such disturbers would assuredly be hanged, notwithstanding the interference of all the Governments on earth, including the Federal Government.† Yet, in spite of these threats, which were no idle menaces, but are known to have been acted on many times, numerous agitators from the North went through the Southern States, endeavouring to arouse the conscience of the dominant classes to the flagrant crime which they not merely permitted, but held up to admiration as the only perfect state. The slave-owners said that the real object of these missionaries was to create a servile war, or, in other words, an insurrection of the blacks. Certainly there was no little danger of such a result; but the first causes of that danger lay in the wickedness itself.

If the white man from the North, the free lecturer against slavery, was thus exposed to peril of his life for exercising the most elementary rights of discussion, the condition of the slave must have been frightful beyond all power of exaggeration. We are not, however, left to a mere consideration of probabilities with respect to this matter. The evidence against the South is of the most authentic and the most indisputable character. It is supplied by the South itself. The impeachment does not rest simply on the reports of Abolitionists, on the speeches of excited orators, or on the writings of men pledged to drag down a system which they regarded with abhorrence. We have nothing to do but to consult Southern newspapers of a few years back, to find decisive proofs that slaves were habitually ill-used. Dickens, in the chapter of his "American Notes" which is devoted to this terrific subject—a chapter full of noble indignation and splendid scorn—has quoted from those newspapers a number of advertisements and paragraphs which are absolutely conclusive on the point at issue. That there should be any question at all on such a point might seem extraordinary, if we did not know the skill with which the worst institutions are palliated and glossed over by those who have an interest in maintaining them. Any person with the slightest knowledge of human nature would hardly require to be told that where one set of men have unlimited power over another, the most extreme forms of despotism and cruelty will inevitably be seen. The human heart cannot resist, except in a few instances, the temptation of opportunity and freedom from punishment, coalescing with the suggestions of rage, of fear, or of presumed self-interest. But by the defenders of slavery it was so often asserted that cases of cruelty were of rare occurrence, and that the lives of the blacks were for the most part spent in a kind of idyllic happiness, that the collection of direct evidence to the contrary became imperative in any complete discussion of this awful topic. From Southern journals Dickens extracted a large number of advertisements such as these:—"Ran away, negress Caroline. Had on a collar, with one prong turned down."‡—"Ran away, the negro Manuel. Much marked with irons."—"Ran away, a negro boy, about twelve years old. Had round his neck a chain dog-collar, with 'De Lampert' engraved on it."—"Detained at the police jail, the negro wench Myra. Has several marks of lashing, and has irons on her feet."—"Ran away, a negro woman and two children. A few days before she went off, I burnt her with a hot iron on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M."—"Ran away, a negro man named Henry; his left eye out; some scars from a dirk on and under his left arm, and much scarred with the whip."—"Ran away, a negro woman named Rachel. Has lost all her toes except the large one."—"Ran away, Sam. He was shot a short time since through the hand, and has several shots through his left arm and side."

There are many more advertisements of the same nature, showing that to shoot these unfortunate creatures, to lop their ears, to cut off their fingers and toes, to brand them, to set savage dogs upon them, to gash them with knives, to pull out their

* Society in America, by Harriet Martineau. Second Edition, 1839. Part II., chap. 5, section 1.

† Dickens's American Notes, 1842. Chap. 17.

‡ It was not unusual, in the Carolinas and some of the other Southern States, to place on the necks of runaway slaves, and of slaves suspected of a design to run away, a heavy iron chain or collar, with prongs projecting from it. In Louisiana, a law was passed in 1819, punishing with fine and imprisonment, not any one who used such a collar, but any one who cut or broke it.

teeth, and otherwise to maltreat them, were things so universally regarded as matters-of-course, that the doers of these iniquities had no shame in publicly alluding to them, or in making such announcements the means by which their runaway slaves might be identified and returned into bondage. Advertisements would be issued, offering a reward for the fugitive "dead or alive," or promising that a certain sum would be paid for his head.* Any man might be the executioner of an escaped slave, and afterwards claim his blood-money. Public sentiment approved the act, and the law did nothing to discourage it. By an ordinance of North Carolina, if a slave escaped, and refused to surrender on being summoned, it was lawful "for any person or persons whatsoever to kill and destroy him, by such ways and means as he shall think fit, without accusation or impeachment of any crime for the same." Cases are recorded of negroes having been burned alive; and in 1836 a coloured man was roasted to death by a slow fire in the neighbourhood of St. Louis (Louisiana), and in the presence of a crowd of spectators. If anything could surpass the atrocity of this deed, it was the atrocity of the judge who tried the murderers, and who, with the support of public opinion, dictated an acquittal to the willing jury.†

The existence of slavery in the Southern States vitiated the whole round of society. In some respects, freedom was as little enjoyed by the white men as by the black. The "peculiar institution" of those regions, as it was euphemistically called, was so hedged about by penal laws that no one dared discuss it. Acts of the local Legislatures denounced death, or imprisonment for life, against those who should write, print, publish, or distribute, anything having a tendency to excite discontent or insubordination. Heavy fines were imposed on all who should use or issue language which might disturb "the security of masters with their slaves, or diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of colour for the whites." In Alabama there was a law enacting that any person or persons who should attempt to teach any free person of colour or slave to spell, read, or write, should, upon conviction of the same by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than 250 dollars, nor more than 500 dollars. By the same law, the punishment for cruelly ill-using a slave was only 200 dollars. The masters could not even emancipate their own bondsmen, except under very strict conditions prescribed by law, and such as made the act almost impracticable.‡ Intellectual development was at its lowest in the slave-holding States of America. Those communities had no literature, no science, no social life beyond the indulgence in violent passions and the maintenance of corrupt institutions. Books were scarcely ever read; newspapers were few, and of so poor a quality that they were not worth reading. It was sufficient to the planter if he could cultivate his estate by the compulsory labour of his negroes, make money, entertain his friends, indulge his appetites after any lawless fashion that pleased his whim, fight his savage duels with those who had offended him, and lead a wild, tumultuous, and unrestrained life between precocious manhood and premature old age. Undoubtedly there were exceptions to this rule, and, considering the temptations to every kind of viciousness which slavery presents, those who led decent, kindly, and honourable lives were entitled to the highest honour. The slaves were not always unhappy. Sometimes they were treated with so much humanity, and even indulgence, that their state—if we could forget the moral degradation of bondage—might seem enviable. But these cases were comparatively rare. It is not in human nature to produce many such anomalies.

The condition of women in those lands—even of white women, the wives and daughters of the planters—was described by a native of the South as "always advancing towards Orientalism." They were, in fact, little better than the toys or the spoiled favourites of their husbands and their fathers. How could it be otherwise in a land where women, simply because they were black, or even in spite of their being white when they came of servile race, were kept in such open and shameless immorality by their tyrants that associations were formed simply for the sake of increasing the number of slaves by the illicit connection of masters with their female serfs? The children of negresses by a white father were as much slaves as the children of negresses by a black father. Many masters sold their own offspring with as little compunction as they sold the offspring of slave and slave. There was a large class called Quadroons, who were three-parts white to one-part black. The women of this class had the fatal gift of beauty, and they were, with scarcely an exception, maintained by white admirers, without the slightest sense of responsibility or of human consideration. Highly educated, accomplished, and graceful, these

* See instances quoted by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, in "The Key to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'" 1853.

† Dr. Channing "On the Annexation of Texas to the United States"; Dickens's "American Notes"; and Mrs. Stowe's "Key."—Miss Martineau, in her work on America, says that she knew of four cases of men burned alive within thirteen months of her residence in the United States.

‡ Harriet Martineau.

unhappy creatures were often fitted for the best society, but were kept jealously apart until it suited the pleasure or the interests of their lovers to marry, and to cast them off. "The Quadroon ladies," says Harriet Martineau, "are rarely or never known to form a second connection. Many commit suicide; more die broken-hearted." In New Orleans, these Quadroon connections were almost universal. That the children of white fathers and coloured mothers were systematically sold in the slave-market, and exported like any other cattle to States where the demand for them was active, was too notorious a fact for any one to think of denying it. To marry a slave-woman was illegal, and of no effect; but any number might be kept in degradation. The corruption of the moral sense resulting from this unrestrained profligacy—a profligacy not always having even the poor excuse of passion, but indulged, in many instances, from no other motive than the despicable love of gain—necessarily reacted on the condition of the white women who occupied the position of wives, but who were in truth, as one of them declared to Miss Martineau, "merely the chief slaves of the harem." The man who can contemplate *any* woman in such a light, cannot possibly regard any other in a light much better.

A leading article in a Southern newspaper, quoted by Dickens, spoke of "that abominable and hellish doctrine of Abolition, which is repugnant alike to every law of God and Nature." Opinion had reached such a pitch of demoralisation that the terms "abominable and hellish" seem to have been applied to nothing else than the desire of Northern politicians to root out slavery. Crimes of violence, crimes of licentiousness, crimes of deliberate greed, were easily palliated and condoned. There was nothing abominable or hellish in killing or mutilating a negro, in breaking the heart of a Quadroon mistress, or in selling a mulatto to the highest bidder. The most unrestrained indulgence in revenge, the most ferocious scenes of contest between white and white, were considered rather the marks of a gentlemanly spirit than signs of moral debauchery or of social disruption. Very little government existed in any of the Southern States, excepting that which tended to oppress the negro, to defend the privileges of the planter, or to intimidate the Abolitionist. The result was, that every man was a law to himself, and defended his rights, or what he supposed to be his rights, much as the Red Indians defended theirs. With so large a population of bondsmen, exasperated by ages of ill-usage and subjection, it was an absolute necessity of self-defence for the masters to go armed. No one could trust himself about his own plantation unless he had his revolver and his bowie-knife ready to hand. This resulted, not merely in acts of cruelty committed on the negroes themselves, but in the general habit of violence between equals. Duels were frequent, and often conducted with extreme ferocity. Even the usual laws of the duello were not invariably observed. A man who had a quarrel with another would announce in the newspapers that he would "shoot at sight;" meaning that he would shoot down his adversary wherever he met him, without any further warning. These encounters would take place in hotels, in bars, in public buildings, or in the street; and if they were followed by any judicial inquiry (which was not always the case), they were seldom visited with punishment. This tendency to avenge individual quarrels by individual action spread to some extent, although in a less degree, over the whole of the United States. Dr. Channing, writing on the annexation of Texas, in the year 1837, observed:—"A spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which, if not repressed, threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. Even in the old States, mobs are getting the Government into their hands, and a profligate newspaper finds little difficulty in stirring up multitudes to violence. Men take under their own protection the rights which it is the very office of Government to secure. The citizen, wearing arms as means of defence, carries with him perpetual proofs of the weakness of the authorities under which he lives. The substitution of self-constituted tribunals for the regular course of justice, and the infliction of immediate punishment in the moment of popular frenzy, are symptoms of a people half-reclaimed from barbarism." It was rather the symptom of a people relapsing into that barbarism from which their ancestors had issued forth.

The feeling of the negroes towards their proprietors was of course various in different cases. Some of the blacks were simply broken-hearted and spiritless; some, from a certain dog-like fidelity to those whom Fate had placed above them, entertained a species of affection for their masters and mistresses when they were treated with decent consideration. But the larger number cherished in their minds the sentiment of hatred and the desire for revenge. From time to time, negro risings would take place, which were stamped out in blood and fire. At other times, some particular negro would plot against his despot, and slowly poison him in secret. Yet the blacks, taken as a body, were not so dangerous as might have been supposed. They were not courageous; they

had the depressing sense of inferiority; they had no education, and few opportunities of conspiracy on a large scale. As a rule, they were not possessed of arms, and had no means of getting them. It was necessary, however, for the masters to keep a watchful eye upon the subject race, for there was always the possibility of isolated acts of vengeance. The negro is a man of many kindly qualities, and, as frequently happens in the case of barbarian races, he has an instinct of attachment to his superior if he is fairly used; but, if persistently injured, his blood will kindle into flame, and he will take any furtive opportunity of making his tyrant suffer. This was one way in which the Nemesis of slavery worked in the Slave States of America. Another way was in the disgrace which servile labour cast upon *all* labour; so that the whites who had in any respect to work for their living—the "mean whites," as they were called—were regarded with contempt by the more prosperous whites, and even by the blacks themselves. Yet another was the demoralisation which the institutions of slavery, and the debased character of many of the negroes, introduced into white society. It was no unusual thing for the children of planters and the children of slaves to play together on terms of great familiarity; but white mothers deeply regretted the evil effect which these associations had upon their offspring. The superior did not raise the inferior; it was the slave who dragged down the master. The same result was known and lamented in the ancient world, where the children of free Greeks and Romans were placed under the guidance and authority of slaves, to the injury of their characters when they grew to be men. The African in America was frequently religious; but under the institutions of slavery he had hardly the means of being moral. He was often arbitrarily associated with one of the opposite sex, that the race might be kept up; he was again arbitrarily parted from wife and children, if it suited the purposes of his master. Everything in his life tended to lower and corrupt him. He would have been a marvel had he become anything else than what he was in the majority of instances—a creature of strong animalism and weak intellect, lazy, untruthful, gross, and devoted to pleasures too frivolous for a child.

The Federal Government was to a great extent in alliance with the slave-owners. The South had a majority in the Senate, and a respectable minority in the House of Representatives. Most of the Presidents came from that section of the Union; the influential politicians, with but few exceptions, were natives of Virginia and the Carolinas. This being the case, it is no wonder that the interests of the South were so well looked after at the capital. In the District of Washington itself, the metropolis of the whole Union, any justice of the peace might seize any negro he met in the street, and whom he suspected of being a runaway, and, without any formal proceedings, put him at once into jail and into irons. He might then advertise the negro in the newspapers, and intimate that, unless his owner claimed him within a certain time, he would be sold to pay the jail-fees. The fact of his being a free black, if such were the case, made no difference in his fate. Under those circumstances, he was sold to recompense the persons who had wrongfully seized and detained him.*

There was no law for the negro, but such as was a mockery and a delusion. It is true that the Southern States passed enactments for granting a certain amount of protection to the slave. Nominally, it was illegal either to kill or to torture him; but the punishment varied in different States, and in all was evaded. Judge Stroud, summing up the protective laws of the Slave States, observes:—"Upon a fair review of what has been written on the subject, the result is found to be—that the master's power to inflict corporal punishment to any extent, short of life and limb, is fully sanctioned by law in all the slave-holding States; that the master, in at least two States, is expressly protected in using the horse-whip and cow-skin as instruments for beating his slave; that he may, with entire impunity in the same States, load his slave with irons, or subject him to perpetual imprisonment, whenever he may so choose; that for cruelly scalding, wilfully cutting out the tongue, putting out an eye, and for any other dismemberment, if proved, a fine of one hundred pounds currency only is incurred in South Carolina; that, though in all the States the wilful, deliberate, and malicious murder of the slave is now directed to be punished with death, yet as, in the case of a white offender, none except whites can give evidence, a conviction can seldom, if ever, take place."† The administration of the law was necessarily in the hands of the slave-holding class, and it was not to be expected that they would be very zealous in restraining the brutal liberty of those whose interests were their own. Occasional exceptions to this rule must, however, be allowed. In June, 1851, a female slave was tried at Raleigh, North Carolina, for the murder of her master, and acquitted, in consequence of its having been proved that she was provoked into the act by the extravagant brutality to which she had been subjected.

* Dickens's American Notes.

† Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws, quoted by Mrs. Stowe.

The slave, then, had no friends in the South, except in those few instances where the master was really a kind-hearted man, disinclined to use his power with cruelty or capriciousness, or where the general conscience was stung by some case of peculiar hardship. It was only in the North that there was a large class of persons who made the interests of the wretched blacks their own; and even there the feeling of sympathy with slaves was far from universal. Fear of offending the South; dread of breaking up the Union; pride of race, self-interest, and the inclination that is common to many minds of upholding every form of power, as if power were a better thing than right—these were the influences which disposed many persons, even in New England, to gloss over the horrors of slavery, to discourage every movement that led towards emancipation, and excuse in others the crimes they no longer tolerated in themselves. Still, it was in the Northern States that the movement for emancipation originated, as indeed it could have originated nowhere else. "The public squares of half our great cities," said Wendell Phillips, in a speech delivered at Boston on the 27th of January, 1853, "echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction-block; no one of our fair rivers that has not closed over the negro seeking in death a refuge from a life too wretched to bear; thousands of fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their names, and trembling at the sight of a human being; free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged into that hell of slavery; and now and then one, as if by miracle, returns after long years, to make men aghast with his tale. . . . . The slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and sees in every face but ours [the Abolitionists'] the face of an enemy."*

The American Anti-slavery Society, the chief organiser of which was William Lloyd Garrison, began its operations about 1834. The career of Garrison (even after some abatement has been made on account of undue violence) is a magnificent instance of the strength of moral principle and the courage of a righteous aim. This remarkable man was the son of a father who deserted his family when they were young. He had to struggle for existence at an early age; but he found his path, and pursued it with the constancy of one of the old martyrs. In 1829, he was editing an emancipation paper published in Maryland, one of the slave-holding States. It was a work of difficulty and peril, and Garrison was very soon imprisoned for libel. Afterwards, in 1831, when bringing out at Boston a journal called the *Liberator*, the Georgian Legislature passed an Act offering a reward of five thousand dollars to any person who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction under the laws of the State, the editor or publisher of that journal. For several years, Garrison was being continually threatened with assassination, and the Mayor of Boston was frequently appealed to from the South to suppress the paper. In 1835, a Boston mob broke up a meeting of the Female Anti-slavery Society, and dragged Mr. Garrison through the streets, with the intention of murdering him; and it was only by putting him into jail for the night that his life was saved. Another noble worker in the same cause was Wendell Phillips, who succeeded Mr. Garrison in the chairmanship of the Anti-slavery Society a few years before its dissolution, and who had previously distinguished himself by his passionate and eloquent addresses. Many women gave their time and labour to the service of the negro; and nothing has ever exceeded the extraordinary effect produced all over the world by the publication of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which first appeared about 1850. In less than a year, more than 200,000 copies were sold in the United States, and in England an even greater number was afterwards circulated. The book was translated into various foreign languages, and it unquestionably had an important influence in producing throughout the Northern States that condition of opinion which resulted in the extinction of slavery. But it should be said, for the honour of American literature generally, that the modern authors of the United States have for the most part been opposed to the abominable institutions of the South. Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others, have borne their testimony against that dreadful wrong—a wrong both to the black man and the white—which disgraced, corrupted, and ruined the Southern section of the Union. The writers of America have in many instances been natives of the New England States, and the best traditions of New England have found expression through their pens.

This ever-increasing evil of slavery was one of the questions with which President Taylor had to deal. In his Message to Congress of the 24th of December, 1849, he directed the attention of the Legislature to the amendment of existing laws relating to the African slave-trade, with a view to its effectual suppression. It was not to be denied, he said, that that trade was still in part carried on by means of vessels built in the United States, and owned or navigated by American citizens. A recent correspondence between the Department of State and

* Speeches, Lectures, and Letters, of Wendell Phillips. Boston (U.S.), 1863.

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the Minister and Consul of the Federation at Rio de Janeiro represented that it was a customary device to evade the penalties of the American laws by means of sea-letters. General Taylor stated that vessels sold in Brazil proceeded at once, when provided with such papers, to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining cargoes of slaves. It was now recommended to the wisdom of both Houses to devise some method by which this abuse of the national flag might be prevented. The increased activity of the slave-trade, however, was only one indication, among many, of the desperate determination of the South to increase by every possible means the range and power of slavery, and to defy the North, and the Union itself, to interfere with their ideas of policy. The slave-holders were frightened at the progress of the Abolition movement. They perceived that if their power could not be extended it would be destroyed; and they strained every nerve to print the black shade deeper and more widely on the land. The best thinkers in the North were equally resolved to bring this baleful matter to a close, and to challenge the South to an issue which could no longer be evaded. The opposing forces were gathering to the great battle; but the end was not yet.

CHAPTER XIII.

Formation of a State Government in California—Election of Delegates to Congress—Violent Debates on the Question of Slavery in connection with the Californian Constitution—Territorial Disagreements between Texas and New Mexico—Southern Threats of Secession—Compromise proposed by Mr. Clay—Appointment of a Committee of Thirteen to consider the Proposals—Outrage in the Senate—The Compromise (or "Omnibus") Bill—Chief Features of the Measure—Admission of California into the Union—Provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law—Agitation among the Negroes—Cases of Hardship and Oppression—Angry Excitement at the North—Opinions of Clay and Webster—Death of President Taylor—Succession of Millard Fillmore to the Chief Office, and Formation of a New Administration—Condition of California in 1850—Projected Routes across the Isthmus of Panama—Treaties with New Granada and Mexico—Contract with Nicaragua for the Construction of a Ship Canal—Stipulations for securing Neutrality—Convention between the United States and Great Britain for the Settlement of their Common Interests in Central America—Terms of the Convention—Message to Congress of President Fillmore (December, 1850)—Remarkable Case of Murder.

California proved a trouble as well as an acquisition. The peopling of that country went on at an unexampled rate, owing to the attraction of the gold-diggings; and in the first year of General Taylor's Administration it was already apparent that a State Government would soon be formed, and application be made to Congress for admission to the Union. Congress had neglected to furnish a Territorial Government for this distant province, and the colonists proceeded to organise a constitution for themselves. In August, 1849, General Riley, the Military Governor of California, established a judiciary by proclamation, and appointed a Chief Justice; he also summoned a convention of delegates to meet at Monterey, in order that a State constitution might be formed. The first sitting took place on the 1st of September, but the convention was not fully organised until the 4th. Dr. Semple was chosen president; a complete Government was appointed; and the officials were sworn to support the constitution of the United States. In this convention, several native Californians, of Spanish origin, sat side by side with those whom we are accustomed to designate by the very inexact term of Americans; and some of these Spanish Californians were elected to offices under the new Government. The various sections of the American Declaration of Rights were for the most part adopted. It was decided, in accordance with the precedents of the older States, that judges should be elected by the people; that married women should have a right of property; and that education should be supported by the funds of the State. More important than all, slavery was absolutely forbidden, and that without any dissentient voices. A clause, prohibiting the entrance of free people of colour into the State, was hastily carried through the first reading, but rejected on the second by a large majority. A good deal of discussion took place as to the eastern boundary of the land then being organised as a distinct Government. Finally it was resolved to follow the old Mexican boundary, and the State was thus constituted with eight hundred miles of sea-coast, and an average breadth of two hundred and fifty miles.*

The final sitting of the convention was on the 12th of October. As delegates from California to the Federal House of Representatives, the people

* Bayard Taylor's El Dorado, Vol. I.

elected Edward Gilbert and G. H. Wright; and the State Legislature, at its first session, chose Colonel Fremont and William M. Gwinn as United States senators. On the 13th of February, 1850, the constitution of California, together with her petition to be admitted to the Union, was sent to Congress by the president. But the matter was not to be adjusted without an excited and angry struggle, arising mainly out of the irritating question of slavery. Some time before, it had been proposed in the Senate by a Mr. Wilmot that slavery should be excluded from all the new Territories; but this was strongly resisted by the Southern members, who argued that such an arrangement would be in contravention of the Missouri Compromise, by which slavery was to be allowed in all parts of the Union south of 36° 30′ North latitude. Now, as a large portion of the newly-acquired Territories was south of that line, it was clear that slavery could not be prohibited there by the action of Congress. It was an open matter, to be decided by the people themselves; but, as regarded California, the people had already made known their will, and it was mere despotism on the part of the South to endeavour to set aside that decision. Nevertheless, immense bitterness of feeling was exhibited in Congress when that clause of the Californian constitution which prohibited slavery was submitted for discussion. The representatives of the Southern States were for disallowing it; the Northern members took their stand on the much more just and reasonable ground that the Californians had settled the matter for themselves, and that no one else had a right to interfere. But there were other points in dispute as well. Texas laid claim to a wide stretch of territory, extending westward as far as the Rio Grande, which the people of New Mexico contended was a portion of that province. The head-quarters of the New Mexican agitation against the demands of Texas were at Santa Fé, the capital of the country; and Colonel Monroe, the American commandant, called a convention of the people, in consequence of private instructions which he had received from Washington. The result was the formation of a State constitution, and the presentation to Congress of a petition requesting the admission of New Mexico to the Union. Preparations for seizing on the disputed territory by force were being made by the Texans when the quarrel entered this new phase; and the dissension was now transferred to the Federal Legislature. The claims of Texas were supported by the South, because, if the lands in question were assigned to that State, the area of slavery would be proportionately increased; and the North, for the same reason, resisted the demand which was now being made by the followers of General Houston.

The disagreement became furious. Once more the Southern States threatened to secede, if they were not allowed to have their own way, and the agitation was so extreme that civil war seemed imminent. Henry Clay, however, came forward with a scheme of conciliation, as he had done in 1833, when the tariff created so much discontent in the agricultural and slave-holding parts of the Union. On the 25th of January, 1850, Mr. Clay submitted to the Senate a series of resolutions, by which he proposed to admit California as a State; to establish Territorial Governments over all the other newly-acquired countries, without reference to slavery; to abolish all traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, but to declare it inexpedient to abolish slavery there without the consent of the citizens, and also of the Marylanders; and to assume the debt of Texas. These proposals he advocated in an impressive speech, delivered on the 5th of February; and they were further supported by the eloquence and acute reasoning powers of Mr. Webster. Prolonged debates ensued, and, as on previous occasions, the chief leader on the Southern side was Mr. Calhoun, who, being too ill to address the House in person, put into the hands of a brother-senator a long written argument against the proposed compromise. It was the final effort of that able but perverse politician. The speech was read on the 4th of March; on the last day of that month, Mr. Calhoun expired, and Mr. Clay was no longer confronted by his great adversary. Various propositions of a conciliatory nature were offered by other senators besides Mr. Clay, and finally a committee of thirteen was appointed to consider the various plans, and to report a Bill. This committee consisted of six Northern and six Southern members, who together chose a thirteenth, that there might be a casting vote, in case of an otherwise equal division. Mr. Clay was appointed chairman, and the committee at once set to work, to beat into shape the crude suggestions which had been previously advanced.

Party feeling was so much inflamed in the progress of these debates, that on one occasion personal violence was threatened. During a discussion in the Senate on the 17th of April, a fierce altercation took place between General Foote and Colonel Benton; when the former, drawing a pistol from his pocket, cocked it, and levelled the barrel at his adversary. It was believed by the bystanders that he would have discharged the weapon at Colonel Benton, had he not been prevented. Several members, however, rushed on the infuriated senator,

and disarmed him; and it was afterwards ordered that an investigation should be made into the affair. The state of feeling indicated by such an act did not promise well for a pacific arrangement of differences; yet on the 8th of May, Mr. Clay was in a position to report a Bill, the chief features of which were the admission of California and New Mexico, without any reference to slavery, and the recognition of the right of Texas to be divided into four separate States, with or without slavery, as the people themselves might desire. The Bill underwent much discussion, and on the 31st of July was very severely handled in the Senate. A great many additional objects had by that time been engrafted on it, and all of these were struck out, on the motion of Southern members, except a clause having reference to the admission of Utah as an organised Territory. This proceeding of the Upper Chamber produced a deep and very uneasy impression throughout the country, and it was feared that all hope of agreement was at an end. The Senate, however, retraced its course, and on September 9th the Compromise Bill became law, after the several measures of which it was composed, and which caused it to be popularly known as "The Omnibus Bill," had been separately considered. The measures thus passed in the form of one Act were—the Utah Bill, the Texas Boundary Bill, the Admission of California Bill, the Territorial Government for New Mexico Bill, and the Fugitive Slaves Bill. By this composite legislation, California was admitted into the Union as a State, with a constitution excluding slavery, and with boundaries extending from Oregon to Mexico; the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, east of California, was erected, without mention of slavery, into a Territory to be called Utah; New Mexico, with a recognition of her right to the parts claimed by Texas, was also made into a Territory, with entire freedom with respect to slavery; ten million dollars were to be paid to Texas from the Federal Treasury, as compensation for this deprivation of possessions which she believed to be her own,—Texas being at the same time required to pay certain debts for which the Federal Government had previously been bound; the slave trade, but not slavery itself, was abolished in the District of Columbia; and it was provided that all fugitive slaves in the Free States should be liable to be arrested and returned into bondage.

The most important of these measures, as regarded the Union generally, was the last. It gave force and practical application to a clause of the Constitution which had long been a dead letter; and, by affecting the whole of the Republic, it darkened and embittered, to an almost incalculable degree, the miserable lot of the slave. The provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law bore with the utmost hardship on the negro, and were a disgrace to the Legislature which could sanction them. The judges of the United States District Courts, or their commissioners in every county within their district, were to hear, and summarily determine, all claims made by owners for their fugitive slaves. The deposition or affidavit of the owner, or other satisfactory testimony, sworn to before a magistrate according to the law of the State whence the slave had escaped, was to be held sufficient to establish the right of property, and to authorise the arrest and re-conveyance of the fugitive to the State whence he or she might have fled; but in no trial or hearing under this Act was the testimony of the alleged fugitive to be admitted in evidence. Any person aiding or abetting the escape, or interposing to prevent the arrest and re-conveyance of the fugitive, was subjected to a fine not exceeding a thousand dollars, or to imprisonment not exceeding six months, besides forfeiting a thousand dollars by way of civil damages to the party injured. In case of an affidavit being made by the claimant of a fugitive, that he had reason to apprehend a rescue before he could re-convey such fugitive beyond the border of the State in which the arrest had been made, it was the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain the fugitive in his custody, personally remove him to the State whence he had fled, and then deliver him to the claimant or his attorney. To this end, the officer was authorised and required to summon such assistance as might enable him efficiently to perform his duty. Finally, should such fugitive, subsequently to his arrest, be rescued by force from those having him or her in custody, and the rescue be proved to have been without collusion on the part of the owner, the latter was to be paid from the public treasury the value of the fugitive, and the amount so paid could be recovered by the general Government from the State or Territory in which the rescue was effected. A more cruel and iniquitous law was never passed. It made, or at least it sought to make, the whole nation an accomplice in the wickedness of the South, and cast on millions of freemen the most detestable offices in the world.

The condition of the slave population in the Southern States was at this time such as to excite great apprehension on the part of the whites. A contemplated insurrection among the negroes of Alabama was discovered a little while before it was to have broken out, and was popularly said to have been instigated by an Abolitionist, for whose ap-

prehension a reward of six thousand dollars was offered. It was believed that a general massacre of the whites was designed; but the affair ended in the killing of one of the slaves, and the wounding of twenty others, by a discharge of fire-arms into their ranks, as they were gathered together at their place of meeting. The agitation among the slave community in those States bordering on the North was shown in frequent attempts to escape from bondage. Many of the owners became so much alarmed that they contemplated removing their human cattle to safer parts of the Union, or selling them to slave-traders. One case of peculiar hardship was reported in the newspapers of the day. The family of William Williams, coachman to several of the Presidents, were seized by a slave-dealer, and taken from their home in Washington to be sent to New Orleans. The wife of this unhappy man—a woman more than fifty years of age—her three daughters, and her three grandchildren, were suddenly carried off without any notice, and sold to the highest bidder. Williams himself had recently purchased his freedom with the savings of many years' toil; but his family were the property of a person at New Orleans, and could be treated without reference to the husband and father. The case excited so much sympathy that subscriptions were got up for redeeming the unfortunate slaves; but the fact that any such thing was possible struck like a burning iron into the very heart of the North. The South hoped to protect its property in negroes by means of the Fugitive Slave Law; but, in the very moment of triumph, the futility of the attempt became apparent. The indignation of the Free States at the Act which Congress had weakly or flagitiously consented to pass, assumed at once such fiery and energetic forms that the slave-owners saw the approach, at no distant date, of a struggle to the uttermost. By their organs in the press, it was announced that they were prepared for an agitation of a fearful, revolutionary, and bloodthirsty character. It was evident that the North would not submit to the disgrace of this atrocious law, and that the whole question was being hurled forward to a violent and agonising solution by the avarice and tyranny of the Southern proprietors. Large public meetings were held in the chief cities of the Free States, at some of which resolutions were passed, advising resistance to the Government officers. Many fugitive slaves, who had for a time been living in supposed safety at the North, fled into the British American possessions, as the only certain refuge that remained to them. A man of colour, named Frederic Douglas, who had attracted considerable attention as an anti-slavery lecturer, stood in imminent danger of arrest, and the whole black population of the North lived from day to day in terror of the officers from the South.

The compromise effected by Henry Clay was found to be more fruitful in evil than the most extreme course could possibly have been. Every advantage secured by the composite measures was neutralised by the gigantic evil of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was on account of this law that Mr. Wendell Phillips, some years later, spoke of Mr. Clay as "that great sinner," and denounced Mr. Webster as playing into the hands of the enemy for the sake of his political position. Mr. Clay soon discovered that he had failed in his object, and eternally ruined his reputation; and Mr. Webster, who had given his countenance to the measures of compromise, is said to have been equally persuaded, after a little while, that he had made a lamentable mistake. Yet, whatever may have been the opinion of the latter in the closing days of his life, it is certain that immediately after the passing of the Compromise Acts he threw the full weight of his authority on their side. Writing to a friend on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, he said:—"The measure is not such a measure as I had prepared before I left the Senate, and which of course I should have supported if I had remained in the Senate; but it received the proper sanction of the two Houses of Congress, and of the President of the United States. It is the law of the land, and as such is to be respected and obeyed by all good citizens. I have heard no man, whose opinion is worth regarding, deny its constitutionality, and those who counsel violent resistance to it, counsel that which, if it take place, is sure to lead to bloodshed, and to the commission of capital offences. It remains to be seen how far the deluded and the deluders will go on in this career of faction, folly, and crime." In thus writing, Mr. Webster yielded to the tendency, common to most statesmen, of avoiding extreme issues, and staving off the day of radical settlements. The tendency has its uses, but it often leads to mischief. There are many questions, the solution of which is made easier by postponement, because the delay gives time and occasion for wise and amicable arrangement. But the question between North and South —between the holders of slaves and the impugners of slavery—was one of such antagonistic principles that every attempt at compromise, besides being hopeless in itself, had the effect of exasperating the passions of both sides, and making the final crisis, when at length it came, all the more fierce and deadly. Mr. Webster adopted in too literal a

A MARKET-PLACE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

spirit the prayer for peace in his own day. He concentrated the elements of conflagration by the very effort to thrust them back. It seems amazing, even at this short distance of time, that statesmen of the large capacity of Clay and Webster—men, moreover, of real liberality and benevolence in the science of politics—should not have seen that no corresponding advantages would reconcile the North to such an Act as the Fugitive Slave Law. Between the North and the South, on this tremendous issue, it should have been apparent to all politicians in America, as it was apparent to most politicians in England, that compromise was impossible. But the dread of civil war darkened the judgments of many, and urged them, in their blindness, towards the very gulf they feared.

VIEW IN CUBA.

While the compromise measures were in progress, the country sustained a loss in the unexpected and rather sudden death of the President. His illness was not known until the day before his decease, when he was said to be suffering from an attack of diarrhœa. On the following day (the 9th of July), Daniel Webster appeared in the Senate during the progress of a debate on slavery, and by a deprecatory gesture interrupted the member who was then addressing the House. It was evident from the solemnity of his manner that he had some important fact to communicate. A dead stillness fell over the whole assembly, and Webster himself stood silent for a few seconds, as if he could with difficulty put his tidings into words. At length, with a slow utterance, and in a deep and impressive voice, he said :—"I have a sorrowful message to deliver to the Senate. A great misfortune threatens the nation. The President of the United States, General Taylor, is dying, and probably may not survive the day." The House was much affected by this announcement, and immediately adjourned. At half-past ten in the evening, the President expired; and on the 10th of July the Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore, succeeded to the higher office. Millard Fillmore was a native of the State of New York, where he was born in January, 1800, so that he was then about fifty years of age. His origin was humble, and in his youth he worked as a wool-carder. At the age of nineteen, however, his shrewdness attracted the attention of a judge, who gave him a course of legal instruction. As a lawyer he subsequently attained some distinction, and, after sitting in the Assembly of New York, he

was ultimately chosen to represent his district in Congress. Nevertheless, his career had been in no respect remarkable, and Millard Fillmore was only one among many instances in modern American history of mediocre politicians attaining the highest position in the Republic, while men of genius have either failed, or declined to put themselves forward at all. His succession to the Presidency led to a change in the Government. President Taylor's Cabinet resigned, and on the 20th of July most of the new heads of Departments assumed office. The Government now consisted of Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General; and Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General. The life of the Administration was Mr. Webster; but Mr. Webster, as we have seen, had fallen immensely in the estimation of the Northern States.

The condition of California still attracted the attention, not only of America, but of the world. In the early part of 1850, it was calculated that there were three hundred ships in the Bay of San Francisco, of which the greater number had been deserted by their crews; that five hundred sailing vessels, besides steamers, had left the United States for the gold-diggings; that these vessels had conveyed 50,000 passengers, and that 50,000 more had gone by land. The cost of provisions was enormous, and, owing to inefficient sanitary arrangements, to overcrowding, intemperance, and other causes, cholera, dysentery, and fever prevailed. A great deal of rough enjoyment, however, went on among the colonists. The city of San Francisco was like an immense fair. Music was heard in most of the houses, and gambling was indulged in to a pernicious extent. Women shared in the excitement as much as men, and, in the universal glut of gold, nothing was thought of but the most stimulating forms of debauchery, and the wildest gratification of the senses. The rainy season added to the discomforts of the ill-housed emigrants; and in January the valley of the Sacramento was so widely flooded that the town of the same name was almost entirely destroyed. A miscellaneous gathering of nations was by this time drawn together in the gold country. Americans, Peruvians, Chilians, Sandwich Islanders, Hindoos, Chinese, English, French, Italians, Spaniards, and a large number of convicts from New South Wales, were huddled together in the small towns adjacent to the diggings, or at the diggings themselves. The warm and brilliant climate led to a good deal of open-air life, and the streets were as full of restaurants as the streets of Paris. The laws were as yet very weak, and the accumulation of bad characters from all the regions of the globe generated a frightful amount of crime, for which at first there seemed to be no remedy. Murders were frequent; the suicide of desperate gamblers, or of disappointed diggers, was not unusual. In the records of the time, we read of assassinations committed in public places, and instantly revenged, without anything more being thought about the matter; of the appointment of a Vigilance Committee, to act as a kind of extemporary police; of frequent cases of Lynch-law; and of a regular battle at the city of Sacramento between a number of "squatters," who had erected buildings on grounds to which they had no right, and the forces of the Mayor, in which the leaders on both sides were killed, and several persons wounded. The amusements of the people included such turbulent sports as bull-fights, cock-fights, and bear-fights. At these assemblies, women were to be seen as frequently as men, and the popular demoralisation was so great that when a Spanish matador was mortally gored by a bull, and almost died on the spot, the women set up shouts of applause, and appeared to consider that the game had reached its proper and legitimate climax. As if to increase the general anarchy, the danger of savages was now added to the danger of civilised barbarians. A party of miners at North Fork was attacked by a body of Indians, and it was not without considerable loss to the former that the assailants were beaten off. On another occasion, seventy-two Americans were massacred by the red men near Rattlesnake Creek. Yet, in spite of all these troubles, the State progressed with extraordinary swiftness. San Francisco grew every day in size and prosperity, and the energetic colonists were at work, levelling sand-banks, blasting rocks, filling up cavities, planking roads, building enormous wharfs, constructing harbours, and rearing houses on piles driven into the watery soil. In the skilful and rapid prosecution of such labours, the Californians proved that they could work as well as play.

The American Government was at this time greatly occupied by projects for the formation of practicable routes across the Isthmus of Panama. It was proposed to construct a railway through Central America, under protection of a treaty with New Granada, ratified and exchanged on the 10th of June, 1848, which guaranteed the perfect neutrality of the Isthmus, and the rights of sovereignty and property of New Granada over that territory, "with a view that the free transit from ocean to

ocean might not be interrupted or embarrassed." In August, 1850, a treaty was concluded with Mexico for a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. By this instrument it was agreed that the United States might send forces for the protection of the work, if necessary; that both Governments were to maintain neutrality on the route, and for ten leagues on each side thereof, in time of war, as well as during peace; and that Mexico was to maintain full sovereignty over the route, and in the territory designated as neutral. The distance from sea to sea was one hundred and thirty-five miles; but, owing to the necessity of avoiding obstacles, the length of the projected line was one hundred and ninety-eight miles. A contract had shortly before been concluded with the State of Nicaragua, by a company composed of American citizens, for the purpose of constructing a ship-canal through the territory of that State, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. General Taylor, in his Message to Congress of the 24th of December, 1849, stated that he had directed the negotiation of a treaty with Nicaragua, pledging both Governments to protect those who should engage in the work. Other nations were invited by the State of Nicaragua to enter into the same treaty stipulations with her; the object being to protect this great inter-oceanic communication against any Power which might seek to obstruct it, or to monopolise its advantages. All States entering into such a treaty were to enjoy the right of passage through the canal, on payment of the tolls. Though it was proposed that this great channel should be placed under the guarantee of the maritime Powers of Europe, and of the United States of America, the actual work of construction was undertaken by a private company, and no appropriation from the National Treasury was suggested by President Taylor, or considered by him at all necessary. In June, 1850, the convention between Great Britain and the United States, for the settlement of their common interests in Central America, received the approval of the Senate. By the chief article of this treaty, the Governments of Great Britain and the United States declared that neither the one nor the other would ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship-canal, and agreed that neither would erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy or colonise, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America; nor would either make use of any protection which either afforded or might afford to any other State, or of any alliance which either had or might have contracted with any State or people, for the purpose of maintaining or erecting any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonising Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same. The terms of this convention it is necessary to bear in mind, since, in the course of a few years, disagreements arose between England and America with reference to some of its clauses. As regarded the construction of the canal, it was provided that the British and American Governments would give their support and encouragement to such persons as might first offer to commence the work with the necessary capital, and a year from the date of the ratifications was allowed to give the company a right of priority, and to enable it to complete the necessary arrangements.

The first Message to Congress of Mr. Fillmore was delivered on the 3rd of December, 1850. The President recommended that the gold-lands of California should be sold in small quantities, and that a branch Mint should, as speedily as possible, be established in that State. He urged the advisability of organising regiments of mounted soldiers, to protect the frontiers of New Mexico, and to repress the predatory Indians. He suggested a revision of the naval code, rendered necessary by a recent Act of Congress for the abolition of flogging; the establishment of lighthouses and improvement of harbours; and the appointment of a tribunal to adjudge all claims upon Government. The political parts of the Message were open to much criticism. With respect to finance, Mr. Fillmore was decidedly in favour of Protection, and laid it down as an axiom that the Federal revenue should be raised mainly by import duties; that those duties should as far as possible be specific; that when *ad valorem* rates were unavoidable, they should be estimated on the home instead of the foreign valuation, and that they should be so levied as incidentally to benefit home industry, by shielding it from destructive foreign competition. This view of American finance had been advocated, a year before, by Mr. Meredith, the then Secretary of the Treasury, who had issued a report recommending the imposition of moderate protective duties. The policy of the Fugitive Slave Act found an energetic supporter in Mr. Fillmore. He had the whole South at his back; he had the countenance of a very considerable section of the North; and he had not a sufficient grasp of principles, or perhaps a sufficient faith in the moral order of the world, to see that such legislation was infallibly

preparing the way for a dreadful convulsion, which would ere long plunge his country into an agony of blood and tears.

Public opinion in America, throughout a large part of 1850, was so much agitated by a murder committed at Boston, and the crime itself was of so unusual a character, that some account of the circumstances will not be out of place in this narrative. On the 23rd of November, 1849, Dr. Parkman, a Professor in the Boston College, mysteriously disappeared. Rewards were offered for his discovery, and in time suspicion was directed towards one of his fellow-Professors—Dr. Webster. The College buildings were searched, and the janitor was directed to break through a partition wall into a vault communicating with a private closet attached to Dr. Webster's apartments. It was found that a hole had been made in the wall, and in this recess were discovered the thorax and thigh of a human being, to which some pieces of flesh still adhered. From the furnace of Dr. Webster's laboratory, other fragments were extracted in a partially consumed state, and among these were the remains of a set of artificial teeth attached to a human jaw. Still more fragments were turned up in a box concealed under a heap of tan-bark, and a dirk-knife was also found in the same set of rooms. Dr. Webster was at once arrested, and one of the coroners of the county shortly afterwards saw him in jail, where he was lying on his face, apparently in great distress. "He was agitated," said the coroner, in giving evidence on the trial; "trembled more than any man I ever saw before, and exclaimed, 'What will become of my poor family?' He was then assisted up-stairs, for he was nearly helpless. Somebody offered him water, but he was so agitated he could not drink: he pushed the glass from him, and spilled some on his clothes." The artificial teeth were identified as those of Dr. Parkman by the dentist who made them; the dirk-knife was recognised as the property of Dr. Webster; and a number of witnesses proved that the accused was considerably indebted to the murdered man, who had been pressing for payment. The trial, which took place in April, 1850, lasted twelve days, and divided the country into hostile camps on the question of guilt or innocence. The jury, however, after three hours' deliberation, found the prisoner guilty, and the judge pronounced sentence of death. The wife of Professor Webster afterwards made a strong appeal for mercy to the Governor of Massachusetts, and her prayer was seconded by a considerable portion of the American press, which doubted the guilt of the Professor. In the course of July, all question as to the main fact was set at rest by the confession of the prisoner. Dr. Webster here declared that Dr. Parkman went to his room by appointment; that he (Webster) wished to explain his inability at that moment to pay the money he owed, and to throw himself upon his creditor's indulgence; that Parkman refused to accept any explanations, and provoked him beyond endurance by taunts and opprobrious epithets; that in the heat of passion he dealt Parkman a blow with a piece of wood lying at hand, which instantly killed him; that the idea of proclaiming the deed and explaining the circumstances never entered his mind; that he thought only of concealing the dreadful fact; and that accordingly he dismembered the body, and endeavoured to destroy it. There could now no longer be any doubt that Parkman met his death at the hands of Webster; but opinion was still divided as to whether the act was done by premeditation. Petitions in the prisoner's favour continued to flow in; but they were of no avail, and the Professor was executed at Boston on the 30th of September. The crime was remarkable from the circumstances by which it was attended, from the way in which it was discovered, from the position in society of the victim and his murderer, and from the agitation of public opinion all through the United States, first as to the question of guilt, and secondly as to the light in which the act, when no longer capable of denial, was to be regarded. The murder of Dr. Parkman must be ranked among the most remarkable cases in the criminal annals of America.

CHAPTER XIV.

American Designs on Cuba—Situation and Character of the Island—Advantages attending its Possession—General Lopez—His Piratical Expedition to Cuba (May, 1850)—Failure of the Attempt, and Escape of Lopez—Complicity of the United States Government—Ineffectual Proceedings against the Pirate Chieftain—Organisation of Another Expedition (Aug., 1851)—Fighting in Cuba, and Defeat of the Invaders—Sufferings of the Commander and his Companions—Garrotting of Lopez, and Military Execution of other Prisoners—Allusions to the Subject in the Annual Message of President Fillmore (Dec., 1851)—Popular Sympathy with the Movement—The Question of the Right of Search, as affected by the Descent on Cuba—Outrage on the Spanish Consul at New Orleans—Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law at the North—Riots in resisting the Arrest of Runaway Negroes—Sectional Feeling between the North and South—Increase of United States Territory in Minnesota—Enlargement of the Capitol, and Speech of Daniel Webster—American Expeditions to the Polar Seas, in search of Sir John Franklin—Disagreement with Great Britain as to the American Right of Fishing on the Coast of Nova Scotia—Proposals of France and England with respect to Cuba—Views of the American Government on the Subject—Treaty of Commerce with Japan—Deaths of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—Election of Franklin Pierce to the Presidency.

Success is a great argument, and there are some who can understand no other. The happy issue of American intrigues with respect to Texas, New Mexico, and California, induced a number of daring persons, in the year 1850, to turn their thoughts towards Cuba as a proper subject for annexation. Cuba is the largest of the islands constituting the Columbian Archipelago. It lies at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, between Jamaica and the southern coast of Florida, and from east to west has a length of nearly eight hundred miles. The main breadth is not more than seventy; yet the total area of Cuba is 42,383 square miles, and the territory is on many accounts a prize worth having. The climate is splendid, and the natural riches of the country are such as to offer abundant opportunities of profitable development to an energetic race possessed of good government. That, however, is a blessing which the Cubans have never been permitted to enjoy. The island is one of the dependencies of Spain, and it partakes of the bad administration for which the mother country and her American colonies have long been notorious. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, on his first voyage to the New World; but a Spanish settlement was not formed there until 1511. Eight years afterwards, a pilot having observed that the channel between Cuba and North America was the most convenient passage for ships from Mexico to Europe, the city of Havannah was built on the northern coast, as a port for their reception. The place soon became prosperous, and, acquiring a reputation for wealth, was frequently pillaged by English and French buccaneers. In 1669 it was taken by Morgan, whose exploits in that part of the world have been related in a former portion of this History.* But the island was more than once invaded by the regular forces of England. Admiral Venables made an establishment on the southern coast in 1741, and built a fort there, which he called Cumberland, but which he was soon after compelled to evacuate, owing to the unhealthy nature of the climate. Twenty-one years later, the English took Havannah, but restored it on the conclusion of peace in 1763. Since that time, it has remained in the possession of Spain, from which Power, however, it will in all probability be torn, sooner or later, by revolution or invasion.

The attractions of the island are numerous. The heat, though considerable, is not extreme, excepting on some parts of the coast; and a sky of sapphire radiance bends over the mountains and the forests, the grassy plains or savannahs, the valleys and the sunlit sea. Mahogany, ebony, palm, and cedar, abound in this favoured spot; fruits of the most exquisite kind ripen in the warm and brilliant air; gorgeous flowers and odoriferous plants fill the waste places with the beauty and the fragrance of their presence. Columbus, when first he discovered it, believed Cuba to be the wonderful island, Cipango (Japan), which had long filled so glorious a place in his day-dreams; afterwards he regarded this western Paradise as a portion of the mainland of India, not far from the golden and mysterious Cathay. Tobacco is grown there in large quantities, and the cultivation of sugar is also carried on. The mineral riches of the country are great, and its facilities for commerce unrivalled. Owing to the influence of the trade-winds and currents, vessels returning to Europe from Jamaica or South America are obliged to pass round by Cabo San Antonio, at the western extremity of Cuba. The possession of the island, therefore, ensures the control of all trade between Europe and a large part of America; and the maritime Powers of the Old World have favoured the continued possession of the colony by Spain, because the weakness of that country renders it improbable that any attempt will be made by her to interrupt the freedom of the seas.

* Vol. I., chap. 46.

A party in the United States had for some time advocated the annexation of Cuba, in order that the advantages attending its ownership might be secured to the Federation. In 1850, it was believed that a serious amount of disaffection

SEIZURE OF LOPEZ.

existed in the island, and it was therefore resolved to make a descent. The leader of the expedition —which was in truth a mere piece of buccaneering —was General Lopez, a native of Venezuela, connected with Cuba by marriage and settlement. This person had led a rather singular life. He was born about the year 1798, and came of a loyalist family, which lost its immense estates in the war of independence. Lopez fought in the Spanish army, and gained a great reputation, both with the Royalists and the patriots, for his skill and courage. When in Spain, after the death of Ferdinand VII., he threw himself into the civil war on the popular side, and for a time occupied the position of Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, and Governor of Madrid. It was about this period that, abandoning his former loyalty, he conceived the idea of detaching Cuba from the mother country. His designs being for the time kept entirely secret, he was entrusted with high offices in the island, and treacherously used his power to prepare the revolution; but, on his treason being discovered, he fled to the United States. Having now drawn together about five or six hundred adventurers, he sailed from New Orleans

on the 7th of May, 1850. The three vessels which conveyed his force reached Cardenas on the 19th, and an attack was at once commenced. The town is seated on the north-west side of the island, and is a place of small importance. Being at that time garrisoned by no more than sixty men, it was taken after a brief fight; but the people showed no disposition to support the invaders. On the evening of the same day, a Spanish force arrived from Matanzas, and the pirates were defeated after a severe conflict, in which they lost thirty men, and arrested at Savannah, in Georgia. He was shortly afterwards discharged, on the ground that there was not sufficient evidence against him; and, on being released, was conducted to his lodgings amidst the cheers of the multitude, to whom he delivered a boastful address, declaring his determination to persist in his design against Cuba under every difficulty, and at all hazards. Of the prisoners taken by the Spaniards, some were liberated, while others were sent to the galleys in chains for a term of eight years. In July, the grand jury of the

HAVANNAH HARBOUR, SHOWING WHERE THE FIFTY INVADERS WERE SHOT.

the Spaniards many more. The invaders, nevertheless, still maintained their position; but, on the Royal troops being reinforced, Lopez, seeing the desperate nature of the undertaking, determined to re-embark his men, which he did on the 24th. He then sailed for the United States, pursued by the Spanish war-steamer, *Pizarro*, which subsequently abandoned the chase. No steps had been taken to prevent the sailing of the piratical vessels, although, after they had departed, President Taylor sent orders to all the outports to pursue and capture them, if possible. On the return of the expedition, the principal of the three ships, the *Creole*, was seized by the American Revenue officers; and about the end of May, Lopez himself was United States District Court at New Orleans returned true bills against Lopez and fifteen others for violating the Act of Congress of 1818, by which it was declared to be a high misdemeanour for any persons within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States to engage in hostile expeditions against countries with which the Federation was at peace.

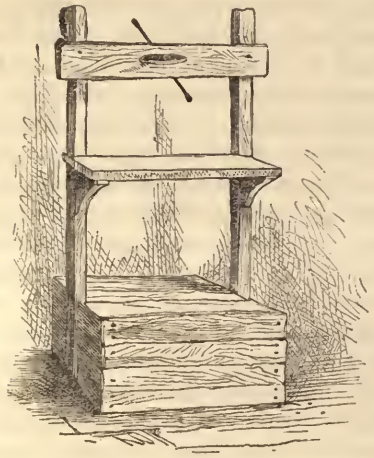
This proceeding came to nothing, and in the summer of 1851 another expedition was set on foot for the conquest of Cuba. The American newspapers had for some time been filled with letters purporting to come from the Spanish West Indian island, the object of which was to induce volunteers to embark in the contemplated enter-

prise. A certain Lieutenant Van Vechten, who formed one of the invading army, and was subsequently seized and ultimately pardoned, alleged, in an account of the enterprise which he published, that these letters were forgeries, put forth for the sake of advancing the sale of Cuban bonds, which it was asserted the United States would adopt as soon as Cuba should have become free, and voted her annexation to the Union. The trick, if such it was, proved entirely successful for the time. On the 3rd of August, the steamer *Pampero*, with nearly five hundred men on board, left New Orleans, and sailed for Cuba. In the afternoon of the 7th, they took on board the master and mate of a Spanish schooner, to act as pilots, and stood in for the land. Early on the morning of the 12th, the pirates disembarked at Cubanos, with little resistance. Leaving Colonel Crittenden (formerly a lieutenant in the United States infantry) with one hundred and thirty men at that spot, to guard the stores and ammunition, Lopez, with the larger part of his force, pushed on to Las Posas. Crittenden, however, did not remain long where he was placed. In the course of a few hours he started to join the principal commander, but was attacked the following morning, soon after daybreak, by five hundred Spanish troops, from whom his forces received a crushing defeat. Thirty of the men escaped, and succeeded in joining Lopez; the remainder retreated with the Colonel to the sea-coast. This disaster occurred within four miles of Las Posas, and at the same time an action was going on at that place between a body of eight hundred Spaniards, under General Enna, and the troops under Lopez. The latter was stationed in a commanding position, which he had strengthened with defensive works. The battle lasted two hours, and was attended by considerable loss. Though able to defend his entrenchments from capture, the pirate chief felt the insecurity of his position, and fled with his shattered legions to the mountains; upon which the Spaniards, in revenge, killed thirteen of the wounded men who had been left behind.

Lopez was followed by the Royal troops, and for days sustained a series of actions which invariably terminated in his defeat. The position of the invaders was now wretched in the extreme. Driven about from place to place, losing many of their number, and seeing no hope of succour, they were brought into such a state of mind that they lost all recollection of dates, and could not tell how many of their number were killed. They were absolutely without artillery, and armed only with muskets of the very worst description. Before starting on this wild attempt, they had been informed that fourteen towns were in possession of the Cuban malcontents, and that the whole island was disposed to rise. But on arriving there it became apparent, as on the former occasion, that the colonists were not at all inclined to favour an invasion from the United States. The privateers were therefore reduced to despair. They were without food, and compelled to subsist on horse-flesh, leaves, and roots. A severe storm of rain on the 19th of August destroyed their ammunition, and rendered their weapons useless. Losing all heart as to their expedition, they hid themselves among the recesses of the hills, but were at length compelled by sheer hunger to quit their lurking-places, and proceed towards the inhabited parts of the island. Again attacked and dispersed, they saw before them no prospect but that of submission, or the bare chance of escape. The miserable remnant of the expedition fled in various directions, flinging away their arms, and desperately endeavouring to reach the sea-shore. But the whole country was now roused; the mountain passes were scoured by bloodhounds, and all access to the sea was effectually blocked. Some even thought of throwing themselves on the mercy of the Spanish Government, which had, indeed, made an offer of their lives to such as would give themselves up, though it is probable that this was unknown to the fugitives. But events were marching towards a more tragical conclusion. Lopez was captured in the interior, about the 29th of the month, by a party of peasants. He was wandering alone, nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and had entered a farm-house to beg for a little food, and for permission to lie down. While asleep at this place, he was bound and taken prisoner, and the following day was carried to Havannah. His execution occurred there on the morning of September 1st. The penal sentence was carried out by a process usual among the Spaniards, and which is probably not more cruel than hanging, but which nevertheless affects the imagination with a greater horror. In a public square of the town, from eight to ten thousand troops were drawn up, together with a large proportion of the populace. A few minutes before seven o'clock, Lopez was brought forward, and ascended a platform on which the *garrote* had been erected, when his neck was placed within the iron collar. After having addressed to the multitude a speech concluding with the words, "I die for my beloved Cuba," the machine was adjusted; and at the first twist of the screw his head dropped forward, and he was a corpse. His conduct throughout was

characterised by great firmness, and a few groans and hisses were heard from the crowd at the moment of the fatal act.

The men forming the detachment under Colonel Crittenden endeavoured, after their defeat, to escape in boats, but were intercepted among the keys near the shore by a Spanish steamer cruising



THE GARROTE.

on the coast, and, being captured, were sent to Havannah, where, after trial by court-martial, they were executed on the 16th of August. The criminals appeared by instalments, and, after being despatched, were taken away from the place of execution to make room for their companions. The officer in command of the troops then made a speech to the soldiers and the people, observing that the punishment was merited by these men, "who, without a God, without a law, without a flag, came in order to attack our nationality, our religion, our Queen, and all other objects dear to our hearts." An eye-witness of the tragedy, writing to a New York paper, observed that he never saw men conduct themselves under such circumstances with equal fortitude. They were shot six at a time; that is, twelve were brought to the place of execution, six made to kneel down and receive the fire of the soldiers, and the remaining six compelled to walk round their dead comrades, and kneel opposite to them, when they also were shot. According to this writer, the dead bodies were first mutilated, and then thrust, six or seven together, into hearses which had in the previous year been used for cholera cases. No coffins were allowed, and the disposal of the corpses is stated to have been managed with a disregard to decency which reflected the utmost odium on the Spanish authorities. It should, however, in fairness be added that the Spanish Minister at London, Señor Xavier Isturiz, published an account of the Cuban invasion, in which he vindicated the authorities from the charge of undue severity, and stated that the remains of the invaders were treated with proper decorum.

The descent on Cuba formed one of the prominent topics in the Presidential Message delivered at the opening of Congress on the 2nd of December. Mr. Fillmore spoke with emphasis as to the impropriety of the attempt. Thoughtless young men, he said, had been induced by false and fraudulent representations to violate the law of their country, with the rash and unfounded expectation of assisting to accomplish a political revolution in a foreign State; and they had lost their lives in the undertaking. The laws, he added, must be executed. If they desired to maintain their respectability among the nations of the earth, it behoved them to enforce steadily and sternly the Neutrality Acts passed by Congress, and as far as might be to follow the violation of those Acts with condign punishment. The President, however, spoke of sympathy with the unoffending families and friends of the marauders, and of compassion for themselves. Such of the prisoners as had not been put to death had been sent to penal confinement in Spain; and the President promised to intercede with the Government of that country to procure their release. In the following year, nearly a hundred were pardoned by Queen Isabella, and allowed to return to their own country. The tone of Mr. Fillmore's remarks on this subject showed that he at least did not admire the expedition; but there were many others who did. Cuba is a slave-holding colony, and all the Southern States of the Union desired its possession, not merely on account of its natural advantages, but because it would increase the slave-power in the Senate. The annexation policy of recent years was always the policy of the South, and not of the North, and it pointed to the acquisition of those regions where slavery already existed, or could be easily introduced. These designs were not without some partisans at the North; and, taking the Union generally, there was undoubtedly a large proportion of politicians who desired the aggrandisement of the country at any cost, and by whatever means. It was this feeling which so powerfully supported lawless expeditions like those of Houston in Texas, and of Lopez in Cuba; and it was this which tied the hands of Governments, even when they were really disposed to control such attacks upon a neighbouring Power.

The old question of the right of search once more

arose out of this Cuban difficulty. The Governments of Great Britain and France, in consequence of the attempt made by Lopez and his followers, issued orders to their naval commanders on the West India station, to prevent, by force if necessary, the landing of hostile adventurers from any nation on the shores of Cuba. This appeared to the American Government to involve the searching of vessels under the flag of the United States; and the President, in his annual Message at the close of 1851, reasserted the principle that no American ship could be allowed to be visited or searched, for the purpose of ascertaining the character of individuals on board, nor could any foreign vessels be suffered to keep watch over American vessels on the coasts of the United States, or the seas adjacent thereto. But the design on Cuba was now so completely discomfited that the danger of a collision in this respect was exceedingly slight. Another matter connected with the same set of events was also alluded to by the President. During the excitement growing out of the executions at Havannah, the office of the Spanish consul at New Orleans was assailed by a mob, his property destroyed, the Spanish flag carried off and torn in pieces, and he himself compelled to fly. Some reparation was imperatively required by such an act; and the President laid the subject before Congress, that the amount of a just indemnity might be determined. The affair, however, led to uneasy relations between the two Powers, which lasted for a considerable time.

But all complications arising from the Cuban attempt were slight in comparison with the portentous trouble existing in the United States themselves in connection with the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Fillmore called attention in his Message to the fact that the Constitution itself required the rendering up of escaped bondsmen to their lawful proprietors, and observed that this constitutional provision was equally obligatory upon the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial departments of the Government, and upon every citizen of the United States. The clause of the Constitution to which the President referred set forth "that no person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due." This proviso undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Slavery party, for it ranged the Constitution on their side; but it also showed how much that instrument needed reform in some of its features. The Constitution declared that runaway slaves must be given up; a special Act of Congress enforced that declaration; and the South became insolent with triumph. At Queensborough, in North Carolina, the Rev. John J. M'Bride, an Abolitionist, was indicted for presenting a little slave-girl with a copy of the Ten Commandments, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to stand one hour in the stocks, to receive thirty lashes on his bare back, and to be imprisoned for a year in the common jail. On the other hand, the North was equally determined to support the slave and the Abolitionist, and, in the fervour of its convictions, proceeded at times to reprehensible lengths. Thus, three clergymen at a Boston meeting urged the blacks to shed blood in defence of their comrades, to tear up railways, and to prevent by every means the return of slaves into bondage. The advice was given in connection with a case which excited the utmost sympathy and indignation throughout the North—the case of the fugitive slave, Simms, who was seized by the municipal authorities at Boston, and sent back to captivity. Certainly the facts were such as to demand the thunders of a righteous anger; but the suggestions of the three clergymen could have eventuated in nothing but mischief.

Riots were of frequent occurrence in consequence of the pernicious law which the slave-holding States had induced Congress to pass. On the 14th of February, 1851, a mob, exasperated by the arrest of a man of colour, surrounded the court-house of Boston, possessed themselves of the prisoner, carried him off, and so effectually secured his retreat that his re-capture became impossible. Mr. Clay subsequently moved in the Senate a resolution calling on the President for information in regard to this infraction of the law; and on the 20th the President responded in a Message expressing his determination to enforce the Act, and proposing, for the realisation of this purpose, that the Executive should be empowered to call out volunteer State troops in aid of the authorities, without a previous proclamation, as was usually required. On the 30th of September, some disturbances took place at Buffalo, in the State of New York, in consequence of the same obnoxious law. A negro named Harrison was brought into the city, handcuffed to two constables, and surrounded by a strong guard. The coloured population followed the officers and their prisoner in great crowds from the boat to the jail, and it was determined, if possible, to save the wretched captive from his fate. It was decided, by the authorities, however, that Harrison was a fugitive slave, and he was accordingly ironed, and thrown into prison. On being removed from the court-room, he said, "I would rather die than return to slavery." Attempts

to rescue him were made by the black population and their adherents among the whites; but, after some slight skirmishing within the court-room and outside its walls, the runaway was secured, and the popular movement put down. A much more serious collision occurred at Syracuse, also in New York. A fugitive slave was arrested there on the 1st of October, and brought before the commissioner for examination. The bells of the churches were at once set tolling, and hand-bills were distributed, calling on the citizens to congregate, and see a negro kidnapper. The commissioner's office was invaded by an angry mob; the negro was taken out of the hands of the officers, and set on his way to Canada; and the agent of the slave-owner was arrested for attempting the abduction of a citizen. The unlucky slave, however, was afterwards re-captured, and two companies of soldiers were called out to keep guard over him. Those who had assisted in his escape were apprehended; but the people were not willing to submit in quiet. The police-office, where the negro and the white men were undergoing examination, was surrounded by a large concourse. Towards dusk, the windows were broken by showers of stones, and the court found it necessary to adjourn till eight o'clock the following morning. The riot was resumed as soon as the court re-assembled; the office was filled with excited partisans; pistols were fired on both sides; clubs and stones were freely used, and several persons were seriously injured. But the object of the rioters was attained, for the negro was carried off, and taken safely out of the town. These were only some amongst many such scenes in various cities of the Free States. Such were the facts which roused to a yet higher pitch the eloquence of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Such were the facts which made still deeper the gulf between North and South, and rendered all the more certain the armed collision which came ten years later.

This sectional feeling, as our readers are aware, was no new sentiment in America. It dated from a very early period, and, when Harriet Martineau was in the United States, during the years 1834–6, had attained such alarming proportions as to astonish and distress that acute observer. "Hatred," she observed, was not too strong a term for this prejudice. She questioned whether the enmity between the British and the Americans, at the most exasperating crisis of the revolutionary war, was more intense than what she had seen flashing in the eyes, and heard from the lips, of Americans against their own fellow-citizens. In the South, she was told that the New England people were all pedlars or canting priests. In the North, she was informed that the people of the South were all heathens, and those of the West all barbarians. In the opinion of New York, the natives of Rhode Island were infidels, and the New Jerseyites no better. This tendency to division even ran into the most petty and ridiculous jealousies. The Philadelphian ladies alleged that no Baltimore lady knew how to put on a bonnet; the Baltimore ladies retorted that the Philadelphians had no idea of hospitality.* If such was the state of feeling existing before the Slavery question had acquired its utmost intensity, what must have been the sentiment of mutual antagonism when the ill-judged Fugitive Slave Law had still further envenomed the minds of North and South! The Union had by this time separated into two hostile nations, and was a Union in nothing but the name.

In the autumn of 1851, the enormous area of the United States was still further extended by the purchase from the Upper Sioux Indians of 21,000,000 acres of land in Minnesota—a wild tract of land which was made into a Territory in 1849. The name Minnesota is an Indian word, signifying "sky-coloured water," and was originally applied to the river St. Peter, the largest tributary of the Mississippi in that region. The country was originally a part of the vast Territory of Louisiana, from which, however, it was now separated. A little village at the Falls of St. Anthony, named St. Paul, was made the capital, and progressed with such extraordinary rapidity that in six or seven years it had become a city with a population of more than 10,000. At about the same time that the Upper Sioux parted with their hunting-grounds, the Lower Sioux also sold an immense region to the Federation, and immigration at once set in, with that energy which is peculiar to America. The increase in the number of States and Territories was now proceeding at so remarkable a rate that the Capitol at Washington was found to be too narrow for the national wants. An extension was therefore ordered, and on the 4th of July, 1851, President Fillmore laid the corner-stone of this addition to the historic building. On that occasion, Daniel Webster delivered a speech, in which he said:—"If it shall hereafter be the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base—that its foundations shall be upturned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men—be it then known that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands

* Society in America, by Harriet Martineau, Part I., chap. 3, sect. 5.

firm; that their Constitution still exists unimpaired, and, with all its usefulness and glory, is growing every day stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world." It was a most unfortunate allusion, in the face of the agitation caused by the Fugitive Slave Law. But it is ever the custom of statesmen, even of the best, to deny, to the very limits of a crisis, the facts which they do not like to acknowledge. America was within ten years of civil war; the cities of the North and of the South resounded with furious contention; yet Mr. Webster could assure his audience that the Union stood firm, and that the Constitution was even more the object of American affection than it had been in the days of Washington.

The rage of party conflict was in some degree lulled in October, 1851, by the return of the expedition which had been sent out by Henry Grinnell, a wealthy merchant of New York, in search of the English Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin, who had been missing since the spring of 1846. The American expedition, consisting of two vessels, equipped at the sole expense of Mr. Grinnell, left New York in May, 1850, under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, of the United States Navy. At the southern entrance of Wellington Channel,

HENRY CLAY.

the graves of three of Franklin's men, made in April, 1846, were discovered, but of the commander himself no trace could be found. Another expedition was subsequently sent out by Mr. Grinnell, now acting in association with the United States Government. This was under the command of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the surgeon and naturalist of the former enterprise. The ships left New York on the 31st of May, 1853, and, being frozen in as the cold season advanced, were compelled to winter

KANE AND HIS COMPANIONS IN THEIR VESSEL.

on the coast of Greenland. During the ensuing summer, the shores of that inhospitable region were explored to a greater extent than at any previous time; but the ships were still unable either to move forward or to return. The winter of 1854–5 was passed under circumstances of terrible deprivation. Hunger and disease reduced the numbers of that heroic band; but the enterprise was not unattended by results. When it was found that the expedition did not return by the anticipated time, another was sent out to its relief. Dr. Kane had originally intended to sail as far north along the coast of Greenland as the ice would allow; then to quit his vessels, and to make an overland journey, under the supposition that Greenland was only the southern cape of a vast Polar Continent, and that green fields and mild atmospheric conditions would be discovered when he had penetrated a sufficient distance. This is a very ancient idea with regard to the extreme North. The Hyperboreans of the Greeks were a people inhabiting a most enviable country, and in no way vexed by the north wind, behind the very sources of which was their pleasant habitation. The American explorer did not find his Arctic Paradise; and, from the more recent investigations of Captain Nares, of the English Navy, who returned from the ice-bound regions in October, 1876, it would appear that the open Polar sea, which Kane believed some of his companions had discovered, does not really exist. When it was apparent that his vessels were hopelessly ice-locked, he and his fellows voyaged in open boats, thirteen hundred miles, to a Danish settlement in Greenland, where they were afterwards encountered by the relief expedition. It was not until the 11th of October, 1855, that they were back again at New York; but their time had not been lost, since they had made the Polar

countries better known to the rest of the world. The epoch will always stand out conspicuously in the history of Arctic explorations. During the early part of Lieutenant De Haven's absence, the English navigator, Captain M'Clure, who had been sent out in search of Sir John Franklin, passed through Behring's Straits from the Pacific, and, sailing eastward, discovered a North-west Passage round the Arctic coast of America.

A disagreement arose between Great Britain and the United States in the summer of 1852, when complaints were brought against the American fishers on the coast of British America. It was alleged that these men had violated the treaty of 1818, which stipulated that they should not cast their lines or nets in the bays of the British possessions, except at a distance of three miles or upwards from the shore. The question was as to the way in which this provision should be interpreted. In the opinion of the English Government, the distance was to be measured in all cases from the extreme projections of the shore, which, in a coast so deeply indented as that of North America, would entirely exclude the Americans from a large number of bays and inlets. The American Government denied this construction of the clause, and, as a matter of fact, American fishermen had for a long time been allowed to catch cod within the larger bays. It was now declared by England that this practice would no longer be tolerated, and a naval force was sent out to seize any American vessels which should enter the prohibited waters. On the other hand, the Government of the United States despatched two vessels of war to the coast of Nova Scotia, to protect what were held to be the rights of American fishermen. Fortunately no collision occurred, and the dispute was afterwards settled by timely concessions on both sides. The relations between the United States and Spain at the same period were not so easily adjusted. Fears of renewed invasion of Cuba possessed the Spanish authorities in that island, not entirely without reason; and a state of chronic irritation was set up between the two countries. There was undoubtedly a strong desire on the part of most Americans to possess themselves of Cuba, and the Cabinets of France and England, looking with great dissatisfaction at the possibility of such a result, asked the United States to enter with them into a treaty, by which the three Powers would disavow, then and for ever, all intention to obtain the territory in question. Mr. Edward Everett, the Secretary of State at Washington, replied to this proposal in a paper, one argument of which was, that the question concerned America solely, and not Europe, and was therefore beyond the scope of European interference. The Government of the United States, while disclaiming all intention to violate the existing laws of neutrality, declined to relinquish its right to act in relation to Cuba independently of any Power; and Mr. Everett added that his country could not with indifference see that island in the hands of any other nation than Spain.

The reasons alleged by Mr. Everett for the course adopted by the President were such as to show how completely the idea of acquiring Cuba, as soon as it could be conveniently effected, had by that time gained possession of the American mind, even in the circles of Government. It might well be doubted (observed the Secretary) whether the Constitution of the United States would allow the treaty-making power to impose a permanent disability on the American Government, and prevent it, under any future change of circumstances, from doing what had formerly been done with respect to Louisiana and Florida. "The island of Cuba," continued Mr. Everett, "lies at our doors; it commands the approach of the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the shores of five of our States; it bars the entrance to that great river which drains half the North American continent, and with its tributaries forms the largest system of internal water-communication in the world; it keeps watch at the doorway of our intercourse with California by the isthmus route. If an island like Cuba, belonging to the Spanish Crown, guarded the entrance to the Thames or the Seine, and the United States should propose a convention like this to France and England, those Powers would assuredly feel that the disability assumed by ourselves was far less serious than that which we asked them to assume. The opinions of American statesmen, at different times, and under varying circumstances, have differed as to the desirableness of the acquisition of Cuba by the United States. Territorially and commercially, it would, in our hands, be an extremely valuable possession; under certain contingencies, it might be almost essential to our safety: still, for domestic reasons, on which, in a communication of this kind, it might not be proper to dwell, the President thinks that the incorporation of the island into the Union at the present time, although effected with the consent of Spain, would be a hazardous measure; and he would consider its acquisition by force, except in a just war with Spain, should an event so greatly to be deprecated take place, as a disgrace to the civilisation of the age." The Government of the United States, it was added, would always leave Spain in undisturbed possession of Cuba, as long as she chose to retain

that island; but, it was asked, could it be for the interest of Spain to cling to a possession which could only be maintained by a garrison of 25,000 or 30,000 troops, a powerful naval force, and an annual expenditure, for both arms of the service, of at least 12,000,000 dollars? In the separation of Cuba from Spain lay the only hope, as it appeared to the President and his Ministers, of a complete cessation of the slave-trade. Peaceful acquisition of the island was therefore the declared policy of the American Government.

Another interesting event of 1852 was the sending out of an expedition to Japan, comprising seven ships of war under the command of Commodore Perry, who carried with him a letter from the President to the Emperor, soliciting the negotiation of a treaty of friendship and commerce between the two nations, by which the ports of the latter should be thrown open to American vessels. Such a treaty was arranged, but was afterwards construed by the Japanese in a manner which the American authorities disputed, and which almost neutralised any advantages that might otherwise have been obtained by the agreement. The same year, 1852, was signalised by the deaths of Henry Clay in June, and of Daniel Webster in October. They were two of the most eminent and intellectual politicians that America had produced since the days of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson; and their services and characters, whatever the mistakes they may have committed on some points, were such that America could ill afford to lose them at so dangerous a crisis of her history.

During the summer of 1852, preparations were made for the ensuing Presidential election. A National Democratic convention, held at Baltimore early in June, nominated Mr. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and Mr. William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig candidate for the chief post was General Winfield Scott, the hero of the Mexican campaign. The election terminated in favour of the Democratic nominees; but Mr. King, owing to failing health, followed in a few months by his death, never entered on the duties of his office. Mr. Fillmore's Administration closed in peace; but many questions of the utmost difficulty remained for ulterior settlement.

CHAPTER XV.

Mormonism the most Startling Fact of Modern Times—Multiplication of Religious Sects in America—Early Life of Joseph Smith, the Founder of Mormonism—His first Religious Experiences—Dissatisfaction with Existing Systems—Miraculous Appearances—Announcement to him of the Advent of a New Religion—Revelation as to the Early Inhabitants of America—Mysterious Discovery of Antique Writing on Gold Plates—Contents of the Sacred Volume—Directions of the Guardian Angel—Questionable Career of Smith—"Divining" and Gold-seeking—The Disciple, Harris (afterwards an Apostate)—Translation of the Antique Writings—Opinion of Dr. Anthon—Contradictory Affidavits—Publication of the Book of Mormon—Rise and Progress of the Sect—A Religious Revival in the West—Persecution of the Mormons—Building of "The Temple"—The Worldly Fortunes of the Saints at a Low Ebb—Renewed Persecution—Expulsion of the Sect from Missouri—Rise of a Violent Spirit among the Mormons—War of Extermination Threatened—The Saints remove into Illinois—Building of a Grand Temple at Nauvoo—Progress of Affairs at the New Settlement—Promises and Commands—Comparison between Joseph Smith and Mohammed—The Mormonite Creed—Dissensions between the Prophet and the Authorities of Illinois—Murder of Smith.

While the more recent events of American history were unfolding themselves and taking shape, a movement of a peculiar and extraordinary character was proceeding in certain sections of American society, of which it will now be necessary to take some notice. Mormonism is the most startling fact in the spiritual development of modern times. It has created a theocratical government under the very flag of the Federation. It has drawn to itself a vast number of disciples, both from the Old World and the New. It has for the first time in our day associated a form of religious belief with a degree of sensual indulgence which is rather characteristic of Oriental than of European races. The general tendency of modern thought is towards the weakening of dogma; yet here was a new faith created in the very glare of accumulated knowledge, and a faith so powerful that it could lead hundreds across a savage wilderness, erect a spiritual city in the heart of a rocky desert, create a commonwealth of saints, defy for a long while the authority of the Union, and outrage with success the moral sense of the great majority of people in Europe and America. These are strange and suggestive facts; but they form in brief the records of Mormonism. That such a system should have lasted for a year would have been noteworthy; that it should have outlived a generation is portentous.

Religious eccentricity has always found a kindly and fructifying soil in America. The Northern and some of the Middle States were colonised by the followers of persecuted sects, and a current of religious independence may be said to run in the blood of a large proportion of Americans. This tendency is of course increased by the general habits of freedom which spread through the whole system of society in the United States, and which result in an excessive development of individuality in all matters of opinion. The emancipation of religion from State control has been attended by too many excellent results in the New World to be open to any serious objection; yet it may have fostered the multiplication of religious bodies, by seeming to encourage the most extravagant assertion of the right of separating from old, and creating new, communities for the purposes of worship and of faith. The despotic unity of Rome has found its true antipodes in America, where religion is divided and sub-divided like a polypus, which displays in every fragment a distinct and active life. Another influence conducive to the same effect is to be found in the heated air of perpetual discussion in which most Americans live, and which, stimulated by a cheap, all-pervading, and not very cool-headed newspaper press, forces into rank overgrowth whatever oddities may from time to time arise, and forbids them to die out, as they might do in a more temperate atmosphere. Not even in Germany and Holland, during the days of struggling thought—not even in England, when Anabaptists, Quakers, and Muggletonians struggled for pre-eminence in fanaticism—have there been more numerous or more fantastic manifestations of what is termed the inner life. Shakers, Jumpers, and Ranters, rant, jump, and shake their utmost in the cities of America. Spiritualism has there its largest following and its most effective mediums. It is there that Free Love has been elevated into a form of mystical aspiration. It is there that women have been most powerfully moved, and have in turn most powerfully moved others. And it was there that Mormonism arose, to astonish the modern world by what professed to be a new revelation.

Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on the 23rd of December, 1805. When he was ten years old, his parents removed to Palmyra, New York State, and thence to the town of Manchester, not far off. His father was a farmer, and young Smith was brought up to the same calling. Both father and mother were given to religious reverie, and to the seeing of visions. At fourteen years of age, when under the influence of a great Methodist "revival," the boy began to think of religion, but was soon baffled by the bewildering contrariety of opinion in such matters, each claiming to be the one infallible guide. This, he felt, could not be right. God could not be the author of so much confusion; so Joseph Smith determined to investigate the subject for himself. Investigations of this nature generally end in making men either sceptics or enthusiasts. With Smith they had the latter effect—assuming, that is to say, the sincerity of his statements; though according to other accounts he first went through a period of doubt. His life for some time was similar to that of George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, in his lonely wanderings among the hills of Derbyshire. "I retired," writes Smith, in a fragment of autobiography supplied by him, a few months before his death, to a writer who was engaged in investigating the religious condition of the United States,—"I retired to a secret place in a grove, and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enrapt (*sic*) in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages, who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light, which eclipsed the sun at noonday. They told me that all the religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as His Church and Kingdom. And I was expressly commanded to 'go not after them,' at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the Gospel should at some future time be made known unto me."* These revelations were soon followed by others. On the night of the 21st of September, 1823, Smith was praying to God, and endeavouring to exercise faith in the promises of Scripture, when suddenly a light like that of day, only, as he records, of a far purer and more glorious brightness, burst into the room. It seemed to the visionary as if the house were filled with consuming fire, and the appearance produced a shock which affected his whole body. Then a personage stood before him, surrounded with a glory even greater than that in the midst of which he moved. This being, as might be expected, proclaimed himself an angel of God, and announced that his mission was to bring tidings that the covenant which God had made with ancient Israel was about to be fulfilled; that the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah was

* Smith's statement in "An Original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States," by I. Daniel Rupp. Philadelphia, 1844.

speedily to commence; and that the time was at hand for the Gospel to be preached in all its fulness, so that a people might be prepared for the Millennial reign. The information conveyed by this angel had reference, not merely to religious, but to ethnological and historical matters. As the Bible deals with the early annals of the human race in the Old World, the revelation imparted to Joseph Smith instructed him in the primitive records of America, and comprised a "brief sketch" of the origin, progress, civilisation, and laws, of the inhabitants of that part of the earth, of their righteousness and iniquity, and of the ultimate withdrawal from them of God's blessings. The original condition of America is a subject in which ordinary historians have been much at sea, owing to a great failure of information; so that the revelations of this particular angel, if they could have been depended on, would have proved a very valuable addition to the stock of knowledge. Smith was then told of a secret spot, where he would find deposited certain plates, on which was engraved an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets who had existed on the western continent. Many other visits from angels followed on this earlier one, and to Smith were unfolded the majesty and glory of the events that should transpire on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1827. Finally, on that day, the records were delivered into his hands.

On examination, they were found to be engraved on plates which had the appearance of gold. Each plate, says Smith, who seems to have had a greater eye for exact details than is usually characteristic of prophets, was six inches wide by eight inches long, and was not quite so thick as common tin. The letters on them were in the Egyptian character, and the whole were bound together in a volume, with three rings running throughout. The thickness of this book was nearly six inches, and a part of it was sealed. The volume exhibited many marks of antiquity, but it was an antiquity which had in no wise damaged the substance of the work. Together with the plates, Smith discovered two transparent stones, set on a bow fastened to a breastplate. These he knew to be the Urim and Thummim of the Hebrews, mentioned several times in the Bible, but as to the precise nature and uses of which the learned have always been at issue. Through the medium of this mystical instrument, and by the gift and power of God, he translated the records which he found on the plates. "In this important and interesting book," says Smith in his autobiography, "the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement by a colony that came from the Tower of Babel, at the confusion of languages, to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America, in ancient times, has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle, towards the close of the fourth century." It was also related in the same volume that Jesus Christ made his appearance on the American continent after his resurrection; that the early Americans had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; but that the last of their prophets was commanded to write an abridgment of the prophecies, history, &c., of that quarter of the world, and to hide it in the earth. In the latter days, this sacred volume was to come forth, and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God.

Such is the account given by Smith himself. It is sufficiently marvellous, yet it omits some details which are contained in acknowledged Mormon publications. From these authorities it appears that, previous to the plates being put into the hands of Smith, that person had been directed to search for them in a hill called Camorah, near the town of Manchester, New York. They had been deposited there in a stone box for fourteen hundred years, and there they were discovered, near the surface of the earth, secured both from air and moisture by means of a peculiar cement, applied to the joints of the chest. On removing the slight deposit of earth, and the stone from the top of the box, Smith attempted to take possession of the records, but at once received a terrific shock which deprived him of his natural strength. Three times did this happen, until he was moved to cry out, "Why cannot I obtain this book?" Thereupon the angel of the Lord appeared, and informed him that it was because he had, on his way to the hill, indulged in mercenary thoughts and desires with reference to the plates, which he purposed to sell, and thus enrich himself and his family. Feeling rebuked in his spirit, he resorted to prayer, and again the heavens were opened to him. After a pageant, in which Satan and his hosts passed before his sight, the angel proceeded to declare that he must desire to obtain and translate the plates solely for the

glory of God and the good of his fellow-men; otherwise, his gift and power would be taken from him. The marvellous volume was no other than the Book of Mormon, which Moroni, the last of the Nephites, of the seed of Israel, had engraved on plates of gold, according to the command which

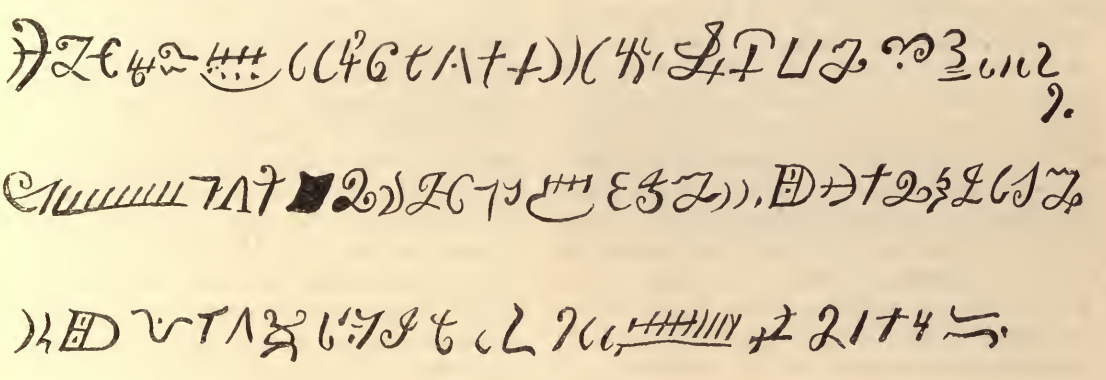
PRESIDENT FILLMORE.

had been given him. He was not permitted to remove the plates at that time, and shortly afterwards was engaged, in the service of an old Dutchman named Stoal, to dig for a quantity of silver, supposed to have been secreted by the Spaniards in a cave near Harmony, Pennsylvania.*

* Mormonism in all Ages; or, the Rise, Progress, and Causes of Mormonism: with the Biography of its Author and Founder. By Professor J. B. Turner, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois. New York, 1842.—This work is written with a strong feeling against Joseph Smith and his system; but the facts are derived from Mormon sources.

He spent some months in search of the treasure, and it is not improbable that this employment may have suggested to him the strange story about the mysterious box in the hill of Camorah. Smith was always given to dabbling in what is called occult knowledge. At this period of his life, he seems to have wandered about the country, picking up an uncertain living by trying for mineral veins with a divining-rod. Not only by Stoal, but by others, he was consulted as to the discovery of hidden treasures, and once was imprisoned as a vagabond by a person who had employed him without any satisfactory result. At any rate, he leaves four years of his life—from September, 1823, when the revelation was first made, to September, 1827, when the plates were delivered into his hands—entirely unaccounted for, while from other narratives it

appears that at that very time he was engaged in schemes of doubtful honesty, for enabling him to live at the smallest cost of labour. It was believed by the credulous that, by looking through a peculiar stone which he placed in his hat, he could peer into the depths of the earth when he was searching for gold and silver. He came to be known as "Joe the Money-digger," and, according to an affidavit of a large number of his former neighbours and acquaintances, made in 1833, the Prophet and his family were in their earlier days an idle, shiftless, drunken set of people, much addicted to strange projects for obtaining money. Yet whether, in the great event of his life, he was wholly an impostor, or a strange but not impossible combination of impostor and visionary, as some



CHARACTERS FROM THE "GOLDEN PLATES."

suppose Mohammed to have been, it is not easy to determine.

The first disciple of the Mormon Prophet was Martin Harris, a man of some wealth, and of a little education. This person placed his estate at the disposal of Smith, for providing the necessary expenses involved in the propagation of the faith. He related some time afterwards that, on a certain day, Smith suspended a thick blanket across the room, on one side of which he sat, and looked through his Urim and Thummim, when the Lord caused a direct translation of the mystic volume to pass before his eyes, word for word. These words he uttered aloud, while Harris, sitting on the other side of the blanket, wrote down all as he heard it from Smith. The amanuensis was very desirous of seeing the marvellous plates for himself; but this was absolutely forbidden by Smith, who said that no one but himself was permitted to look upon the mysterious records. The relation of Harris, however, must be cautiously received, since the man afterwards apostatised, and therefore had a motive for representing Mormonism in the worst light.

The Book of Mormon, as it ultimately appeared, is said to have been really written (at least, in part) by Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian preacher who composed a religious romance, entitled "The Manuscript Found," containing what professed to be a narrative of the migration of the Lost Tribes of Israel from Jerusalem to America. This work was not published during the author's life, and some years after his death the manuscript, or a copy of it, fell into the hands of Smith, or of one of his associates. Spalding's daughter, his brother, and some other persons, made affidavits to this effect, and declared that they had heard the deceased minister read portions of the work, which were substantially the same as parts of the Book of Mormon. Spalding finished the work about 1813, and in the newspapers of that day it was announced as consisting of a translation of the Book of Mormon, recently discovered, and as containing a history of the Lost Tribes. One Sidney Rigdon, originally a compositor in the office of Patterson, the printer and bookseller to whom Spalding entrusted his work for publication (but who for some reason did not really publish it), is believed to have made a surreptitious copy of the MS., and to have given it to Smith. At any rate, it is a noteworthy fact that the alleged discovery of the marvellous plates was not until after the death both of Spalding and of Patterson. Whether owing to some imperfect knowledge of Spalding's romance, or any other cause, a popular belief in the existence of what was called a Golden Bible, mysteriously hidden away in the earth, prevailed in the country parts of New York a little before Smith's asserted revelations. A Mr. Peter Ingersol deposed on oath, in 1833, that Joseph Smith had on a certain occasion (apparently before the publication of the Book of Mormon) made a very frank relation to him. He stated that early in the autumn of 1827 he was passing through a wood,

when he found in a hollow some beautiful white sand, which had been washed up by the water. He put several quarts of it into his frock, and went home. On the family inquiring what he had got there, the idea of the Golden Bible, about which there had been so much talk, entered his head, and he replied that he had got that marvellous volume tied up in his frock. They were credulous enough to believe it, and, to keep up the deception, he added that no man could behold the book with the naked eye, and live. Still, he offered to take it out, and show it them; but they refused to see it, and left the room in a fright. "Now," thought Smith, "I have got the fools fixed, and I will carry out the fun."*

When it became known that Smith was in possession of what he declared to be a new revelation (in the reality of which it appears that his relatives at once put faith), a variety of reports got into circulation, and the Prophet's house was frequently beset by mobs, who had not the most friendly designs upon its inmates. Several times, if we may credit Smith's autobiographical statement, he was shot at, and narrowly escaped death; and many devices were made use of to get the plates away from him. While Harris was acting as his amanuensis, it occurred to that rather critically-disposed gentleman that it might be a good thing to consult some scholar about these extraordinary writings. Smith ultimately consented to entrust him with a copy of one of the golden plates; and Harris went with it to Dr. Anthon, a well-known editor of the classics, who, according to the Mormonites, pronounced the characters to be "reformed Egyptian." Anthon himself, however, in a letter to Mr. Howe (February 17th, 1834), has described the paper as consisting of crooked characters disposed in columns, where Greek and Hebrew letters were jumbled up with crosses, flourishes, and Roman letters inverted or placed sideways. The whole terminated in a rude delineation of a circle, divided into various compartments, and covered with strange marks, which appeared to have been copied, though with many alterations, from the Mexican Calendar given by Humboldt. Anthon saw that the whole thing was an imposture, and strongly advised Harris not to have anything to do with it. This may have been the reason why that personage afterwards abandoned Smith; but it is also asserted that he quarrelled with the Prophet on finding himself unable to make a pecuniary gain out of the book. Harris bore a very bad character, and had the credit of being a drunkard, a man of loose morals, and a brutal husband.

When Mormonism began to attract notice, its claims were of course much controverted, and numerous affidavits were made by persons more or less acquainted with the originators of the system, alleging that the whole scheme was concocted by Smith and a few others, with the design of increasing their own importance, and of acquiring influence in the world. On the other hand, eleven witnesses came forward to swear that they had seen the gold plates and the writings on them; but some of these afterwards apostatised. Mrs. Lucy Smith, the Prophet's mother, told a singular story about a double translation having been made from the plates—a story which appears to have been intended to guard against possible heresies at a future time. According to her, the first translation was entrusted to Harris, and stolen from him by his wife. Smith was afterwards assured by the Guardian Angel that his negligence would be forgiven, and that another translation would be allowed, not, however, from the original work, as at first, but from an abridgment of it. The stolen copy would be made the means of great mischief, for Satan would cause interpolations and corruptions to be made in it. The origin of the story about the double translation is probably to be found in the fact that, when the Book of Mormon was being printed, the compositors, wishing to test the reality of the alleged revelation, pretended that they had lost several pages of the MS.; and that after the lapse of two or three weeks another "translation" was furnished by Smith and Harris, which was found to vary considerably from the first. This circumstance was vouched for by a Mr. Tucker, who was connected with the printing-office. It is perhaps impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to these contradictory statements; but the suspicion of fraud somewhere is unavoidable.

The Book of Mormon was first published at Palmyra, New York, in 1830. It is a duodecimo volume of five hundred and eighty-eight pages, divided into fifteen books, which profess to relate the events of about a thousand years, from the time of Zedekiah, King of Judea, to the year 420 of the Christian era. The title-page of the first edition describes Joseph Smith, Jun., as the "author and proprietor" of the work; which was certainly a strange way of introducing to the world that which professed to be a revelation from heaven. The book is written with a laboured imitation of Scriptural style; is disfigured with a great deal of

* Statements of this kind are valuable as forming part of the general body of evidence with respect to Mormonism; but they must of course be received in a cautious and critical spirit, like any other evidence on a disputed question.

bad English; and is said to exhibit, in those portions which were produced after the disciples moved westward, the peculiar idioms common to the Western States. The latter part of the work was taken down by Oliver Cowdery, who succeeded Harris in the office of scribe. On the 6th of April in the same year, the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints"—the designation by which the Mormons call themselves—was first organised at Manchester, New York. It began with only six members, viz., the elder Joseph Smith, father of the Prophet, his brothers, Hyrum and Samuel, Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Knight, and the head of the sect himself. The disciples were baptised, and appointed to their work by the laying on of hands. "They saw visions, and prophesied," says Smith in his account of himself; "devils were cast out, and the sick healed." Adherents of the new church were soon found, and as early as October the total number had increased to between seventy and eighty. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, separate communities were founded. The system spread with peculiar rapidity in the Western States, where men followed lives of wild excitement, and were especially prone to anything which appealed powerfully to their sense of the marvellous. A veritable religious revival spread over those distant settlements. Several persons were found to declare —and probably in some instances with sincerity— that they saw wonderful lights in the heavens and on the earth, and that miraculous visions and experiences were vouchsafed to them. Many ran into the fields, mounted upon the stumps of trees, plunged, in imagination, into the waters of baptism, and harangued multitudes who existed only in their own diseased brains. It was a common delusion for people to suppose that they had received verbal messages from heaven, written on stones or parchment, but in characters which they alone had the power to translate, and which vanished as soon as the work was performed.*

All the ordinary features of religious revivals were seen in those Western States. Long trances, ecstatic visions, convulsions of the limbs and face, the gift of tongues and the incoherence of madness, were as common as they have been at other times in other countries, from the earliest recorded periods. Smith had an energetic apostle in the West, in the person of Sidney Rigdon; and this man seems to have done as much as Smith himself, if not more, in the propagation of the faith. The number of believers increased with remarkable rapidity, and the Saints had now become a tribe. But there were profane scoffers and cruel persecutors of the Mormon church, as of all others. A considerable settlement was formed in Jackson County, Missouri; large purchases of land were made; the Mormon farms were blessed with a plentiful increase; and all went well until a mob of unbelievers burned the houses of the Saints, tarred and feathered, or whipped, many of the brethren (Smith himself among the number), and finally drove them out on to the prairies. It was in November, 1833, that these things happened, and a great many died from the severities of the winter season. The Mormon farms were seized by the mob; many thousands of cattle, sheep, horses, and hogs were taken; and the household goods, store-goods, and printing-presses of the colonists were broken, or otherwise destroyed. These outrages were prompted by a very general impression, though probably an erroneous one, that the followers of Smith lived in scandalous immorality. It must be borne in mind that at this time nothing had been said about that which is now regarded as the most distinctive feature of the new religion. Smith never proclaimed the practice of polygamy, unless, indeed, he did so in private to his more intimate followers. He is said to have taken additional wives to himself about two years before his death, in 1844; but we are now considering a period some nine years previous, and it is tolerably certain that the peculiar institution of Mormonism had in 1833 been neither preached nor practised.

Notwithstanding all this opposition, and indeed partly by the help of it, the Church of the Latter-day Saints continued to spread. On being driven from Jackson County, Missouri, the Mormons settled in Clay County. Here they remained three years, but were again compelled to remove by the violence of their enemies. As early as 1833 they had commenced building "the Temple of the Lord" at Kirtland, Ohio—an edifice which was ultimately completed at a cost of 40,000 dollars, and secured by deed to the Prophet and his successors. The interior was fitted up with pulpits, varying in height according to the different degrees of the priests, bishops, counsellors, and elders. It was divided into compartments, and furnished with curtains, hangings, and other ornaments; for the ritual of Mormonism is of a gorgeous and impressive character, and requires a fane adapted to something like scenic display. The building of the Temple, however, proved a great embarrassment to the infant church; and the leaders found themselves nearly 20,000 dollars in debt. Having already established a bank, they now resolved to enter upon mercantile speculations. Goods were bought in the

* Turner's Mormonism in all Ages.

Eastern States, steam-mills were built, houses were erected, and the Mormons, from being a set of dreamy visionaries, became a firm of active speculators. But their speculations were either ill-contrived or badly carried out. In a few years they found themselves bankrupt, and in 1838 Joseph Smith complained, in the columns of a Mormon journal (for they had already their representatives in the press), that one of the Saints had swindled the general body of Saints out of 25,000 dollars. At this period, the affairs of the society were in a very disastrous condition. The holy men were quarrelling among themselves, accusing one another of incapacity, selfishness, despotism, cupidity, infidelity, and other offences against the moral law, or the laws of their community. Smith was so much embarrassed by his worldly concerns that he was obliged to hide himself for fear of arrest. The state of the church was indeed so bad that it might perhaps have died out for ever, had not a new persecution come to its rescue. In the summer of 1838, Governor Boggs, of Missouri, issued an order for the expulsion of the Saints from every part of the State; and in accordance with this edict they were violently and hastily driven out of their houses, robbed of their goods, and subjected, it is alleged, to horrible atrocities. The imprudence, to say nothing of the brutality, of such acts, should have been apparent to any man of ordinary sense and knowledge. Nothing is more certain in the history of the world than that tyrannical attempts at the extirpation of religious ideas, whether true or false, generally end in giving them a stronger vitality and a more extensive range. But this is a lesson which the world is slow to learn, and in such matters Republics are not much better scholars than Monarchies.

In times of persecution, it often happens that the victims themselves are in some degree to blame, as well as the persecutors. This appears to have been the case with the Mormons. Before the last attack on them, in 1838, though not before they had suffered great ill-usage in various places, they had adopted a violent and threatening tone towards all who differed from their views. They had been harassed to death, they said, by law-suits and mobs, for seven or eight years. It was the will of God that the Saints should fight, rather than endure such things. God would protect them, however numerous their enemies might be, and the time was not far distant when "one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." Sidney Rigdon preached a sermon, in which he told his hearers that the dissenters (meaning all who did not follow the Mormon opinion) ought to be cast forth, and trodden under foot by the Saints until their bowels gushed out. In support of this view, he made several references to the Bible. Judas, he observed, did not fall without help, for the Apostles threw him down headlong, and trampled out his bowels with their feet. Peter, he added, had "in fact" stabbed Ananias and Sapphira, and the deacons carried them out, and buried them. These examples (which were due in a great degree to Mormonite interpretations of Scripture) Rigdon recommended for the imitation of his followers. In June, 1838, an association was formed, called the Danite Society. The members of this league are said to have entered into a secret covenant with God, and to have bound themselves, by an oath entailing the penalty of death should it be violated, to stand by one another in trouble, and to afford mutual help in all they did, whether right or wrong. The avowed object of the society was self-protection, and it may, at its commencement, have proceeded from no worse motive; but such associations, when connected with any form of religious fanaticism, are certain to eventuate in active violence and savage propagandism. One of the Mormon leaders, named Lyman Wight, observed at a secret meeting of the Danites that the time was not far distant when God would require his church to go forth like the Jews of old, and slay man, woman, and child. The more extreme believers declared that they would kill any one, in or out of the church, if the presiding body, consisting of Smith, Rigdon, and a few others, should say it was the will of God, as such things were sometimes necessary to save the church from destruction. In all exhortations to resistance, Rigdon appears to have been much more energetic than Smith. On the 4th of July, 1838, he delivered an oration, in which he said:—"We take God to witness, and the holy Angels to witness this day, that we warn all men, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come on us no more for ever. The man, or set of men, who attempt it, do it at the expense of their lives, and that mob that comes on us to disturb us, there shall be between us and them a war of extermination, for we will follow them till the last drop of their blood is spilled, or else they will have to exterminate us, for we will carry the war to their own houses, and their own families, and one party or the other shall be utterly destroyed."* Smith commended this oration, and there can be little doubt that it expressed the prevailing sentiment of the Mormon leaders. In such a matter it is very difficult to apportion the degree of blame which

* Turner's Mormonism in all Ages.

properly attaches to the two opposing parties. The majority are too prone to see in every religious innovation a crime which should be punished by the bitterest usage, if not by the absolute infliction of death. Yet it must not be forgotten that fanaticism is one of the greatest evils possible in any social state; that it is patient in suffering only so long as it has not the power to avenge or to resist; and that in those days of quiet endurance it lays up a store of concentrated venom, which at the first opportunity it discharges against all who oppose its dictation. To cast any special blame upon the Mormons in this respect would, however, be disingenuous. The whole annals of religious frenzy teach the same painful lesson.

Still, it is beyond question that the treatment of the Saints by the Missouri mob was brutal and iniquitous in no stinted measure. Smith and his followers were compelled to give up all thought of establishing themselves in Missouri, and, turning back somewhat towards the east, they sought refuge in Illinois, where they were received with kindness. Here they purchased a site on the Mississippi, at the head of the Des Moines Rapids, and in the autumn of 1839 laid the foundations of the city of Nauvoo, the Indian name of which signifies "the beautiful." For this city a charter of incorporation, with unusual privileges, was granted by the State Legislature of Illinois, in December, 1840. The place was an open desert when the Mormons settled there; but in two or three years a handsome city had arisen, consisting of fifteen hundred well-built houses, in which dwelt more than fifteen thousand inhabitants. It was to be the sacred city of the Mormons—their Jerusalem or Mecca; and the immigrants soon set to work on the building of a grand temple, which was to be the centre of their religion. In the last days of his life, Smith described this fane as an edifice measuring one hundred and twenty feet in length by eighty feet in breadth. It was constructed of stone, with polished pilasters, and belonged to an entirely new order of architecture. Smith, indeed, characterised it as a unique wonder of the world; "being built by the direct revelation of Jesus Christ for the salvation of the living and the dead." A comparatively peaceful time now succeeded to the troubles of earlier years. While at Nauvoo, Smith established, with the money of the faithful, what he called a boarding-house, but what others described as a tavern, by which he made a considerable profit. The number of believers increased with astonishing rapidity. America sent countless pilgrims to this new city of the desert, while others came from England and Wales, and from various countries of the European continent. Whatever the faults of Smith's system—whatever the frauds out of which it had originated—it was found to answer some desire or some want in the hearts of innumerable people, and it awakened a response, not only at home, but in many distant countries. A perfect community, bound together by religious faith, by political institutions, and by social habits, had sprung up in the wilderness of Illinois, and the time was approaching when this community, after it had removed farther into the Western deserts, would become a power capable of defying the Union itself, and of existing as an independent commonwealth or theocracy within the limits of the Federation.

The soil on which the Mormons were now settled for a time, proved exceedingly fertile. Industry was one of the principles of the new religion; crops were abundant, trade was actively carried on, and prosperity seemed to be the lot of all who had followed Smith and his disciples into the promised land. But the sunshine was still chequered with shadows. The Prophet was arrested in 1841 on a charge of sedition; and, although he was set at liberty by the authorities of Nauvoo, other trials followed. A charge of shooting at the ex-Governor of Missouri was brought against him, and he was obliged to conceal himself for a while. Having afterwards surrendered, and proved that he was a long way off from the scene of the attack on the day it took place, he was acquitted; but these repeated prosecutions showed that his enemies were still alert and active. He had also a good deal of trouble with those settlers at Nauvoo who did not belong to his communion, but whom he found it impossible to exclude. It is not improbable that the dissenters, aided by malcontents among the Mormons themselves, might have fomented a rebellion against the power of Smith, had he not taken means to surround his authority with the guarantee of material force. He was already President and Mayor of Nauvoo: he now added military functions to his other prerogatives and powers. In accordance with a provision in the city charter, he organised a civic militia, which of course consisted entirely of his devoted adherents, and of which he was himself the Lieutenant-General. At the same time he made repeated appeals both to the faith and to the fears of men. Some of his proclamations are almost ludicrous in their assumption of supreme power; yet it is not difficult to believe that their confident tone had a great effect on the minds of the weak and hesitating. In June, 1841, all the beings of the earth, and all the Saints, were commanded to bring their

AN ENCAMPMENT OF MORMON CONVERTS IN THE DESERT.

MURDER OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH.

gold and silver and precious stones, and lay them at the feet of the Prophet, for building the temple at Nauvoo. Oracles were uttered as to the speedy destruction of unbelievers, and the overthrow of all Governments save that of Smith; and these great events, it was averred, were to take place in less than fifty years. With a certain class of minds, nothing is more influential than assertions which, being altogether opposed to probability, seem to imply the existence of superhuman knowledge on the part of the speaker; and such was the case with the lawgiver of the Latter-day Saints. The more he promised, the more he was believed; the more he threatened, the more he was revered; and the more he outraged the reason of men, the more he was held to be inspired with the reason of God.

The immense and rapid increase of Mormonism was due to the large number of missionaries whom the parent church sent out. Any man commanded to act in this capacity was bound to go at once to any spot, and encounter any risks in the propagation of the faith. In this way the doctrines of the new religion were scattered far and wide, especially among the English-speaking populations of the world. The character of Smith was in some respects akin to that of Mohammed. He had the same extraordinary power of inspiring confidence in others. Like Mohammed, though doubtless in a grosser way, he united a certain close heat and intense fire of belief in his own mission, with the conscious arts of an adventurer, and the worldly wisdom of a man determined to prevail by any means that might be found necessary to his end. Like Mohammed, he brought forth his revelations piecemeal, and at every emergency was ready with a new gospel adapted to the special need, if somewhat at issue with what had gone before. The doctrine and ritual of his church, like those of the Arabian Prophet, were formed by the slow accretion of particular commandments, said by him to have come direct from heaven. Thus he produced a large body of dogmas and general directions, which were ultimately published under the title of "The Book of Doctrines and Covenants." The first part of this work consists of seven lectures on faith, with a list of questions and answers unfolding the peculiar views of the church. The second part contains the revelations given at different times to the Prophet respecting the translation of the Book of Mormon, the organisation and government of the church, the management of its finances, the sending forth of missionaries, the building of temples and dwellings, the removal of the Saints into the West, and even the ordinary business transactions of people forming a new settlement in uncultivated lands. Smith was to be the despotic Governor, as well as the inspired teacher, of his flock; and he seems to have considered no detail so trivial as to be beneath his notice. That a man of humble origin, of deficient education, of no great intellectual power, and of tarnished moral repute, should have attained this tremendous supremacy over the minds of thousands, and should have attracted them like a loadstone from different parts of the earth, to share with him the dangers of a proscribed religion, and the toil of subduing a naked wilderness, argues some extraordinary force of character, which it is difficult to explain, but impossible to deny. In comparing Smith with Mohammed, we must of course make allowance for the difference between the seventh century and the nineteenth; between Arabia and the United States; between the Asiatic character and the Anglo-Saxon; between the dignity and varied interest of accumulated ages, and the rawness of a fact which issued but yesterday out of the slime and welter of existing conditions. Doubtless, Mohammed was a man of a loftier spirit, and of a more innate grandeur, than Joe Smith; but still something must be conceded to the greater artistic advantages of an object beheld far off, with the modifying lights and tender shades of distance, as compared with one which stands close to our very eyes, arrayed in all the vulgarity of a social state which can be reported by newspapers, discussed in Parliaments, examined in blue-books, visited by means of railways, and described with the spasmodic incompleteness of the telegraphic wire. After we have made every deduction, Mormonism is an astonishing fact: a fact painful, repellent, discreditable; but, before all else, amazing.

The precise doctrines of Mormonism are so little known that it may be advisable to recapitulate them here, according as they were set forth by Smith in the Creed which he forwarded, shortly before his death, to Mr. Rupp. The Saints believe, it is here stated, in God the Eternal Father, in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. They believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression. They believe that through the Atonement of Christ all men may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. They believe that those ordinances are—1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2nd, Repentance; 3rd, Baptism by immersion, for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands, for the gift of the Holy Spirit. They believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach

the Gospel, and administer the ordinances thereof. They believe in the same organisation that existed in the primitive Church—namely, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c.; in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c.; in the Bible as the Word of God, so far as it is translated correctly; and also in the Book of Mormon. They believe all that God has revealed, and all that He does now reveal; and they believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to His kingdom. They believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be established on the Continent of America; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed, and receive its paradisal glory. They claim the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their conscience; and they allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may. They believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, and in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law. They believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, and virtuous, and in doing good to all men. "Indeed," concludes this statement of faith, "we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul—we 'believe all things,' we 'hope all things,' we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek thereafter." It may here be added that Smith, according to his own statement, was miraculously enabled to translate the Bible (though this translation has never been published); and that he gave a version—whatever may be its worth—of the writings on certain Egyptian papyri.

Although Smith declared his readiness to subject himself to rulers and magistrates, and his alacrity in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law, he frequently came into collision with the civil authorities of Illinois. He was arrested several times on various charges; but nothing was ever proved against him. He had his own views of government, which he published in the early part of 1844, in a treatise unfolding a kind of socialistic scheme, of which honesty and love were to be the moving forces. At this period (towards the close of Tyler's Administration), he put himself forward as a candidate for the Presidency—a fact showing how much; in his case as in that of Mohammed, the love of secular dominion had arisen out of the first enthusiasm of the religious reformer. But a tragical catastrophe was near at hand. The nonconforming inhabitants of Nauvoo had lately been increasing in numbers and in boldness. They established an opposition newspaper, called the *Expositor*, which after awhile published a very plain attack on the morals of the Prophet. The town-council, regarding the statement as scandalous, ordered the publication to be stopped, and the office to be pulled down. A mob assembled, broke into the house where the paper was printed, and destroyed the presses. Some Mormon leaders were charged by the proprietors of the journal with inciting the mob to this act of violence; and for a moment they were arrested, but were at once set at liberty on the public prosecutor entering a *nolle prosequi*. The Governor of Illinois was next appealed to, and from him a warrant was obtained, on the 24th of June, 1844, for the apprehension of Smith on a charge of treason and sedition. He had long desired to put an end to this strange theocracy and its presumptuous leader; and he now seemed to have a good legal opportunity for carrying his wishes into effect. After a brief show of resistance, maintained only while the enemy was still at a distance, and a flight towards the west, from which he was soon recalled by his wife, Smith offered to surrender, on condition that Governor Ford would guarantee his safety until the trial could take place. The Prophet and the leading members of his council were imprisoned in the jail of Carthage; and here, on the 27th of June, more than a hundred armed ruffians, with their faces disguised, forced a way into the prison, overpowered the inadequate guard by whom the captives were surrounded, and fired into a room in which some of the Mormons were confined. Two of the Saints were wounded—one slightly, the other dangerously. Hyrum Smith, the brother of the Prophet, was shot dead; and Joseph, in attempting to escape from the window, after firing with a revolver at the assassin of his brother, was struck by two balls, and fell, a height of twenty feet, into the hands of his enemies. He was then seized, carried into an open place, and killed. His body was given up to his friends; but there is too much reason to fear that his assassination was connived at by the authorities. The unfortunate man was placed in the hands of those who were known to be his enemies; and the resistance to the attacking force was nothing better than a pretence. The life of Joseph Smith was full of low and ignoble facts; but his death, though it may not be worthy to be called a martyrdom, enlisted sympathy on his side, and made many forget the sham prophet in the murdered man.

CHAPTER XVI.

Effects of the Assassination of Smith—Choice of Brigham Young as his Successor—Determination to Remove into the Far West—General Characteristics of Utah—Solitary and Uncultivated State of the Territory—Commencement of the Mormon Emigration—Hardships of the Journey across the Desert—Foundation of Salt Lake City—Framing of a Constitution, and of a Body of Laws—Cultivation of the Soil, and Beginning of various Forms of Industry—Colonising Habits of the Mormons—Effect on the Utah Settlement of the Discovery of Gold in California—Relations of Utah to the Federal Government—Various Calculations as to the Numbers of the Latter-day Saints—Progress of the Faith in Foreign Countries—Active Propagandism—The Doctrine and Practice of Polygamy—Smith's Hesitating Adoption of it—The Custom first openly Advocated by Brigham Young—Speech of Orson Pratt in Defence and Explanation of the Practice—Platonic Doctrine of Pre-existing Souls, and its Application to Mormon Polygamy—General Features of Polygamy among the Mormons—Effects of the System—Moral Perverseness and Laxity—Sanguinary Despotism in Utah, and Spread of Dissent—The Mormon Temple at Salt Lake City—Condition of the Colony in its Early Years—Character of Mormonism, and of the Mormon Prophets.

THE death of Joseph Smith, and its attendant circumstances, showed that the Mormons were no safer in Illinois than in Missouri, or any other settled part of the Union where they had attempted to establish their peculiar society. It was clear that they must move again, and endeavour to find some locality where persecution might be avoided, and the new religion be permitted to develop itself in peace. In the first outbreak of very natural rage at the slaughter of their Prophet and his brother, the Saints talked of revenge; but their leaders prudently restrained them, and the excitement presently calmed down. Smith had for some time been losing popularity with his followers: his rule was certainly despotic, and by many he was suspected of moral laxities, to which the Mormons as a body were not yet addicted. But his cruel death placed him on a higher pinnacle than he had ever before attained. He was now the glorified martyr of a rising faith; his death was regarded as the consecration of his life, and the spirit of his followers was quickened by the example which he left. A successor to Smith was speedily elected; yet the choice of the council did not fall on Sidney Rigdon, whose activity, zeal, and force of character might seem to have pointed him out for the post, but on a man named Brigham Young. Rigdon had made himself disliked by some heresies. He had been denounced by Smith as a schismatic in 1838; had afterwards made his peace with the church, and was now again excommunicated on refusing to abandon his unorthodox views. This was at the time when the succession to the chief office was still vacant. At that date, Brigham Young was about three-and-forty years of age. He had for some time been the trusted friend of Joseph Smith, by whom he had frequently been sent on distant missions; and to him the council confided a power which required great natural abilities for its successful exercise. He succeeded to an office full of grave responsibilities, at a time when it was doubtful whether the saintly association would not be violently extinguished by its foes. Full powers were not conferred on him until the 24th of December, 1847; but, practically, he was at the head of the church from October 7th, 1844.

Brigham Young came, like Smith himself, from Vermont, and was endowed with a large share of the shrewdness which is held to be characteristic of the people in that part of America. He perceived that the fairest chance of success for the Latter-day Church was in removal to some region entirely unoccupied by civilised men, where there would be less danger of coming into collision with implacable enemies. The country he fixed on was that now called Utah, situated far off in the western deserts, beyond the utmost ranges of the Rocky Mountains. This territory is bounded on the south by Arizona; on the east by Colorado; on the north by Idaho; and on the west by Nevada. It forms part of a great basin lying between the Rocky Mountains to the east, and the Sierra-Nevada to the west. Through these mountains there are but few passes, and those very difficult. Other mountain-chains run through the land, parallel with the two main ranges; so that the country is divided into a number of valleys, of greater or less extent. The largest of these is the Great Salt Lake Valley, a hundred and twenty miles in length, and from twenty to forty in width. The only part of the valley capable of culture is that which lies to the east and south-east of the lake: in all other directions, the ground is either sandy and barren, or involved in marshy swamps. A large portion of Utah is covered with thick incrustations of salt, which forbid vegetation, and present in all seasons the semblance of vast wastes of snow. Trees are rare, and the cultivation of the soil is rendered difficult by the insufficient supply

of water. The Colorado is the only river which flows out of the Great Basin; but, although an important stream by the time it has reached more southern latitudes, its dimensions are slight while it is still traversing the plains of Utah. Great quantities of snow are accumulated in the mountains, and these, when melted by the heat of summer, supply large streams of water, which in some cases flow into the lakes, but more frequently are either absorbed by the arid soil of the mountains, or lost in the sandy deserts at their base. The most remarkable of the lakes is the Great Salt Lake, which is about seventy miles long, and from twenty to thirty wide. Its waters are impregnated with saline particles, and have been described, after exact scientific analysis, as presenting one of the purest and most concentrated brines in the world. The surface of the lake is broken by several islands, and the mountains on each side give geological evidence of the valley having at one time been the bed of a great inland sea, of which the lake is a small fragment, left behind when the main body of water quitted its ancient seat. Although the larger part of the country is quite uninhabitable, owing to the sterility of the soil, the more favoured regions are extremely productive, and will grow wheat and other crops in more than ordinary abundance. These fertile tracts run for the most part into mere ribbon-like strips at the bottoms of the mountains —strips so long, and yet so narrow, that in one instance the breadth is not above a mile or two, while the length is more than three hundred miles. Iron mines are found in many directions, and vast beds of coal underlie the Green River Basin. The climate in the valleys is mild and dry, but at higher altitudes the heat is oppressive. The dim enchantment of the mirage hangs over the distance when the warm season has set in, and a sky of intense blue winds among the stony peaks of the mountains, and invests even the sandy deserts with the splendour of pure air and light.

When Brigham Young resolved on carrying the whole body of the Saints into this secluded region, the province was nominally a portion of the Mexican Republic; but no rights of sovereignty had ever been exercised, and the land was a desert, inhabited only by a few scattered tribes of Indians. Except by occasional scientific investigators, the great solitude was seldom entered by white men, who shrank in dismay from its rocky fastnesses, its sterile plains, its lonely valleys and unfertilising streams. But these very qualities made the territory all the more attractive to a band of enthusiasts whose object was to shun the company of other people, and to build up a new heaven and a new earth, undisturbed by Governments and by mobs. To Utah, therefore, Brigham Young directed the hopes of his flock; but it was necessary first to make arrangements for so arduous a pilgrimage. A sort of truce was concluded with the authorities of Illinois, and the Mormons were permitted to tarry till they could finish and dedicate their temple at Nauvoo—an object which, under the circumstances, seems to have been hardly worth accomplishing, except on the supposition that the Saints were sincerely convinced that they would soon return, and prevail over all their enemies. The first band of pioneers, under the personal command of Brigham Young, set forth in February, 1846; but it was not until July in the following year that they reached the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. They numbered sixteen hundred, including women and children, and their sufferings on the route were terrible. Crossing the Mississippi on the ice, and travelling with ox-teams and on foot, they passed through Iowa, and made their first halt of any importance near Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, beyond which lay the wild Indian country. Here they turned up the soil, and planted; for it was a part of their plan to render the way less irksome to the succeeding body by providing oases of cultivation in the heart of the wilderness. These resting-places were termed "Tabernacle Camps," and they proved of immense service to those who followed the pioneers, but who nevertheless, like their predecessors, left many dead along their track. In this progress of about three thousand miles, it was necessary to traverse enormous wastes of barren land, to make temporary bridges over streams, and to climb prodigious mountain barriers. Every ten of the waggons was under the care of a captain, who obeyed a captain of fifty, who was responsible to some member of the High Council. Thus order was maintained, and the work of each day quietly performed. The way was beguiled by preaching and singing, by memories of the past, and by the hope which shone for all over the far horizon, like sunrise in the west. The Mormons cannot be denied the possession of an earnest faith. They had faith in their cause, faith in their leader, faith in the principles which had led them forth into the desert, and which would rear for them a city and a temple to which multitudes should flock from many nations of the earth.

The second band of emigrants left Nauvoo in September, 1846. Their departure was hastened by the action of the Illinois State troops, who are accused of breaking the truce that had been entered into, and with whom a prolonged collision occurred, which was not unattended by bloodshed. The old

feud burst out afresh at the very moment of parting, and it became more obvious than ever that the Saints would not be permitted to live in harmony with any community which differed from their own. After the exodus of the Mormons, the city of Nauvoo fell into the hands of another set of enthusiasts. It was purchased by the Icarian Socialists, and became the seat of a model colony, under the leadership of M. Cabet, which was as unsuccessful as such experiments generally are. The Mormon temple was destroyed by an incendiary in 1848; but by that time the followers of Smith were contemplating a much grander edifice in the City of the Salt Lake. The plan of that city was laid out immediately on the arrival of the immigrants. An advantageous site was selected on the east bank of the strait connecting the Great Salt Lake with Lake Utah, some twenty miles south-east from the former, and at a height of 4,300 feet above the level of the sea. The elders set about organising a regular government, at the head of which they placed Brigham Young. A constitution was framed, and a body of laws drawn up; but in all things the presence of a sacerdotal element was distinctly visible. The governing body was divided into a series of hierarchies, the principal of which was the Presidency, consisting of Brigham Young himself and two assistants. Next came the twelve apostles; then the quorum of seventies, each of whom had seven presidents and sixty-three members; lastly, quorums of high priests, elders, priests, teachers, and deacons. One of the offices of this theocracy was that of Patriarch, which at one time was held by John Smith, son of Hyrum, and nephew of the first Prophet. When the original settlement divided into several, a high council was appointed for each colony, composed of twelve members and a bishop for each ward; and thus the power of the State—a power rather religious than political, though necessarily clothing itself in forms which had something of a political character—was spread over the whole community, from the upper to the lower ranks.

The cultivation of the soil was pursued with much industry by these settlers in the wilderness. Owing to the small amount of rain which falls in Utah, it was necessary to resort very largely to the practice of irrigation, for which the streams of melted snow flowing from the mountains were made to afford facilities. On some of the streams, mills for grinding corn and sawing wood were erected. At other places, iron-foundries were set up, manufactories were opened, and coal-mines were worked. In a surprisingly short time, canals were dug, bridges built, and mails established from Salt Lake City to San Francisco in one direction, and to New York in the other. An university was endowed, for the propagation of knowledge according to Mormonite interpretations; and a flourishing community rose up on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, under the shadow of mountains which seemed to exclude the world. Captain Howard Stansbury, of the United States Topographical Engineers, who made a survey of Utah for the Federal Government in 1849, and who afterwards published a work giving an account of his expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, speaks with admiration of the colonising habits of the Mormons. He relates that when it was determined to found a new town, an expedition was sent out to explore the surrounding country, with a view to selecting the best site. An elder of the church was then appointed to preside over the band which was to make the first improvement. This company was composed partly of volunteers, and partly of such as were selected by the Presidency, with due regard to a proper intermixture of artisans, to render the expedition independent of extraneous help.* Everything was managed with mechanical exactness; every man's place was assigned to him, and the work was apportioned amongst the several emigrants, so that there might be no waste of labour by inefficient hands. In this way towns were speedily built, while the fenny country was drained by the digging of wide ditches. The houses were constructed either of pine-logs, or of sun-dried bricks; and the towns, or rather villages, thus hastily made, proved sufficient for the immediate requirements of the emigrants. With so much industry, intelligence, and self-reliance, it is not remarkable that the Mormon settlements progressed with a rapidity which is astonishing even for America. In Brigham Young the Saints had a commander who, whatever his errors or his crimes, possessed real ability as an organiser, and the rare power of inspiring confidence in others. His project of complete isolation, however, was defeated by circumstances which he could not have foreseen. Not long after the formation of his settlement, the discovery of gold in California was made known; and this, as we have related, caused such an immense rush of population towards the shores of the Pacific that the neighbourhood of the Great Salt Lake, which lay in the direct line of the overland route, was invaded by "Gentile" intruders. It was at first attempted to shut them out; but the endeavour was a complete failure. The con-

* Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah. By Howard Stansbury. 1852.

sequence was, that numerous persons not belonging to the Mormon community settled in the Holy City, where, although they added to the prosperity of the settlement by spending money among the Saints, and opening trade with other places, they introduced an element of discord which led to continual troubles.

The treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, which put a termination to the Mexican war, had the effect of transferring the territory of Utah to the United States. This brought the Mormons again under the rule of those whom they had every reason to regard as their enemies. Brigham Young and his associates could not have contemplated the fact with any pleasure; but they thought it prudent to profess entire loyalty to the Federation, and to seek admission into the Union as a distinct State. They therefore formed a temporary Government under the title of the State of Deseret ("the land of the honey-bee")—a name taken from the Book of Mormon. The usual Government officials were elected, but Congress did not choose to admit this strange new communion to the position occupied by old and organised States. On the 9th of September, 1850, it passed an Act remanding Utah to its Territorial condition. Brigham Young nevertheless was allowed to retain his post as Governor, and the colony remained for some time independent of external control.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

During its period of repose, the church increased and multiplied. Shortly before the end of his career, Smith estimated his followers at upwards of 150,000, and declared that they were to be found among almost every civilised people on the globe. This appears to have been an exaggeration. In 1850, the Mormons of Utah are said to have numbered not more than 30,000, and a few years later the total number, both in America and the Old World, was believed to be about 100,000. Their own estimate, however, about the year 1858, gave the sum-total at more than 300,000. The statements on this subject are, indeed, extremely various, and it is impossible to arrive with certainty at the exact truth. But, from some returns published by an American newspaper in August, 1856, it would appear that the Mormons in America numbered at that time about 61,000; of whom 38,000 were in Utah, 5,000 in New York, 4,000 in California,

GEORGE SMITH, COUSIN OF "THE PROPHET."

HEBER KIMBALL.

5,000 in Nova Scotia and Canada, and 9,000 in South America and the Sandwich Islands. Europe, according to the same account, contained 39,000; of whom 32,000 were in Great Britain and Ireland, 5,000 in Scandinavia, 1,000 in Germany and Switzerland, 500 in France, and 500 in the other countries of Europe. In Asia they were said to number 1,000; in Australia and Polynesia, 2,400; and in Africa, 100. Those on travel for missionary purposes were at the same date set down at 1,800; and to the foregoing were to be added 8,500 schismatics, including Strongites, Rigdonites, and Wightites. The aggregate number, by these calculations, was rather more than 121,000; but the Mormons themselves claimed a much larger total.*

The greatest number of foreign converts are found amongst the uneducated classes in Great Britain, and especially in Wales: Ireland furnishes but few. The first Mormon mission to England was begun in 1837, and six years later the converts amounted to upwards of 10,000. During the year 1852, several Saints from England traversed the great plains, and crossed the Rocky Mountains, wheeling their luggage and provisions before them in hand-barrows. In 1856, the Mormons had one newspaper in Salt Lake City, issuing 4,000 copies weekly; one in Liverpool, issuing 22,000 weekly; one in Swansea, South Wales; one in Copenhagen, in the Danish language; one in Australia; one in India; and one in Switzerland, in the French language. The Book of Mormon has been translated and published in a great variety of European tongues; and no effort has been spared to diffuse the doctrines of this new faith over the whole surface of the globe. A more extraordinary instance of consummate organisation, animated by an intense purpose, and carried out by ceaseless industry and devotion, has never been witnessed in any age of the world's history.

With a certain class of minds, one of the attractions of Mormonism has been its permission of polygamy. The beginning of this practice among the Saints is not very clear. It did not form part of the original teaching of the church, and it is doubtful whether Smith ever intended that it should. Various relations seem to show that the Prophet indulged himself in this respect in the latter years of his life; but he discountenanced the habit in public, and it was certainly owing to others that it became incorporated with the very substance of Mormonism. Still, it would appear, from assertions made by Smith himself (or said to have been made by him), that on the 12th of July, 1843, he received a divine revelation, in the presence of his brother Hyrum, and of another disciple, by which he was commanded to "do the works of Abraham." By this revelation he was informed that even should a man espouse ten virgins, who were given him by the Mormon revealed law, he would not commit adultery, for they would belong to him, and he would be justified. "Let my daughter Emma," continued the holy message, "receive all those who have been bestowed upon my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous in my sight." Emma was the Prophet's first wife, and she was so little pleased with this revelation that, if we are to credit Brigham Young, she burnt the original writing. A few days afterwards, Smith preached on the subject, but with reserve, intimating that he could not yet make known all that concerned it, on account of the ignorance and incredulity of the people. His hesitation continued to the end of his life; though, when Rigdon put forth a revelation of his own, in which he claimed the sanction of Heaven for what he called "spiritual wifehood," the prophet himself said nothing to repudiate so perilous a doctrine. Smith, in fact, equivocated between his own personal wishes, and what he may have conceived to be the good of the community; and this vacillation he was never able to overcome. It was Brigham Young who openly and unreservedly published the revelation said to have been made to Joseph Smith in the summer of 1843. The promulgation of the dogma did not take place until September, 1852, nor then without a previous consultation with the elders, who assembled for that purpose, on the 29th of August, in the Tabernacle. After a choral hymn, a prayer, and a canticle, Orson Pratt, who was one of the most effective speakers among the Mormons, and a man revered for his intellectual powers, delivered a discourse, in which he explained the nature of the new doctrine, and the grounds on which it rested. "It is well known to the congregation before me," he observed, "that the Latter-day Saints have embraced the doctrine of a plurality of wives as part of their religious faith. It is not, as many have supposed, a doctrine embraced by them to gratify the carnal feelings of men. . . . . I believe that the Government of the United States will not try us for treason for believing and practising our religious ideas. I think, if I am not mistaken, the Constitution gives to all the inhabitants of this country the privilege of a free exercise of all their religious notions, and the freedom of their faith, and the practice of it. Then, if it can be proven to a demonstration that the Latter-day Saints have actually embraced, as a

* Encyclopædia Britannica, Eighth Edition, 1858. Art. "Mormonism."

part and portion of their religion, the doctrine of plurality of wives, it is constitutional." This was equivalent to saying that a thing was constitutional because it existed, and was associated with certain religious professions—an argument which might equally well be urged as an excuse for murder or any other crime, if a sect of believers chose to make such acts a portion of their faith and practice.

Orson Pratt's apology had reference mainly to the habits of the early Jewish Patriarchs, and to the presumed good effect of polygamy in putting an end to illicit and criminal amours. The Mormons have always denounced, as Pratt denounced on this occasion, the shameful and mercenary immorality which exists in great cities; and it is very possible that the higher minds among them may have really supposed that the new institution—which indeed is new only to the Christian world—would be attended by good results, in substituting responsible for irresponsible relations. Pratt made much out of the fact that the monogamists form a minority, if we take the population of the whole world. He believed there was only one-fifth of the human race that adopted the one-wife system; the other four-fifths followed the doctrine of a plurality of wives. But he should have recollected that that one-fifth, if in truth the proportion is so low, represents the most civilised part of the population of the earth. Even in ancient times, before the promulgation of Christianity, the most energetic, intellectual, and progressive nations were those where the one-wife system prevailed; and, as a matter of fact, it has not been found that polygamy tends to purity of life among the nations where it exists. Another reason which powerfully influenced the Saints in adopting polygamy was the desire to increase their numbers, and to extend the kingdom of Mormonism by the natural increase of that peculiar race. "The spirits of men and women," said Pratt, who seems to have had something of Platonism in his mental composition, "have pre-existed for thousands of years, and among these are some more noble, more intelligent, than others, called the great and mighty ones, reserved for the dispensation of the fulness of time, to come forth and enter their earthly tabernacles among the people that are most righteous on earth. But among the Saints is the most likely place for these spirits to take their tabernacles, through a just and righteous parentage; . . . . they are appointed to come and take their bodies here, that in their generations they may be raised up among the righteous; for the Lord has not kept them in store for five or six thousand years to send them among the Hottentots, Negroes, or idolatrous Hindoos, or any other of the fallen nations which dwell upon the face of this earth. No, they will come among the Saints of the living God."

At a subsequent meeting on the afternoon of the same day, Brigham Young addressed the assembled faithful, and said that the doctrine of polygamy had been the subject of a revelation before the death of Joseph Smith, but that the original of the divine message had been burnt by the Prophet's wife. It had long been publicly known, he observed, that Joseph had more than one wife; it was known even before his death. A senator of the United States had said that, if the principle of polygamy were not adopted in America, human life would be reduced to a maximum of thirty years; and that Joseph Smith had hit upon the best plan for re-invigorating the race. One of the elders then read the revelation, in which it was set forth that whosoever refused to obey this covenant would be damned, whereas those who obeyed it would in the fulness of time become gods, and have the angels subject to them. The revelation is written in stilted and incoherent language, grotesquely imitating the phraseology of the Old Testament; but it served its purpose. The institution of polygamy amongst the Mormons is guarded by several checks. He who desires to take another spouse must receive the consent of the first wife, obtain, through the mediation of the Prophet, the sanction of heaven (which is often refused), and seek the approval of the woman's parents or guardians, and of the woman herself.* But, as a matter of fact, these obstacles are surmounted in a great number of instances. Perhaps the worst feature in the whole arrangement was the patronage which it put into the hands of the Prophet, who, by his privilege of making fraudulent revelations, could either oblige a friend or spite an enemy, in this matter of reduplicated marriages.

That Brigham Young obliged himself very often is a fact well known, and one of which he is in no degree ashamed. When Mr. Hepworth Dixon visited Great Salt Lake City in the year 1866, he found Young in possession of twelve wives, with a good many more "sealed" to him. This process of "sealing" may or may not be carried out to its legitimate conclusion; and it may be performed, as a high act of spiritual devotion, by living women towards men who are already dead, but for whom temporary substitutes are found while on earth. In the latter case, the children are reputed to belong to the heavenly, and not the earthly, husband. A Mormon can be married to his bride for time or for eternity: in short, the

* A Journey to the Great Salt Lake City. By Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, M.A. London, 1861. Vol. II., chap. 2.

gratification of the man, and not at all that of the woman, is what the system contemplates throughout —for it is a Mormon law that women are to be subject to their husbands in all things. Heber Kimball, first councillor in the Mormon Government, and a man of very great influence in the community, is as much a devotee of polygamy as Young himself; and so many of the faithful are indulged with numerous wives that one object of the institution—the increase of population—has been speedily attained. The families of the patriarchs are often enormous, and the desert has been peopled by natural augmentation, as well as by the arrival of emigrants.* It is said, however, that the children born of polygamous unions suffer from an undue mortality, and that those who grow up are coarse, irreverent, and often depraved in their manners and conversation. According to some accounts, the women are subdued and depressed, and, without the exercise of a strong coercive tyranny on the part of their masters, would be in a state of constant civil war among themselves. This, indeed, is denied by a British traveller, who has published his experiences of Mormon-land;† but the statement, besides being intrinsically probable, rests upon testimony which can hardly be controverted. The Hon. John Cradlebaugh, when making a speech in Congress against the admission of Utah as a State, in the year 1850, quoted from sermons preached by Brigham Young himself, in which the insubordination and constant repinings of the women were alluded to. In one of these, the Prophet declared that he would go to heaven alone, rather than have scratching and fighting all round him. The female malcontents were threatened with the curse of Heaven if they persisted in their rebellious ways, while those of a more submissive temper were told that they should be queens and rulers to all eternity.‡ When such was the state of the Prophet's own household, it is probable that some even among the men doubted whether the troubles of polygamy did not exceed its advantages or pleasures.

The grossness of the Mormon life cannot be questioned. Polygamy, in that secluded land among the mountains, soon led to incest. In the years to which we are referring, marriages within the prohibited degrees were not uncommon, and Brigham Young told Mr. Hepworth Dixon that he saw no objection to the marriage of brother and sister; that these marriages are not prohibited by the church (meaning, of course, the Mormon church), but simply by prejudice; and that, although he would not enter into such a marriage himself, or permit it in others, for fear of scandal, he believed there was no actual reason against the custom. If we are to credit another statement of this man, he was at first opposed to polygamy. He has recorded in his "Journal of Discourses" that, when the doctrine was first revealed to him by Joseph Smith, he was so grieved that he wished himself in his grave. But the widow of Joseph Smith (who in the early days of the movement had been styled the Daughter of God and Lady of Election) vehemently asserted that the introduction of that dogma was the work of Young and Orson Pratt, and that it was a device of the Devil, for the destruction of God's new church. She accordingly formed a distinct sect at Nauvoo, which she called a remnant of the true church; and her four sons equally denied and denounced what they described as Young's imposture. It is certain that polygamy was one of the reasons why, after the lapse of a few years, a great deal of discontent broke out among the faithful. Another reason was the unsparing despotism of the system of government. The less zealous desired to escape from so oppressive a bondage, and many cases of desertion occurred. In June, 1857, twenty-six apostate Saints fled to San Francisco, and reported that instant death was the fate of all who presumed to forsake the church. A body of men called the Destroying Angels was instituted, they said, for the express purpose of assassinating those who rebelled against the decrees of the Prophet and his council. Much scepticism and dissent existed in Utah, and the younger generation grew up with a tendency to laugh, as openly as they dared, at the pretensions of Brigham Young, Heber Kimball, Orson Pratt, and the rest.

The Mormon Temple in Great Salt Lake City, which of course surpassed in grandeur those previously erected at Kirtland and Nauvoo, was begun in 1853. It was said to be from a design miraculously communicated to Young in a dream; and, by an odd coincidence, the building was superintended by an architect named Angel—a circumstance which in primitive days would have afforded fine opportunities for a saintly myth. At this time, the Federation was represented in Utah by legal and other officers. During some few years, matters went on, for the most part, with considerable smoothness. The settlement progressed with remarkable rapidity, except when harassed by the murderous attacks of Indians, or afflicted by a famine; and the Federal Government at first did not interfere to any great extent with the local

* Hepworth Dixon's New America, 1867.

† The City of the Saints, by Captain R. F. Burton, 1861.

‡ Artemus Ward and E. P. Hingston: "Travels among the Mormons," 1865.

Government of the Mormons. But we shall find as we proceed that this state of things was succeeded by serious troubles with the Washington authorities. In the meanwhile, the community was preparing for conflict in the future. Mormonism is in more than one sense a Church Militant. As early as 1846, Brigham Young furnished five hundred men to the American army in Mexico. In 1852, the militia of Utah consisted of 8,000 men. Fourteen years later, it had probably increased to 20,000. But the Saints always professed a desire to live at peace with their neighbours, if their neighbours would live at peace with them. What they chiefly wished to effect was the propagation of the faith, with the consequent increase of the Mormon colony. To this end they organised, in 1849, a Perpetual Emigration Fund, for enabling the poorer converts to reach the land of promise; and by 1853, when Mr. Franklin Pierce succeeded to the Presidency, they had become a formidable power, which the Federal Government was beginning to regard with some uneasiness.

Such was the rise, and such the early development, of the Church of the Latter-day Saints—the most remarkable religious body of modern times. To call this extraordinary movement a phenomenon, is to do little or nothing towards explaining its nature, its origin, or its tendencies; yet a phenomenon it still remains, after all has been said in the way of comment that ingenuity can suggest. It derived its first strength, possibly, from that feeling of vague unrest in matters of faith which so strongly characterises our day, and which prompts a certain class of minds, not few in number, nor always devoid of intellectual capacity, to seek a refuge from doubt in any church which seems to speak with a voice of authority and power. The same motive that determines one man towards the Church of Rome may determine another towards the Church of Utah. The moral character of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and the other Mormonite leaders, has very little to do with the question. Moral weakness has never stood in the way of a prophet, if his message has been such as to waken an echo in the hearts of men. Mormonism spoke to the poor and struggling, and they are a large constituency. It was a social as well as a religious movement, and it had, at the back of its revelations, its promises, and its threats, the argument of the great unpeopled desert, with its boundless capacities of living. Had Mormonism been shut up in any old city or old State, it could not have long survived. It is the religion of a new people and a new land.

How far Joseph Smith was sincere, is a very perplexing question. Nothing is easier than to say, on the one hand, that he was a miraculously-inspired teacher, or, on the other, that he was simply a vulgar impostor and self-seeking knave. The facts do not agree with either conclusion. A philosophical observer cannot readily suppose, after all this man did and suffered for the faith, after his extraordinary success in moving the hearts of numerous people, and after the perpetuation of his system under adverse circumstances, that he was wholly wanting in some honest belief in the genuine character of his mission. It is equally difficult to imagine that he credited all he alleged. He and Brigham Young were both brought up in an atmosphere of religious excitement and visionary reverie. They may have thought they were appointed to some great work, and may have considered themselves entitled to help it forward by pious frauds. Such combinations are not unknown to the history of religious fanaticism, nor inconceivable when we consider the infinite complexity of human motives. But, in the end, the element of falsehood must prove the destruction of Mormonism. It cannot ultimately withstand a collision with the modern forces of the world. Already it is withering before the Pacific Railway; and when its peculiar commonwealth is sufficiently leavened with "Gentile" population, Utah will cease to be distinctively Mormonite, as Pennsylvania, by the same process, has long ceased to be distinctively Quaker.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.

PRESIDENT PIERCE.

CHAPTER XVII.

Inauguration of Mr. Franklin Pierce as Fourteenth President –The New Cabinet—Disagreement with Mexico—Collision with Austria in the Case of Martin Koszta—Judicial Decision under the Fugitive Slave Law—Barbarous Methods of enforcing that Law—Efforts in the Northern States for facilitating the Escape of Slaves—Exploring Expeditions, their Hardships and Dangers –The President's Message of December, 1853—Bill introduced into the Senate for creating the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska—Proposed Boundaries of those Territories—Dissatisfaction of the Free Soil Party, on the Ground that the Area of Slavery would be extended by the Measure—Northern Opposition to Slavery—Cruel Case in Mississippi—Renewed Dissensions with Spain in respect of Cuba—The Conference at Ostend and Aix-la-Chapelle—Re-settlement of Boundaries between the United States and Mexico—Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain—Troubles on the Mosquito Coast—English and American Interests—Collision at Greytown—Examination of the Isthmus of Panama—Colonel Kinney's Designs on Nicaragua—Buccaneering Attempt of Colonel Walker—Capture of Granada—Further Progress of Affairs—Disagreement with Great Britain with respect to the Bay Islands, Honduras.

Franklin Pierce, on succeeding to the Presidency in March, 1853, was eight-and-forty years of age. He had sat in the Legislature of his native State (New Hampshire), in the Federal House of Repre-

sentatives, and in the Senate, and was known as an ardent supporter of the Democratic party, and of the class of views which found their most distinguished champion in General Jackson. Though a lawyer by profession, he served with the army during the war with Mexico, acting as a Brigadier under General Scott. His inauguration on the 4th of March was attended by a greater amount of military display than is usual on these occasions; but the most interesting circumstance of the day was the presence among the spectators of the venerable George Washington Parke Custis, a grandson of Mrs. Washington by her first husband, and the adopted son of the illustrious Revolutionary leader. This gentleman had been present at the inauguration of every President of the United States since the formation of the Federal Government in 1789. He was one of the executors of the will of Washington, and in 1853 had still some years of life before him. In forming his Cabinet, the new President appointed Mr. William L. Marcy Secretary of State; Mr. James Guthrie Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Robert McClelland Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Jefferson Davis (a name destined to become disastrously famous in a few years) Secretary of War; Mr. James C. Dobbin Secretary of the Navy; Mr. James Campbell Postmaster-General; and Mr. Caleb Cushing Attorney-General.

The country was in a state of tranquillity when Mr. Pierce succeeded to power; but a misunderstanding with Mexico soon threatened a renewal of the war which had been concluded in 1848. The subject of disagreement was the boundary line between the Mexican province of Chihuahua and New Mexico, then a Territory of the United States. Both Powers claimed the Mesilla valley, a tract of land of considerable extent, and so productive as to be worth contending for. Santa Anna was once more President of Mexico, and his hostile feelings towards the United States were well known. In 1854 he even went so far as to seize the province in question; but the dispute was at length settled by negotiation, which confirmed to the United States the possession of the coveted valley. The disturbed condition of the Mexican Republic, in which one revolution succeeded another with exhausting frequency and wearisome sameness, was a constant trouble to the Washington Cabinet, and a constant incentive to the American people to regard the whole of Mexico as reserved for themselves at some future period. A disagreement with Austria also arose in 1853. A Hungarian refugee, named Martin Koszta, who since his arrival in the United States had become a naturalised American citizen, was seized at Smyrna, on the Mediterranean, by order of the Austrian consul-general, and taken on board an Austrian brig, to be conveyed to Trieste as a rebel. His restoration was at once demanded by Captain Ingraham, of the United States sloop-of-war, *St. Louis;* and, on this being refused, the American officer, on the 2nd of July, cleared his decks for action, and threatened to fire into the brig if Koszta were not shortly given up. Upon this, the Austrian so far yielded as to place the man in the custody of the French consul at Smyrna. In the end, Koszta was suffered to return to America; but the Austrian Minister at Washington demanded an apology or other redress, which was of course refused. Captain Ingraham was much applauded for his spirited and successful conduct.

The first year of Mr. Pierce's Administration was singularly barren of remarkable domestic events. A New York paper observed, in October, 1853, that all parties, clans, and cliques—the Democrats, the Whigs, and the Abolitionists—were split up into discordant subdivisions, and that the Women's Rights party had exceeded all others in internal dissension and quarrelsomeness. The Fugitive Slave Law continued to agitate the country, and to cause scenes of violence which betokened still worse convulsions in after years. A judicial decision in the case of a fugitive slave at Cincinnati, pronounced by a judge of the Supreme Court, attracted much attention in the early autumn. Washington M'Querry, a negro who had escaped from Kentucky, and had lived four years as a free man in Ohio, was claimed there by his former master, Henry Miller. The evidence in proof of the claim was so conclusive that it was impossible for the judge to do otherwise than order the unfortunate man back into bondage. In delivering his decision, the judge observed that the Constitution undoubtedly provided for the return of fugitive bondsmen. It could not be disputed, he said, that the term "persons held to service or labour" applied principally to persons held as slaves. Madison, while assenting to the provision, had objected to the use of the term "slave," because it expressed a thing repugnant to his sentiments. He did not wish the idea that one man could hold property in another to be recognised in the organic law of his country. In the early days of Madison, however, American statesmen were much more sensitive on the score of slavery than they had since become. It was even then believed by many that negro bondage could not at once be removed, without great dangers to the social state; but men had not learned to glory in it openly, as a

good thing in itself, and one of the safeguards of freedom. That perversion of the moral sense was reserved for a later day—for the day of Southern aggressiveness and military greed, inaugurated by General Jackson.

Nothing could surpass the barbarity with which the Fugitive Slave Law was enforced. Negroes were hunted with bloodhounds, remorselessly shot down in trying to escape, and left to die in the woods if they proved to be fatally wounded. When secured, a vindictive punishment awaited them on their return to the State whence they had fled. They often, however, presented so threatening a front to their pursuers that the latter withdrew, in mortal dread of the pistol or the bowie-knife. The sympathy of the masses in the Northern States was by this time almost uniformly on the side of the fugitive. The black man making for the frontiers of Canada was helped in every possible way, though to render such help was penal. He was provided with food, with money, with places of concealment, with modes of conveyance. The officials on the railways, the hands employed on board the lake steamboats, were ready and willing to assist. Many fugitives passed through the State of New York concealed in railway cars, with the connivance of the officials; others were hidden away in the lower parts of steam-vessels. A worthy Quaker from North Carolina had many years before combined with others in establishing a secret service for getting escaped slaves into the Northern States, or into Canada, to which organisation was given the name of the Underground Railroad.* Everywhere, the spirit of the North was roused; everywhere, a passionate determination was formed to resist the law which had cast so much discredit on the Union, and which threatened the liberties of a large number of men who had settled down into habits of peaceful industry in reliance on the protection of the Free States.

The chief non-political events of 1853 were, the sending out of an expedition of four armed vessels and a supply-ship to survey the eastern coast of Asia; the starting of several overland expeditions across the continent, with a view to determining the best route for the long-contemplated Pacific Railway; and the opening of a Great Exhibition of the industry of all nations in New York, in emulation of that which, two years before, had attracted so much attention in London. An additional expedition towards the Pacific was fitted out at his own expense by Colonel Fremont, who, late in the autumn, started with a number of men to explore the Cochatope Pass, and to ascertain whether during the winter the snows were so deep as to make railway travelling impracticable. The sufferings of this party were extreme. Brought to the very verge of starving by the exhaustion of their stores, they were for forty-five days compelled to live on the flesh of their mules, which were eaten, even to the very entrails. The explorers were saved by a relief party on the 19th of February, 1854. In 1848–9, Fremont had suffered in a similar way during an expedition to California across the Rocky Mountains. Another of the exploring parties in 1853 met with disastrous fortunes. The Indians of the Wasatch Mountains, in Utah, attacked the band under Captain Gunnison, and killed the leader and several of his men. Great hardships were endured by all the expeditions; but a vast tract of country was surveyed, and recent years have seen the successful working of a line of rail connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean, the opening of which took place on the 12th of May, 1869.

Congress re-assembled on the 6th of December, 1853. The President, in his Message, referred with satisfaction to the peaceful relations of the Republic with foreign lands, and, with reference to piratical expeditions against Cuba, declared that, should any such movement again take place, all the means at the command of the Government should be vigorously exerted to repress the attempt. Alluding to the Koszta affair, Mr. Pierce said that the Hungarian refugee was illegally seized, and wrongfully detained on board the Austrian ship-of-war; that at the time of his seizure he was clothed with the American nationality; that the acts of the American officers under the circumstances were justifiable, and that they were fully approved. Compliance with the subsequent demands of Austria had been refused, and the principles maintained by the American Secretary of State, in his correspondence with the Austrian Minister, would on all similar occasions be applied and enforced. The Treasury Report, the general results of which were recapitulated by the President, showed a surplus for the fiscal year of 32,000,000 dollars, out of which about 13,000,000 of the public debt had been paid, leaving the existing debt of the United States at 56,000,000 dollars. It was recommended that further progress should be made towards extinguishing the national obligations. The navy was declared to be in an inefficient state, and measures for its improvement were suggested; and an increase in the army was also considered necessary, especially on the frontiers.

* See "Reminiscences of Levi Coffin" (1876), in which many singular incidents of slave-life are recorded.

The political calm was broken, in January, 1854, by a Bill introduced into the Senate by Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories. The object of this Bill was to deal with the vast, unorganised region lying between Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota on the one hand, and the Pacific Territories on the other, and embracing one-fourth of all the public lands in the United States. It was proposed by Mr. Douglas to erect this country into two Territories, of which the southern portion, situated below the fortieth parallel of North latitude, was to be named Kansas, and the northern portion Nebraska. The boundaries of Kansas were thus defined:—"Beginning at a point of the western boundary of the State of Missouri, where the 37th parallel of North latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude 38; thence following said boundary westward to the summit of the highlands dividing the waters flowing into the Colorado of the West, or Green River, from the waters flowing into the great basin; thence northward on said summit to the 40th parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the State of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said State to the place of beginning." The boundaries of Nebraska were defined as "beginning at a point in the Missouri River where the 40th parallel of North latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the summit of the highlands separating the waters flowing into the waters of the Green River, or Colorado of the West, from the waters flowing into the great lakes; thence northward on the said highlands to the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the 49th parallel of North latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the Territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri River; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning." It is necessary to give these boundaries with exactness, as the proposed organisation of Territories was made the subject of violent contention between the Slave-holding and Free Soil parties.

The representatives of the Northern States objected that this measure would violate the agreements of 1821 and 1850, by allowing the establishment of slavery in both the proposed Territories, although nearly the entire area of Nebraska would be north of the line specified in the Missouri Compromise. Numerous public meetings were held in the North, and many petitions and remonstrances against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were sent into Congress. On the 7th of March, however, the measure passed the Senate by the large majority of 37 votes to 14. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Douglas's scheme met with much stronger opposition than in the Upper Chamber. Nevertheless, on the 22nd of May, the Bill was sanctioned by a vote of 113 to 100. It had been a good deal modified in passing through the Lower House; but the amendments were agreed to by the Senate, and the Bill received the signature of the President on the 31st of May. During the progress of the Act through the House of Representatives, that Chamber adopted another measure, called the Homestead Bill, which provided that any free, white, male citizen, or any one who might have declared his intention to become a citizen, prior to the passing of the Act, might select a hundred and sixty acres of land out of the public domain, and, on proof being given that he had occupied and cultivated it for five years, might receive a title to it in fee, without being required to pay anything for it. Before being carried, this Bill was altered so as to fix a graduated price for all public lands that might be disposed of. The object of the measure was to facilitate the colonisation of those immense western domains which were to be erected into the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

A few days after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, a riot occurred at Boston, resulting from the arrest of a fugitive slave. A deputy-marshal was shot dead during the disturbance; Federal troops were summoned from Rhode Island to assist the civil officers; and a local military force was appointed to protect the court, and the parties concerned, until the fugitive had been tried. The United States Commissioner decided against the slave, a man named Burns, and he was conveyed to Virginia in a Government vessel. It was in this same year, 1854, that a Virginian lady was convicted of the crime of teaching negro children to read and write, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment—the shortest period allowed by law. A story of a more than usually painful nature shocked the public sentiment of the North not long after. A planter in Mississippi had many years before married a slave-girl, who had nursed him through a dangerous illness when he was deserted by all else. The two had a numerous family, and, when the planter was dying, he divided his property, by will, between his wife and his children. His brothers, on hearing of his death, came forward, and demanded the property. The validity of the marriage was tried before a judge in Mississippi, and it was decided that the estate belonged to the collateral heirs, as

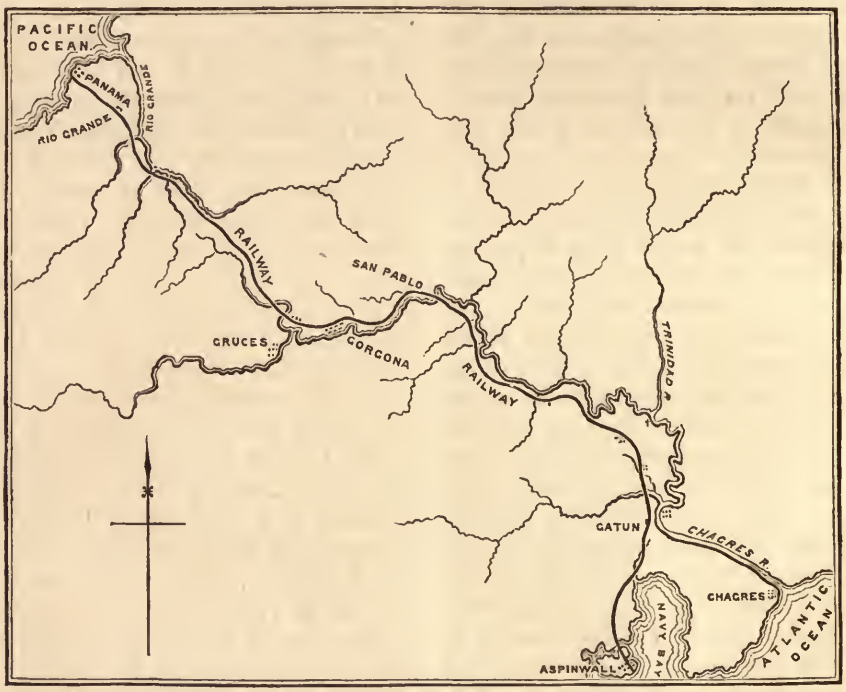
the marriage was a fraud upon the laws of slavery. The mother and children were then sold at public auction, and calmly consigned to a life of bondage, with the full consent of Southern opinion to that iniquitous deed. These were the circumstances which so exasperated the North, and gave intensity to its opposition to such Acts as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Another disagreement with Spain, in respect of Cuba, occurred during 1854. On the 28th of February, the American steamship *Black Warrior* was seized in the harbour of Havannah, and the vessel and cargo were declared confiscated to the Spanish Government. It was immediately proposed in the House of Representatives that the neutrality laws between Spain and America should be suspended, and that the Havannah officials should be compelled to behave with greater consideration. Under the laws referred to, any citizens of the United States who might be engaged in hostilities against Spain would forfeit the protection of their Government, and become liable to prosecution. The effect of suspending these laws would have been to give an implied encouragement on the part of the Government to any piratical attack which private persons might choose to make on the island of Cuba. There was nothing in the seizure of the *Black Warrior*, however improper it might have been, to justify such a measure, and fortunately matters were not pushed to that extremity. The President took a wiser course in sending a special messenger to Madrid, with instructions to the American Minister at that capital to require indemnity for the seizure of the ship; and the affair was settled amicably between the Governments of the United States and Spain. But the untoward circumstance was made a pretext for another attempt on Cuba. Expeditions were prepared in different parts of the Union; but the President, on the 1st of June, issued a proclamation against all such movements, which effectually put a stop to them. It was felt none the less that the Cuban question was one which threatened perpetual difficulties, and that it would be convenient to bring it to some kind of diplomatic settlement, if that could be effected. A conference on foreign soil was considered the best way of discussing the whole subject; and accordingly, in August, 1854, President Pierce directed Mr. Buchanan, the American Minister at London, Mr. Mason, the Representative of his country at Paris, and Mr. Soulé, Envoy at Madrid, to meet at some convenient place, to confer upon the best means of gaining possession of Cuba, whether by purchase or otherwise. These gentlemen met at Ostend on the 9th of October, adjourned three days afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, and from the latter town, on the 18th of the same month, addressed a letter to their Government, which set forth in full the views they had formed on this important topic. Their recommendations, in brief, were that Cuba should be purchased; failing which, the United States would, in the opinion of the three Ministers, be justified, "by every law, human and divine," in wresting the island from Spain. This audacious avowal of a policy which was not much better than the policy of brigands, created an outburst of indignation over the whole of Europe, and very generally in the Northern States of America; but in the Southern States, where public sentiment had long been debauched by the atrocities of the slave-system, it was universally upheld, as the only right solution of the question. Mr. Pierce, as an enthusiastic member of the Democratic party, probably sympathised with the South in this matter, as in others; but he did not consider it prudent to follow the course advised. Cuba, therefore, remained untouched, and is still a possession of the Crown of Spain, though a very rebellious one.

The boundaries between the United States and Mexico, which had been unsettled by the war in President Polk's time, were in 1854 refashioned in accordance with a treaty then concluded. It was agreed that the dividing line should begin in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, and should terminate at a point where the new line would intersect that which already existed between the two Republics. By this treaty, the United States were to be released from all obligations, imposed by the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, to defend the Mexican frontier against the Indians; and, in consideration of this release, as well as for the territory ceded by Mexico, the Government of Washington agreed to pay ten millions of dollars. About the same time, a reciprocity treaty was negotiated between the United States and Great Britain, by which it was provided that the fisheries of British America, excepting those of Newfoundland, should be opened to American citizens; that disputes respecting fisheries should be settled by arbitration; that the British should have a right to share in the American fisheries as far as the 36th degree of North latitude; and that there should be free commerce between the British provinces and the United States in flour, bread-stuffs, fruits, fish, animals, lumber, and various other natural productions. The river St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals were to be thrown open to American vessels, and the American Government was to urge the respective States to admit British vessels into their canals upon similar

terms. The treaty was ratified by the provincial Legislatures, and a recent source of trouble between England and America was thus happily removed.

But this settlement had only just been reached when another trouble arose in a totally different direction. The commercial classes of the United States desired to possess that portion of the Isthmus of Panama called the Mosquito Coast —a wild and dreary tract of country, peopled only by savages, but capable of being turned to purposes of trade, since it offered peculiar facilities for a short communication by land between the two oceans, there so narrowly divided. Influenced by a similar reason, England also sought to obtain control over this ground, across which it was believed a canal might be made, so as to connect the eastern and the western waters. For nearly two centuries, the British Government had been protectors of the Mosquito Indians; and in 1851, Lord Palmerston, while at the head of the Foreign Office, had proposed that the boundaries of the States of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, which border on the Mosquito Territory, should be defined, so as to render the duties of protection more clear. In this work he requested the co-operation of the Washington Government; but the contention of the Americans was that the country protected by the English really belonged to Nicaragua, although nominally forming part of the dominions of the Mosquito king, a savage chieftain who maintained himself solely by help of his civilised patrons. It was also urged by the United States that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 bound both parties to abstain from interference in the affairs of Central America. The little town of San Juan de Nicaragua, taken by the Nicaraguans from the Mosquitos in 1843–4, and by the British from the Nicaraguans in 1848, was now, under the name of Greytown, becoming a place of some importance, owing to the settlement of English and American traders, though it was still regarded by the former as belonging to the Mosquito chief. The population of the town, in addition to the European and American settlers, consisted of negroes and persons of mixed blood; but the situation of the place enabled it to become the chief commercial port on the Nicaragua Transit route, which was partly by land-carriage, and partly by steamers on the river San Juan. In the early part of 1854, differences arose between the authorities of Greytown and the Transit Company. The American Minister in Central America, Mr. Borland, supported the Company, which was of American origin; and on one occasion he interfered to prevent a man charged with murder from being given up. In the scuffle, Mr. Borland was struck and arrested; and immediately afterwards Captain Hollins, commander of the United States sloop-of-war *Cyane*, demanded an apology and the sum of 24,000 dollars, giving the Greytown people from the 11th to the 13th



MAP OF THE PANAMA RAILROAD.

VIEW ON THE PANAMA RAILROAD.

of July to decide between tendering the apology and the money, and undergoing a bombardment. On their refusing to submit, Captain Hollins fired at the little town for six hours, and then, landing a party, burnt what remained. Previous to the bombardment, Lieutenant Jolly, of the British schooner *Bermuda*, protested against the threatened act, which would, he said, be without precedent amongst civilised nations. He added that the force at his command was totally inadequate to protect the property of British subjects against the guns of the *Cyane;* and when fire was opened, those subjects, together with some Americans, were compelled to seek refuge on board the *Bermuda*. This protest was without the slightest effect, and Captain Hollins seems to have been sorry that he had not the opportunity of a fight. It is said, however, that he furnished the townspeople with boats for removing themselves and their effects. The incident created much irritation between the two countries; but the wiser feeling of statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic prevented that irritation from developing into a war.

The Isthmus of Panama, at the same time, engaged the thoughts of many projectors, American and English. A railway across this narrow neck of land had long been in course of construction, and the first trains passed over it from Aspinwall to Panama on the 28th of January, 1855. To many English engineers it seemed possible to cut a ship-canal across the jungly desert which parts the one ocean from the other. In pursuance of orders from the commander of the British squadron then in the Pacific, Captain Prevost, of the British steamship *Virago*, despatched, in 1853, a party of twenty-three men, under the direction of William Kennish, of New York, to survey the Isthmus. While passing from the Pacific to the Atlantic shore, some members of this expedition, who had separated from the others, were murdered by the Indians, and the survivors, who were short of provisions, struggled back to the *Virago*, to describe the results of their journey. An American expedition in the following year suffered terribly from privation, and some of its members died from actual famine in the wilderness.

Although the Greytown affair was allowed to rest in peace, after a good deal of angry discussion, the several claims to the Mosquito Territory continued to involve the two nations in passionate disputes. In virtue of an alleged grant of lands by the king of the Mosquito Indians to two British subjects, Colonel H. J. Kinney fitted out an expedition, composed of emigrants who were to settle upon the soil said to have been granted. The Government of Nicaragua protested against Colonel Kinney's project as an invasion of its domain, no less than a violation of the Neutrality laws of the United States. The Nicaraguan Minister at Washington, in short, appealed to the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, and contended that England, by endeavouring to establish a new colony in Central America, was virtually defying that maxim of the United States which declared that no European Power should interfere with the political arrangements of the American continent. Colonel Kinney assured the Washington Cabinet, on the 28th of January, 1855, that he had no other object than to plant a few settlers on the disputed lands, with a view to improving them. This statement satisfied the Government for a while; but some species of military occupation was afterwards suspected, and Colonel Kinney was arrested, in June, on a charge of attempting to violate the neutrality laws. Being admitted to bail, he took advantage of his freedom to depart for Nicaragua with half-a-dozen followers. On the first day of the year, the Government of Nicaragua had issued a decree calling upon all citizens to aid the authorities in repelling any invasion that might be attempted; prohibiting Kinney and his companions from entering the territory; and directing that, should they appear there, they were to be immediately seized, and conducted to the seat of Government. But the Nicaraguans had shortly to encounter an American as well as a British adventurer. A certain Colonel Walker had before that date been concerned in piratical expeditions, and to Colonel Kinney it appeared that this man might aid him in his designs. He invited him to do so, and Walker left San Francisco with three hundred armed men. On the 28th of June he attempted to take possession of the town of Rivas, on the coast of Nicaragua; but he was not supported by the inhabitants, as he had supposed he would be, nor were the allies whom he had obtained, and who consisted of one hundred and fifty Central American troops, under General Castillon, of a trustworthy character. At the approach of the Nicaraguan forces, they fled in terror, and it was with difficulty that Walker and his men, who were nearly surrounded, got back again to the coast, and escaped.

So far, the attempt was a failure; but it was resumed in August, when Walker again landed not far from Rivas, and sought to raise an extemporary force by recruiting passengers on their way to California. Though unsuccessful in this endeavour, he had sufficient men under his command to give battle to a small army of Nicaraguans, amounting to about four hundred troops, whom he encountered on

the 3rd of September, and completely discomfited. Nicaragua was already in a state of revolution, and Walker, marching on Granada, the capital, took possession of it on the 12th of October. He was offered the Presidency, but declined to accept it, and General Rivas, a native of the Republic, was elected instead. Walker, who had ulterior designs in his mind, preferred to give his whole time to strengthening his army, and this he was enabled to do by large reinforcements, which he received from the Atlantic States and from California. Though he had left San Francisco in response to an invitation from Colonel Kinney, he had in fact no intention of assisting that adventurer, with whom he soon came into collision. On the 6th of September, Kinney had been elected Chief Magistrate of the Mosquito Territory, with a council of five to assist him in the government. But the new President of Nicaragua, acting in the interests of Walker, whose creature he appears to have been, asserted the claims of Nicaragua to the Mosquito Territory; and Colonel Kinney, on visiting Granada to negotiate with the Government on the subject of his grant, was arrested on a charge of treasonable practices, and ordered to leave the country. Walker doubtless hoped to repeat in Nicaragua what others had so successfully accomplished in Texas and California. He desired to subdue and people the country, so that it might afterwards be voted into the Union as a slave-holding State. The Federal Government, however, was not then disposed to abet his project. When, on the 19th of December, Mr. Parker H. French informed Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, that he had been appointed Minister of Nicaragua at Washington, and in that capacity requested an interview, Mr. Marcy replied that the President had not up to that time seen reasons for establishing diplomatic intercourse with those claiming to rule Nicaragua. The new Government had already been recognised, as far as their powers extended, by the British consul at Realejo and the American Minister at Granada; but the action of the latter was now disavowed by his principals. Nevertheless, a large number of persons in the United States sympathised with the aims of Walker, and several left, more or less openly, for the seat of war. These men were called Filibusters—a word formed from the French *Flibustier*, which in itself came from the English term, freebooter. The Filibusters were in truth freebooters and nothing else, and they were fitly so named. The Government arrested a few of them, but the movement went on.

Another occasion of dispute between England and America arose in connection with certain islands in the Bay of Honduras. These islands are six in number, and are called Ruatan, Bonacca, Utilla, Barbarat, Helena, and Morat. They are situated about thirty miles from the coast of Honduras, and were at various times claimed by the British Government, in virtue of the English settlement at Belize, situated on the east coast of Central America, in what is called British Honduras. In 1841, the Superintendent at Belize landed on the island of Ruatan with a body of men, and hoisted the Royal flag. Possession of the other islands followed on this act, and in 1852 the colonial authorities at Belize issued a proclamation stating that her Britannic Majesty had constituted the six insulated territories into a colony, to be designated the Colony of the Bay Islands. This act gave great offence to the United States, and a Committee of the Senate on Foreign Relations, during the Administration of President Fillmore, reported it as their opinion that the islands in question constituted part of the Republic of Honduras, and that any occupation of them by Great Britian would be a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Mr. Buchanan, then United States Minister at London, accordingly remonstrated with Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary in 1853. Ruatan had been described as the key of the Bay of Honduras; and Mr. Buchanan argued that England, if she retained possession of it, would be able to interrupt the trade of the United States on its passage to the isthmus, and to obtain control over the proposed Nicaraguan canal. Lord Clarendon denied that the treaty had any reference to the settlement at Belize, or to any of its dependencies; but, for the sake of preserving a friendly understanding with the American Government and people, he proposed to submit the question to the judgment of a third Power. This offer was declined by the Washington Cabinet; and the disagreement, which still remained unsettled in 1855, added one more to the numerous difficulties of that year, having relation to the foreign affairs of the Republic.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The "Know-nothing" Party—Agitation against Foreign Influence—Southern Determination to extend the Area of Slavery—Unfriendly Feeling towards England—Enlistment of Soldiers in America to serve in the Crimea—Dismissal of Mr. Crampton, the English Minister at Washington—Mutual Sympathy between Russia and the United States—Apprehensions in Cuba of Further Attempts at Annexation—Renewal of Indian Troubles on the Frontiers—Progress of the Revolution in Nicaragua—War with Costa Rica and other Central American Powers—Varying Fortunes, and Final Defeat of Walker—Position of the United States towards the Movement—Activity of the Pro-Slavery Party throughout the Union—Civil War in Kansas—Divided Rule—Appeal to Congress, and Appointment of a Committee of Investigation—Report and Counter Report—A Reign of Terror—Outrages in Congress—Assault in the Senate by Mr. Brooks on Mr. Sumner—The Act applauded by the South—Division of Parties—The New Presidential Election—Mr. Buchanan the Successful Candidate—His Principles and Objects—The Last Throw of the Slave-holders.

As the contest between the Slave-holding and Free Soil parties increased in vehemence, a tendency to form secret associations was developed, or rather intensified, among the American people. In this way arose the great body that went by the singular name of "Know-nothings," and which, beginning in 1853, had attained somewhat formidable dimensions in 1855. It was formed entirely of actual Americans, and no members were admitted whose grandfathers were not natives of the country. The name arose from its being a rule of the order that any member who was questioned as to its organisation or objects was to reply, "I don't know." It is now known, however, that the chief principles of the party were, the repeal or radical modification of the naturalisation laws; the ineligibility to public office of any but native Americans; a purely American common-school system; and opposition to Roman Catholicism. The great end was to reduce the power and influence of foreigners in the United States, and especially of the Irish, who, controlled as they were by the mandates of their priests, acting in accordance with directions from Rome, were becoming a serious danger to the commonwealth. The party after a while split into two divisions on the slavery question; but the greater number remained on the side of the North. In the South, an Anti-Know-nothing party was set up, the leading idea of which was the maintenance of State rights and Southern claims. A Charleston branch of this association held a meeting in September, 1855, at which it was declared that South Carolina would part from the Union rather than give up the safety, domestic tranquillity, rights, and honour of the slave-holding States, or sanction any prohibition of slavery in any future State. In this resolution, Utah and New Mexico were specifically mentioned, and strong sympathy was expressed with the friends of the slavery cause in Kansas. The determination not merely to maintain, but to extend, the system of negro bondage, was gathering force with each succeeding year.

The South was now prevalent in the Union, and, as generally happened when that party was in power, the policy of the country was characterised by an unfriendly feeling towards England. This was increased in 1855 by some very imprudent, and indeed wholly indefensible, acts committed by British agents in various cities of America. At that period, Great Britain was in the height of the Crimean war. A great expenditure of life was going on before the fortress of Sebastopol; it was not found easy to obtain a sufficient number of fresh recruits in the old country, and it was determined to seek them in the new. Enlistments were made in the United States, under the sanction of Mr. Crampton, the British Minister at Washington; it being apparently supposed that among the large number of Irish in America some would be found willing to take service under their former flag. A Scotchman, named Angus M'Donald, opened an office at New York, with the intention of collecting recruits, and sending them off to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where a legion was being formed. But his proceedings were soon stopped by the United States District Attorney, who directed the proper officials to take steps for closing the office, the keeper of which might, under a certain section of the Act of Neutrality, have been fined a thousand dollars, and imprisoned for three years. Some men were tried and found guilty of a similar offence at Philadelphia, and it was then that the complicity of Mr. Crampton came out. Mr. Cushing, the Federal Attorney-General, wrote an intemperate letter to the District Attorney of Philadelphia, in which he bitterly attacked the proceedings of the British Government; but, however regrettable may have been the tone of his communication, it cannot be denied that the conduct of Mr. Crampton and his agents was altogether wrong. To have sanctioned such acts would have been a breach of American neutrality as between the belligerents, and a just cause of offence to Russia. The Government of the United States remonstrated with that of Great Britain, and demanded the recall

of the English representative. This was refused, and, after a good deal of diplomatic correspondence, the President, in 1856, dismissed Mr. Crampton, together with the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. For a little while, war was feared; but the Cabinet of London took no measures of retaliation, and the feeling of irritation disappeared in time.

The action of the American Government in this respect cannot be blamed with any reason or fairness; but a good deal of pain was felt in England at the manifest leaning towards Russia shown by a large proportion of the American people, and the want of sympathy with the efforts then being made by Great Britain, in conjunction with France and her other allies, to check the rapacity and menacing despotism of the most tyrannical, ambitious, and dangerous Power in the world. For some strange reason—some subtle affinity, which is perhaps beyond detection—Russia has been a favourite with the Americans ever since Jefferson, in 1806, wrote a complimentary letter to the Emperor Alexander on the subject of neutral rights. In 1855 the effusive friendliness of Americans towards the Czar and his designs upon Turkey created much distress in many who were naturally inclined towards the most cordial relations with the great Republic. The feeling of America towards Russia was reciprocated by a similar feeling on the part of Russia towards America. The Emperor Nicholas is said to have once observed that he could understand two forms of government, and no third—his own, and that of the United States. The one gave no power whatever to the people; the other made the people all-powerful. Each was logically self-consistent, granting its postulate; everything between the two was contradictory, insecure, and chimerical. Such appears to have been for many years the sentiment of political circles in America. It was not peculiar to the epoch of the Crimean war; but the events of that time gave it special intensity. Yet this sentiment had not invariably been shared by American statesmen. In 1839, General Jackson remarked to a friend that the next great American war would be with Russia. He was reminded of the existing sentiment among Americans, that Russia was the best friend the United States possessed in Europe. "True," said he; "but a growing absolute monarchy and a thriving democratic government are naturally antagonistic. It is easy to find pretexts for war: our vicinity to her North-western Pacific possessions will suffice. France and England have helped to aggrandise Russia by bad policy. I told Mr. Fox, Minister from Great Britain while I was President, that England and France would weep tears of blood for helping Russia at Navarino."* The Crimean war established the truth of Jackson's prophecy; and it will be well if later events do not add to the cogency of the proof.

The intrigues against Cuba continued during 1855. In that year, the island was in perpetual alarm, owing to rumours of another invasion being organised in the United States, and of an insurrection being on the eve of breaking out among the colonists themselves. Many suspected persons were arrested, tried, and executed, and among them was a man named Estrampes, who, it was asserted, was a citizen of the United States. The American Consul in Cuba protested against the sentence, in this case, being carried into execution; but his representations were not heeded. Steamers from the United States were at the same time brought to, on their passage, by Spanish armed vessels, and the Washington Cabinet considered it necessary to send a squadron to the Gulf, to put a stop to further indignities of the like nature. These matters, however, yielded in importance to the renewal of Indian troubles on the frontiers. The savage tribes of the Oregon and Washington Territories commenced a furious attack upon the settlers in the latter part of 1855. Several massacres were committed, and troops were despatched to the threatened districts for the protection of the inhabitants. The presence of this force did not at once restore tranquillity. The Indians were well organised and well armed, and presented so formidable a front that on one occasion the troops in Yakimaw county sustained a serious defeat, after a prolonged and sanguinary fight. Nearly one-fifth of the force were killed or wounded, and the remainder, leaving baggage and stores behind them, escaped with difficulty. General Wool, an old soldier of the war of 1812-15, and subsequently of the Mexican war, was sent from San Francisco against the insurgents in Oregon, and on the 7th and 8th of December a battle was fought near the Walla-Walla River, between some volunteers and a large body of Indians, who in the end were defeated, with the loss of their chief. The town of Seattle, in Washington Territory, was saved by the action of some marines from the sloop-of-war *Decatur*, which was lying there at the time, and the guns of which were turned upon the savages. Hostilities continued during the winter and spring of 1856. Many places were burned, and many settlers murdered. The whole country to the north was

* Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson, Vol. III., chap. 44.

desolated, and it appeared doubtful whether the whites would not be entirely driven out of their settlements. Indian risings also took place in California and Florida, and it was late in the summer before the troubles in Oregon were brought to an end.

In the meanwhile, the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua was proceeding on its way. On the 10th of February, President Rivas issued a decree, claiming and annexing the whole of the Mosquito Territory as part of Nicaragua. An alliance of all the other States of Central America against the Republic governed by Rivas and Walker was now projected, though it was not carried into effect for some months. The resolution of Walker, however, rose with his difficulties. The brief rule of Colonel Kinney on the Mosquito Coast had entirely collapsed; the native king of that country was again exercising power; and the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua, flushed by its recent successes, was determined to hazard all on the chances of a general war. Walker had gradually acquired something like dictatorial powers, and the nominal President could do little more than grudgingly execute his will. On the 11th of March, war was declared against Costa Rica; but the progress of the struggle was not favourable to those who had provoked it. Colonel Schlessinger, with four hundred of Walker's men, was attacked on the 20th of the same month, at the Hacienda, Santa Rosa, by a party of five hundred Costa Ricans, and entirely defeated, after a sharp action of only fourteen minutes Nineteen of the prisoners, who were chiefly Irish and Germans, were tried by court-martial, and shot by the Costa Ricans; and on the 7th of April the victors took possession of the city of Rivas. The fortune of war shortly afterwards turned in favour of the Filibusters. Walker had received reinforcements from New Orleans, and with these he was enabled to defeat the enemy with considerable loss. He declared all the ports of Central America in a state of blockade, and adopted severe measures towards disaffected Nicaraguans. What kind of government it was the aim of this freebooter to establish, may be judged by the fact that on the 22nd of September he repealed a law of April 17th, 1821, abolishing slavery in Central America. The struggle continued during many months, with great expenditure of blood; and towards the end of November, Walker's army destroyed the city of Granada, at the head of

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Lake Nicaragua. The sympathies of the Pro-slavery party in the United States were strongly excited in favour of Walker's attempt. A great meeting in support of the Filibuster and his followers was held at New York on December 21st, and it was then openly announced that arms, men, and provisions were ready to be sent out for the purpose of revolutionising Central America, with a view to the further extension of slavery. The war was marked with varying success during the early months of 1857; but it became evident that Walker, though receiving continual reinforcements from New Orleans, which the American Government made no endeavour to prevent, was steadily losing ground before the powerful combination of Central American States which had been formed against him. He failed in his attacks on fortified places, and towards the end of April was menaced in his entrenchments at Rivas. Although by great exertions he was able to repulse the Costa Rican attack, his case became so desperate that on the 1st of May he proposed to Captain Davis, of the United States frigate *St. Mary*, to leave Nicaragua, upon Captain Davis consenting to guarantee the safety of himself and his men. The city of Rivas was then surrendered to Davis, and, on the 8th of the same month, President Mora, of Costa Rica, proclaimed that the war was at an end. Walker, with his officers and men, was carried to New York, and the attempt to establish a new government on the principle of negro bondage, though in the name of freedom, had reached that disastrous termination to which, in the nature of things, it was doomed sooner or later, but which it appeared at one time might have been postponed to an indefinite date.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN.

The Government of President Pierce had in the

first instance affected to discourage this criminal design; but the strength of the Pro-slavery party, and the necessity of deferring to its wishes, soon forced the Executive into a different path. Its sympathies were doubtless with Walker from the beginning, and it only required the appearance of a little compulsion, and a fair prospect of success on the part of the adventurer, to furnish a pretext for recognising the revolutionary Government of Nicaragua. Slavery was to be re-established in a territory from which it had been excluded for five-and-thirty years. The country was to be occupied by American citizens, and in due time an additional slave-holding State was to be added to the Union, that the North might be overwhelmed, that negroes might be safely torn from the cities of New England, and that the deadly principle of the right of property in men might be strengthened and enforced wherever the standard of the Federation waved from sea to sea. The Government of Walker was acknowledged by that of the United States in July, 1856, and its Minister was cordially received at Washington. The representative of Nicaragua was Father Vijil, a Roman Catholic priest; but he did not remain long. The condition of Nicaragua, during the period we have just been tracing, was one of perpetual revolution and internal discord, as well as of external war. President Rivas soon became jealous of his American coadjutor, and Walker grew unpopular after he had exacted a forced loan from the citizens of Granada. In the early summer of 1856, Rivas abandoned the Government, proclaimed against it, and joined the league of opposing States; and on the 24th of June a new election for President resulted in Walker receiving two-thirds of the popular vote. He thus became head of the State in name as well as in fact; but, as we have seen, his desperate fortunes ended in a desperate reverse. Such attempts, though carried on in the name of Republican freedom, are a mockery of all principles of liberty; and the world has a just occasion to rejoice when they are trampled out in suffering and disgrace.

Not merely in Nicaragua, but in every part of the United States themselves, the Pro-slavery men were active. The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in May, 1854, proved the signal of a desperate struggle. Kansas became a battle-ground between the opposing parties—those in favour of slavery, and those against it. From the Free States, and from the Slave-holding States, large numbers of emigrants proceeded in hot haste to that distant territory, each faction hoping, by a preponderance of votes, to range the future State on its own side. The Southern States contended that the Missouri Compromise had in effect been repealed by the Compromise Acts of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and that thenceforth all Territories must be left to establish such institutions as they pleased. On the 24th of July, 1854, an Emigrant Aid Society, which had been incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts in April, was formed in Boston. To this organisation the supporters of slavery opposed various bodies which were hurriedly got up in Missouri, and which went by such names as "The Social Band," "The Friends' Society," "The Blue Lodge," and "Sons of the South." Towns were founded in Kansas by the antagonistic factions. The Governor, Mr. Andrew H. Reeder, arrived in October, and a Territorial Legislature was formed in March, 1855. A state of violence, amounting to actual civil war, had already set in, and numbers were killed in irregular and savage contests. That in these shocking scenes the Pro-slavery party were chiefly to blame, is evident beyond a question. It was they who in the first instance resorted to arms; it was they who were animated by the fiercest and most implacable spirit. Assailed by every species of intimidation and outrage, the Free Soil men were compelled to protect themselves with weapons in their hands, and may sometimes have retorted in kind the injuries they had received; but the "border ruffians" of Missouri began the war. A certain General Stringfellow, a prominent citizen of Missouri, made a speech at St. Joseph, in that State, as early as 1854, in which he said:—"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you who is the least tainted with Abolitionism, or Free Soilism, and exterminate him. Neither give nor take quarter from the damned rascals. To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or national, I say the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger. I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver. Neither take nor give quarter, as the cause demands it. It is enough that the slave-holding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal." During the elections for a delegate to Congress, in the latter part of 1854, Mr. Burgess, a judge appointed by the Governor in the district of Tecumseh, was threatened in the execution of his duties. A pistol was three times snapped in his face, and a club flourished over his head; and he was at length compelled to proclaim the election adjourned. The mob then selected a new board, took possession of the ballot-box, and allowed no person to approach

it who was not known beforehand to be in favour of extending the institution of slavery over Kansas.* The election, both there and elsewhere, was a fraud enforced by violence. Seventeen hundred Missourians crossed the border, and voted for the Pro-slavery candidate, although they had not the slightest right to vote at all. In the district of Lawrence, where there were but 359 legal voters, the election returns showed that 1,000 votes were polled. The interlopers acted as they pleased. They were armed to the teeth; they were for the most part in a state of savage intoxication; they did not scruple to use their weapons freely, if any one presumed to oppose them; and actual murder was committed in numerous instances.

In March, 1855, occurred the election for the Legislative Assembly of the Territory; and this also was determined by the illegal votes of Missourians, who returned to their own State as soon as the result was secured. Governor Reeder, finding himself powerless to check the anarchy that prevailed, departed for Washington on the 19th of April, to take counsel with the Federal Government as to what should be done. During his absence, he was nominated by the Free State men of the Territory, at a convention held on the 5th of September, as a delegate in Congress, in place of General Whitfield, who had been chosen at the previous election by the votes of the Missourians. The Free Soil men were sufficiently strong to secure the election of Reeder in October; but Congress had now to encounter the difficulty of two rival representatives, each of whom claimed the seat as his by right. Two constitutions were also added to the embarrassments of the situation. That which was sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly elected in March could not be regarded by the Free Soilers as other than a mockery, since it was tainted by the fraud which had vitiated the election. They therefore determined to convene another Assembly, to form a State Government of their own, and to apply to Congress for admission to the Union. A mass-meeting was held in the town of Lawrence on the 15th of August, at which it was resolved to elect delegates to a convention to be held at Topeka on the 23rd of October. The convention having assembled, a constitution was adopted, which became known as the Topeka Constitution, and which was at once submitted to the people, who on the 17th of January, 1856, proceeded to hold elections for Territorial officers and legislators under it. Considering the antecedents of Mr. Pierce, it could hardly be a question which side he would take in these matters; but, if any doubt at all existed on the subject, it was speedily solved. A week later, the President sent a special Message to Congress, in which he represented the formation of the Free State Government in Kansas as an act of rebellion. The spurious Legislature, elected by Missouri ruffians in March, was declared to be valid; and by this time Governor Reeder had been superseded by a Mr. Shannon, who was more inclined to compromise matters with the advocates of slavery. Thus encouraged, the Southern party became still more extrême in their violence; and acts of horrible atrocity were committed by organised bands of ruffians, who roamed about the country, murdering or mutilating all of the opposite camp whom they felt themselves strong enough to attack.

The matter became so serious that the House of Representatives took a step of an unusual character. On the 19th of March, they appointed a committee of three to proceed to the disturbed districts, investigate their condition, and present a report. This report was sent in on the 1st of July, and was to the effect that each election in the Territory, held under the organic or alleged Territorial law, had been carried by organised invasions from the State of Missouri, by which the people of the Territory had been prevented from exercising the rights secured to them by the organic law; that the alleged Territorial Legislature was an illegally constructed body, and had no power to pass valid laws; that its enactments were therefore null and void; that those alleged laws had not, as a general fact, been used to protect persons and property, or to punish wrong, but for unlawful purposes; that the election under which the sitting delegate, John W. Whitfield, held his seat, was not in pursuance of any valid law, and that it should be regarded only as expressing the choice of those resident citizens who voted for him; that the election under which the contesting delegate, Andrew H. Reeder, claimed his seat, was not held in pursuance of law, and that that also should be regarded only as expressing the choice of the resident citizens who voted for him; that Andrew H. Reeder received a greater number of votes of resident citizens than John W. Whitfield; that in the then condition of the Territory a fair election could not be held without a new Census, a stringent and well-guarded election-law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election; finally, that the various elections held by the people of the Territory, preliminary to the formation of the State Government, had been as regular as the disturbed condition of the Territory would allow, and that the Constitution passed by the convention

* Kansas *Herald of Freedom.*

held in pursuance of those elections embodied the will of a majority of the people. This report, however, was agreed to by only two of the three commissioners. The other declared the statements of his colleagues to be *ex parte*, and in many cases untrue. The course taken by the House of Representatives was therefore productive of no good, and the civil war in Kansas continued with unabated fury. Federal troops were sent into the Territory; but their action, as might have been foreseen, was directed rather towards the furtherance of Pro-slavery interests than the restoration of peace between the contending disputants. The officials and the soldiers of the Union joined with border ruffians and Missouri brigands in committing outrages on the Northern settlers. A Free Soil Government, at the head of which was General Lane, with a small and roughly-organised army, was established at Lawrence; and that town was pillaged and almost destroyed, on the 20th of May, 1856, with the countenance of the United States Marshal. At length, on the 4th of July, of all days in the year, the Free State Legislature at Topeka was broken up by companies of artillery and dragoons of the Federal army, by order of the Federal Government. The Free Soil men had now a fair-sized army in the field, and they maintained the struggle with great spirit, and sometimes with success. Nothing, however, could exceed the ferocity of the Pro-slavery party and their Federal allies. The *New York Herald*, in an article published in October, 1856, described the state of affairs then existing in Kansas in the blackest colours, and yet, it is to be feared, without any exaggeration. "Armed invasions of ruffian mercenaries," said that journal, "terrorism, ballot-stuffing, spurious Kansas Legislatures, and their bloody laws, have been followed up by the dragoon's sabre, the ruffian's musket, pistol, bayonet, and bowie-knife,—by murder, scalping, robbery, and other crimes too revolting to think of,—until the plains of Kansas have been reddened with the blood of its unhappy settlers, and blackened with the ashes of their houses burned to the ground."

The excitement engendered by this hideous contest spread over the whole Union. It even invaded the walls of the Legislature, where contentions of the most unseemly violence, and actual assaults by one member on another, were of not infrequent occurrence. The offenders were generally from the Southern States, though on a certain occasion, when this fact was alluded to by one of the opposite party, it was retorted that "the first Congressional fight" took place between two gentlemen from the North. However this may have been, the most extreme instance of this nature was due to a member from South Carolina, who disgraced Congress by an act of deliberate ruffianism, such as it is doubtful whether any other Legislative Assembly ever witnessed. The Senator from Massachusetts at that time was Mr. Charles Sumner, a gentleman strongly opposed to slavery, who was perhaps not always as temperate in his language as a due consideration of other people's feelings, and a reasonable regard for political exigencies, ought to have made him. Mr. Preston S. Brooks, one of the members for South Carolina in the Lower House, felt exasperated at Mr. Sumner's denunciations of the South, and, finding it difficult to reply to them, determined to make the offender suffer in person. As, on the 22nd of May, 1856, Mr. Sumner was seated at his desk in the Senate Chamber, engaged in writing, Mr. Brooks, accompanied by Mr. L. M. Keitt, another member from South Carolina, approached him unobserved, and, with a few muttered words, beat him so violently about the head with a heavy stick that he fell to the floor insensible. The act was disgraceful enough in itself; but it might be passed over in history as an isolated outburst of uncontrollable savagery, had it not been for what ensued. The House Committee at Washington, after several days' deliberation, reported in favour of the expulsion of Mr. Brooks; but the voting on that measure stood—ayes 121, nays 95; and, as there was less than the usual two-thirds vote, the House refused to agree to the expulsion. It could not, indeed, have acted otherwise, without violating its own rules; but the specially disgraceful fact was that, in a grave and dignified assemblage of gentlemen, ninety-five could be found who were desirous of continued association with such a person as Mr. Brooks. This, however, was not all. Mr. Brooks resigned, and Mr. Keitt, being censured, followed the same course. It was a mere farce, or rather it was a device for evoking an emphatic expression of opinion from South Carolina. Both members were at once re-elected with acclamation, and the whole South applauded the deed by which Mr. Brooks had disgraced, not merely himself, which was a matter of small importance to anybody, but the honourable Assembly in which he sat. Previous to the re-election, the grand jury at Washington had returned an indictment against Mr. Brooks for assault and battery, and he had been sentenced to pay a fine of two hundred dollars. Never was a man more idolised for an act of heroism than this man was worshipped in the South for an outrage which put him on a level with any street ruffian in any ill-ordered city in the world. He was welcomed at a large public meeting

held in Columbia, South Carolina, on the 29th of August, when the Mayor, as the representative of authority, gave him a cane and other testimonials of approbation. The idea of presenting canes, as a pretty and appropriate form of allusion to Mr. Brooks's mode of vindicating the South, was a very favourite one. Mr. Brooks received several canes, one of which was presented to him by the ladies of his State: much gold and silver plate was also showered upon him, by way of compensation for his fine of two hundred dollars. Altogether, Mr. Brooks had abundant occasion to be satisfied with the result of his exploit, assuming in him the absence of such a thing as conscience, which, indeed, could hardly have been developed to any inconvenient degree. All this while, his victim lay hovering between life and death, and some months elapsed before he was fairly out of danger. On the 6th of November, however, he was publicly received at Boston by a vast concourse of people, who manifested the greatest enthusiasm on his behalf; and on the 26th of February, 1857, he took his seat in the Senate, for the first time since the outrage which had brought him low. But the gain was on *his* side; the loss was on that of his opponents. In smiting Charles Sumner, Mr. Brooks struck a deadly blow at that system which he would fain have rendered universal and eternal. He did not live, however, to see the reaction against the South. On the 27th of January, 1857—about eight months after the assault on his opponent—he died, suddenly and in great agony, from an attack of croup. Mr. Sumner survived till March, 1874.

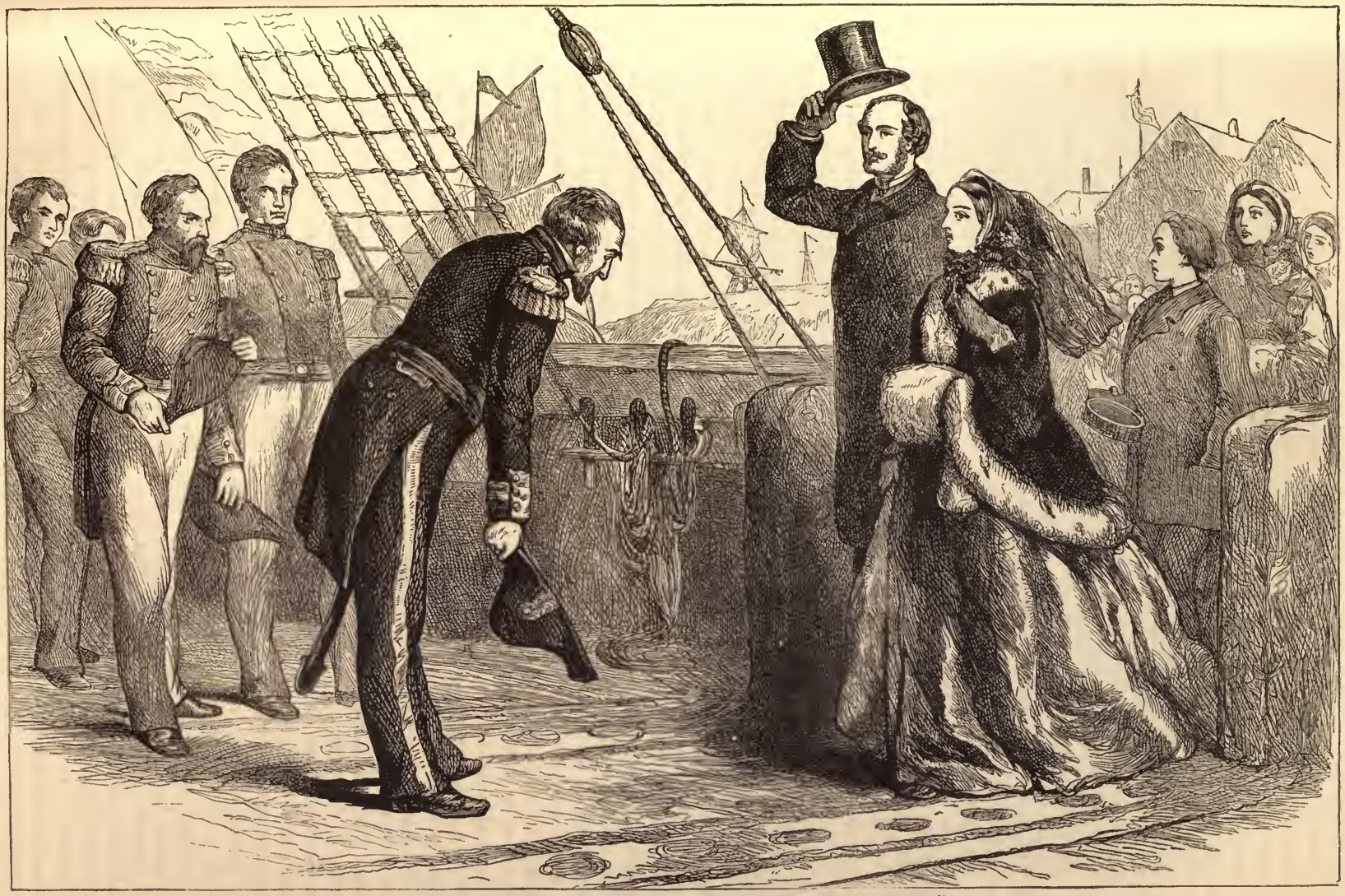
Amidst these dissensions, the Presidential election again came forward. In 1856, the opponents of slavery were known as the Republican party; and their candidates were Colonel Fremont for the Presidency, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for the second office. The Democratic party brought forward Mr. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, with Mr. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. A third section—the American or Know-nothing party—professed to follow a purely national policy, without reference to the extreme views of either Republicans or Democrats, and wished to secure the election of Mr. Fillmore, who had succeeded to the Presidency on the death of General Taylor in 1850. Owing to a split in his supporters, Mr. Fillmore was obliged ultimately to rely on the favour of a large number of the old Whig party; but in truth he had not much chance at any time. The contest lay between Mr. Buchanan and Colonel Fremont, and probability from the first inclined towards Buchanan. The country was thrown into a fever of excitement during the electoral campaign, which terminated, on the 4th of November, in the election of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Breckinridge. It was thought by many, even among those who did not share the general opinions of Mr. Buchanan, that he would administer the affairs of the country in a less sectional spirit than his chief adversary. Colonel Fremont was known rather as an explorer and daring colonist than as a politician. Mr. Buchanan, on the contrary, had a reputation in diplomatic circles, and was believed to be thoroughly acquainted with the system of government in his native country, with the condition of parties, and with the workings of the Constitution. A few years sufficed to show how little reliance could be placed on his patriotism or his wisdom. It was he who made the reaction against the South inevitable; it was he who, in truth, while intending the very contrary, prepared the way for the predominance of free principles over slave-holding interests. But as yet his full designs were not known. That he inclined to Southern views had appeared in the whole course of his political life; but it was not supposed that he would carry out those views with such disregard of all other considerations.

Although the majority for Mr. Buchanan was very great, the minority for Colonel Fremont was by no means small. The six States of New England —Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island—gave majorities for the Republican candidate. The three first-named afforded very large, and the three last decisive, majorities; and Massachusetts alone gave Fremont 66,000 votes over his opponents. Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Virginia, and the South generally, were for Mr. Buchanan; Maryland and Kentucky voted for Mr. Fillmore. The votes of the Electoral Colleges, which are those that decide Presidential elections, were—Buchanan, 173; Fremont, 114; Fillmore, 8. The successful candidate was born of Irish parentage in Pennsylvania, on the 23rd of April, 1791. He was admitted to the bar in 1812, and in 1814 was elected to a seat in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Having acquired some reputation as an opponent of the United States Bank, he was elected to Congress in 1820, and was held to exhibit considerable power as a debater. He was appointed Minister to Russia by President Jackson in 1831, and was a member of the Cabinet of President Polk, in which he occupied the chief office, that of Secretary of State. In 1853 he was appointed Minister to England, where he made many friends; and he had now attained the summit of an American's ambition, in becoming Chief Magistrate of the Republic.

The last Message of President Pierce was delivered

to Congress shortly after the election of his successor. In this document Mr. Pierce alluded to the important constitutional act which had just taken place. It was impossible, he observed, to misapprehend the great principles which the people had sanctioned and sustained. They had asserted the equality of the States and of the citizens, had proclaimed their devotion to the rights of the different sections of the Union, and had condemned emphatically the idea of organising in the United States mere geographical parties. The President then alluded to what he regarded as a long series of aggressions against the constitutional rights of half the States: firstly, in the question of negro emancipation; secondly, in the proceedings relative to the extradition of fugitive slaves; thirdly, in the organisation of Territorial Governments. The action of Congress in relation to the Nebraska and Kansas Territories was vindicated by Mr. Pierce, and the difficulties existing in those regions were attributed to the unjust interference of persons who had no local settlement. The President remarked that he had no more power in the Territories than in the States. If he had undertaken to exercise such power in the case of Kansas, he would have been justly subject to the charge of usurpation, and of violating the dearest rights of the people. The financial statement contained in this Message was satisfactory, and showed that the fiscal condition of the United States was more healthy than it had been in previous years. The public debt was by that time reduced to 30,737,129 dollars. The whole of this, the President said, might be paid in one year without embarrassment to the public service; but, being not yet due, the Government could not press the holders of stock to part with it. The annual expenditure of the previous five years had been 48,000,000 dollars, and the average expenditure for the next five years, it was thought, need not exceed that amount. The revenue from Customs had reached the great figure of 64,000,000 dollars, and the President recommended such a revision of the revenue laws as would prevent the receipts from Customs exceeding 50,000,000 dollars. The army during the past year had found constant employment against the Indians in Oregon and Washington Territories, and with so much effect as to warrant the hope of peace for the future. With respect to foreign relations, the President observed that the United States were then on terms of amity with all other countries. The relations with Great Britain were of a satisfactory character, and the enlistment question had been settled. Clearly, the dangers of the United States were not abroad, but at home.

Such was the posture of affairs towards the close of Mr. Pierce's Presidency, and previous to the commencement of that which is associated with the name of Mr. Buchanan. The Presidency of the latter gentleman was the last chapter in the history of slave-holding America. Beyond that brief period of four years, the incidents of which we have now to relate, the country entered into a totally new phase of national life, determined, in the final resort, by the bitter agonies of civil war, but preordained from the first by the eternal principles of morality, and by every element in the Government of the United States which gave to it distinctive character, and placed it before the eyes of the world as one of the chief among the hopes of men. With Mr. Buchanan, the last desperate throw of Southern gamesters was cast out of the dice-box—the last, that is to say, within the limits of the Constitution, for there yet remained the still more desperate endeavour of a fratricidal war. The cup of Northern endurance was indeed full already; but it was not yet overflowing. It required the partisanship of Mr. Buchanan to arouse the Free States to their utmost energy of action, and to place before them, in distinct and unmistakable colours, the great necessity of the time. Mr. Pierce was the feeble instrument of a party which required bolder men. A man of more extreme opinions was found in Mr. Buchanan; and it was well for the country, and for humanity at large, that the inevitable struggle should at length be forced to an issue by those who had less art, or less inclination, to equivocate between contending views.



VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT TO THE "RESOLUTE."

CHAPTER XIX.

Disturbed Condition of the United States on the Eve of Mr. Buchanan's Presidentship—Negro Conspiracy in the South—Inaugural Address of Mr. Buchanan—His Opinions on the Kansas Difficulty, the Finances of the Country, and the Powers of the Federal Constitution—England and the United States—Presentation of the *Resolute* to Queen Victoria—Lord Napier appointed English Minister to Washington—Decision of the Supreme Court in the Case of the Negro, Dred Scott—State of Utah—Report of Judge Drummond and General Burr against the Mormons—Determination of the Federal Government to send an Army to Salt Lake City—The Saints resolve on Fighting—Mr. Buchanan's remarks on the Mormon Rebellion in his Message to Congress (Dec., 1857)—Complaints of the Mormons—Petitions to the Federal Government—Despatch of Commissioners to Utah—Compromise agreed on, and Restoration of Peace—The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—Different Interpretation of its Terms by the British and American Governments—New Treaty signed at London—Chief Provisions of the Dallas-Clarendon Treaty—Amendments introduced by the Senate—Break-down of the Agreement on the Question of the Bay Islands—Further Negotiation refused by the American Government—Progress of Affairs in Kansas—The Question of Slavery to be submitted to the Popular Vote—Meeting of a Convention for framing a Constitution—Insertion of an Article in the Constitution sanctioning Slavery—Mr. Buchanan's Tenderness for the Slave Interest—Commercial Panic in 1857, and its Causes.

THE advent of Mr. Buchanan was preceded by symptoms which looked like a general disruption of society. Walker was still pursuing his desperate enterprise in Nicaragua, where American citizens were losing their lives in a vain attempt to procure for the Union another slave-holding State, and for the Senate another slave-vote. Kansas was yet throbbing with the pangs of civil war, promoted by the same party for the same ends. The Indians were troublesome on the frontiers. The House of Representatives was inquiring into charges of corruption brought against members of that body—charges which resulted in the compulsory resignation of three offenders. Murders and outrages of great atrocity shocked the public conscience; and, with the nation manifestly splitting into two hostile camps, it was doubtful whether the simplest forms of public order could be long maintained. One of the most alarming features of the time was the existence of a plot among the negroes for conducting an insurrection on a large scale. The conspiracy originated in Texas during the latter months of 1856, and soon extended to nearly all the Southern States. The greatest apprehension spread through the slave-holding classes, and the jails were crowded with black prisoners. Vigilance Committees and patrols were appointed in every neighbourhood where danger was specially feared. Many negroes were hanged, although no overt act had been committed by any; others were flogged to death by their enraged and terrified masters. The excitement spread into the year 1857, and no measure of precaution was considered too despotic. The Mayor of Louisville issued a proclamation stating that, in consequence of facts which showed a disposition on the part of the coloured people to rise against the whites, all slaves were to be imprisoned during the Christmas holidays, if found absent from home after half-past eight in the evening. A law for confining free coloured seamen to their ships passed both Houses of the South Carolina Legislature; and in other quarters the servile population was treated with the severity that is usual in times of general panic.

Under all these circumstances, Mr. Buchanan could hardly have been in a very hopeful mood when, on the 4th of March, 1857, he delivered his inaugural address at Washington. In an early part of that address, he stated that he had determined not to become a candidate for re-election, and that therefore he would have no motive to influence his conduct, except the desire to serve his country, and to live in the grateful memory of his countrymen. They had recently, he observed, passed through a Presidential contest in which the passions of their fellow-citizens had been excited in the highest degree by questions of deep and vital importance; but the tempest subsided when once the people had proclaimed their will. Referring to the Kansas difficulty, he said:—"Congress is neither to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. As a natural consequence, Congress has also prescribed that when the Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission." The financial condition of the country, Mr. Buchanan described as without a parallel. The nation was positively embarrassed by too large a surplus. This gave birth to extravagant legislation; it produced wild schemes of expenditure, and begot a race of speculators and jobbers. Nothing would be so likely to amend the evil as to appropriate the surplus in the Treasury to great national objects; and amongst

these Mr. Buchanan mentioned the extinction of the public debt, a reasonable increase of the navy, and the defence of the sea-coast. Coming to questions of constitutional law, Mr. Buchanan remarked:—"The Federal Constitution is a grant from the States to Congress of certain specific powers, and the question whether this grant shall be liberally or strictly construed has, more or less, divided political parties from the beginning. Without entering into the argument, I desire to state at the commencement of my administration that long experience and observation have convinced me that a strict construction of the powers of the Government is the only true, as well as the only safe, theory of the Constitution. Whenever, in our past history, doubtful powers have been exercised by Congress, they have never failed to produce injurious and unhappy consequences. Many such instances might be adduced, if this were the proper occasion. Neither is it necessary for the public service to strain the language of the Constitution, because all the great and useful powers required for a successful administration of the Government, both in peace and in war, have been granted, either in express terms, or by the plainest implication." With regard to the further acquisition of territory, the new President observed that they must follow the great precedents of their own history, and make no addition to the Republic but what was sanctioned by the laws of justice and honour. Those laws being respected, no nation would have a right to interfere or complain if, in the progress of events, they still further extended their possessions. This, of course, was in allusion to the war then going on in Nicaragua, which at that time seemed as if it might terminate in favour of the American Filibusters. The whole of Mr. Buchanan's remarks on this subject of territorial acquisition showed how much his judgment was perverted by the class of opinions which he favoured, and the political aspirations which he always cherished. When he boasted that the United States had never acquired any territory except by fair purchase, or by the voluntary determination of the people to annex themselves, he glossed over, with a plausible phrase or two, a number of very questionable transactions, such as Houston's proceedings in Texas, and the attempt of Walker, then in progress, to grasp at Nicaragua. But Mr. Buchanan was not the man to condemn anything which favoured the interests of the slave-holding States.

In forming his Cabinet, Mr. Buchanan appointed Mr. Lewis Cass Secretary of State. Mr. Howell Cobb was made Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. John Buchanan Floyd, Secretary of War; Mr. Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Jeremiah S. Black, Attorney-General; and Mr. Aaron Venable Brown, Postmaster-General. The new Government succeeded to an uneasy state of relations with England—a state which had existed for some time. Ever since the dismissal of Mr. Crampton, the Queen's Minister in the United States, towards the close of May, 1856, the British Government had had no representative in Washington. Mr. Dallas, the American Minister at London, was suffered to remain at his post, where he had only just arrived; but the feeling between the two countries was cold, and might, with a little provocation, have become angry. A circumstance near the end of 1856, however, gave indication of a more kindly sentiment on the part of the United States towards the old country. The English Arctic discovery-ship, *Resolute*, which had been abandoned in the ice in 1854, and was afterwards rescued by an American whaler when adrift a thousand miles off, was presented by the Government of the United States to Queen Victoria in the course of December, 1856. The formal handing over of the vessel, which was visited by the Queen on the 16th, took place on the 30th of the same month, on which occasion the American colours, side by side with those of England, hung from the peak of the ship. In presenting the vessel to Captain Seymour, Captain Hartstein said:—"The closing scene of my most pleasant and important mission has now to be performed. Permit me to hope that long after every timber in her sturdy frame shall have perished, the remembrance of the old *Resolute* will be cherished by the people of the respective nations. I now, with a pride totally at variance with our professional ideas, strike my flag, and to you, sir, give up this ship." Captain Seymour replied:—"I am sure, sir, that this graceful act on the part of the United States towards this country, and the graceful manner in which it has been performed by yourself and the other officers of the ship, will ever live in the memory of the people of England." The incident tended towards the creation of a better feeling between the two countries, and it was not long after that a new Minister to Washington was appointed, in the person of Lord Napier. His lordship left England in the early part of 1857, and on the 18th of March was received by the President, when, in reply to a short speech, Mr. Buchanan observed:—"The earnest and gracious desire expressed by her Majesty to preserve and advance on all occasions the interest and happiness of England and America, and the hearty good wishes which her Majesty cherishes for the prosperity of the United States,

are cordially reciprocated on my part, and will elicit an enthusiastic response from the hearts of the American people. No independent Powers have ever been bound together by material interests of such magnitude as those which unite Great Britain and the United States. Indeed, the prosperity of the one is necessarily involved in that of the other. But mutual interests, however vast, without mutual regard, are not always sufficient to preserve friendship between nations. During my administration, it shall be my agreeable duty, as well as my earnest desire, to increase the friendship and mutual goodwill now so happily subsisting between the two countries, and to render those sentiments strong and enduring. With such sincere and heartfelt dispositions on both sides, should difficulties ever arise between the two Governments, these will be easily adjusted in a spirit of mutual forbearance and concession." Such has indeed proved to be the case ever since; but occasions of disagreement have been somewhat frequent.

At the very outset of Mr. Buchanan's Presidency, the terrible slave-question was once more before the law-courts. A negro, named Dred Scott, claimed his freedom on the score of residing in a State from which slavery had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise. In delivering judgment on this case, in the course of March, the Supreme Court declared, by a majority, that the Missouri Compromise exceeded the powers of Congress by its invasion of State rights and sovereignty; that men of African race were not citizens of the United States; that in fact they were foreigners; that the residence of a slave in a free State did not affect his legal condition on returning to a State where slavery was allowed by law; and that the negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. It was also decided that the Ordinance of 1787, so far as it prohibited slavery from the North-west Territory, was unconstitutional. Thus all legislation against the extension of slavery, from the formation of the Constitution to that very year, was swept away at one blow. Such was the decision of the Democratic judges, who were in the majority; two other judges, who were Whigs, were in favour of the negro's claim. Great disappointment was felt at the North; but all such decisions helped forward the catastrophe by which slavery was blotted out for ever.

Another menacing question was the condition of Utah. Judge Drummond arrived at Salt Lake City in 1855, to administer the laws of the Union, and, after quitting the Territory in the following year, made at Washington several accusations of a damaging character against the Mormon rule and polity. In these charges he was supported by General Burr, who had been Federal Surveyor-General in Utah. It was alleged by the two officials that the execution of the Federal laws had been obstructed in every possible way, and that Brigham Young, Kimball, and others, had caused the assassination of various persons. Utah was at that time once more seeking admission into the Union as a State; and when the Mormon delegates arrived at Washington, they found that these reports told heavily against them. In the spring of 1857, a corps of 2,500 men was despatched by the Washington Government to Utah, with directions to assert the supremacy of the Union. The Mormons determined on resistance. Major Van Vliet, who had been sent on to Salt Lake City, with the intention of purchasing forage for the American army, reported that he had been well received by the Saints, but that he had everywhere heard it said that they would not allow a soldier to enter the holy city, and that they would raze every building to the ground, rather than yield. On the 15th of September, Brigham Young published a proclamation, in which, after recapitulating the wrongs which his people had experienced for five-and-twenty years, and protesting against the injustice of the Federal Government in listening to calumnious libels without inquiry, he declared that neither he nor his followers would tamely submit to such oppression. Accordingly, in his capacity of Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory of Utah, and in the name of the people of the United States inhabiting that Territory, he ordained that no armed force should be permitted to enter Utah under any pretext whatever; that all the forces of the Territory should hold themselves ready to march, on the first requisition, to repel invasion at any point; that martial law should exist from the issue of the proclamation; and that no one should be permitted to pass through the Territory, nor into nor out of it, without an authorised certificate. Shortly afterwards, at a public meeting, the Prophet maintained that they had always been faithful citizens of the American Republic. Their enemies were constantly yelling "Rebellion! Treason!" no matter how peaceful, orderly, and loyal they might be; but the actual treason, he contended, was committed by the administrators of the Federal Government, who had sent an army to take the lives of innocent citizens.

This martial excitement did not end in proclamations, or in speeches at public meetings. Early in the autumn, the Mormons burnt, near Green River, seventy-five waggons loaded with stores for the

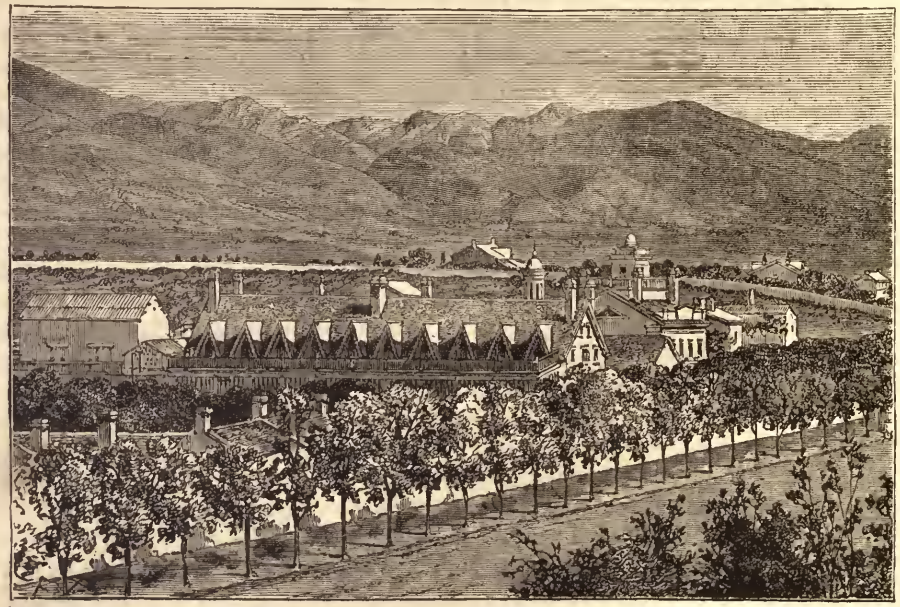
Federal army. Forts were destroyed, the prairie grass was fired, trees were cut down, and the soldiers were harassed in every possible way. The position looked threatening, and it was made more difficult by the enormous distance which the Federal troops had to traverse, and the rugged and inhospitable nature of the desert which lay between them and their enemy. The expeditionary force lost a large number of cattle, and at the beginning of November was compelled to go into winter quarters on the Green River, and to defer active operations until the spring. The Mormon war formed one of the principal topics of discussion in Mr. Buchanan's first Message to Congress, delivered on the 8th of December. He called attention to the fact that while Brigham Young was by Federal appointment Governor of the Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he was at the same time head of the church called "the Latter-day Saints," and professed to govern its members and dispose of their property by direct inspiration and authority from the Almighty. His power was therefore absolute over both Church and State; and if, Mr. Buchanan argued, he chose that his Government should come into collision with the Government of the United States, the members of the Mormon church would yield implicit obedience to his will. Such appeared to be his determination. All the officers of the United States, judicial and executive, with the single exception of two Indian agents, had found it necessary for their personal safety to withdraw from the Territory, and there no longer remained any Government in Utah but the despotism of Brigham Young. President Buchanan had therefore appointed a new Governor and other officers for Utah, and had sent with them a military force for their protection, which, however, was to be employed only as a *posse comitatus* when called on by the civil authority to aid in the execution of the laws. It appeared that Brigham Young had for several years been employed in collecting and fabricating arms and munitions of war, and in training the Mormons for military service; that, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he had tampered with the Indian tribes, and excited the hostile feelings of some of them against the United States; and that he had laid in a store of provisions for three years, which, in case of necessity, as he informed Major Van Vliet, he would conceal, and then take to the mountains.

To guard against these dangers, Mr. Buchanan recommended to Congress to raise four additional regiments. As Chief Executive Magistrate, he was bound to restore the authority of the Union over a large district where it had long been defied; but of course it was not to be expected that Brigham Young and his companions would acknowledge that duty, or submit to commands proceeding from a source which in their estimation had been superseded by a higher. The misunderstanding, therefore, went on. The Federal House of Representatives passed a resolution declaring Utah in a state of rebellion, and it was proposed to exclude the delegate of the Territory from that House. The Mormons complained that the intentions of the Government were never officially communicated to them, and that they were left to gather them from newspapers, or to infer them from such facts as they already knew. But, however blamable this omission may have been, it cannot be said that the Saints were really taken by surprise. They knew very well what was coming upon them, and they made ready to meet it. On the 16th of October, Brigham Young sent a letter to Colonel Alexander, commanding the first expeditionary corps, in which he said:—"If you come here with peaceful intentions, you do not require arms. We desire peace; we have always desired it. In virtue of my powers as Governor of Utah, I summon you to withdraw your troops from the Territory." He did not forget, however, to put arms into the hands of his own men, or to make such military preparations as the existing situation appeared to him to require. He sent forward a body of saintly warriors to the banks of Bear River; he ordered those of the Mormons who had occupied distant settlements to fall back upon the interior of Utah; and at public meetings he addressed his followers in speeches of fiery vehemence, exhorting them to resist to the utmost the army that was marching against them. The new Governor of Utah, appointed by President Buchanan on the 11th of July, 1857, was Mr. Cumming, who on the 21st of November issued a proclamation from the frontiers of the Territory, in which he declared all persons guilty of acts of violence against the troops to be in a state of rebellion. He added, however, that he came without any bias or enmity; that liberty of conscience and of religion was a sacred right guaranteed by the Constitution, and that he would not interfere with it in any way. The proclamation was very temperately expressed; but it had no effect upon the resolution of Brigham Young. In addressing the Utah Legislature on the 15th of December, that potentate observed that, as the expedition had not been notified to him, the army must be considered as a band of exterminators. Two previous Legislatures had sent petitions to the Federal Government, and it was now determined to send others. A memorial to Congress and an address to President Buchanan

THE EAGLE-GATE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG'S SCHOOL. (*From a Photograph.*)

were despatched early in 1858. The Federal Government appear to have perceived that there was really some truth in the Mormon complaints with respect to the gross immorality and corruption of recent Federal officials; and they adopted a more conciliatory course. Commissioners were sent to ascertain if a pacific arrangement could not be effected, and, after a month of negotiations, Governor Cumming was permitted to enter Salt Lake City, surrounded by a Mormon escort. Brigham Young, however, was so dissatisfied with the state of affairs that he resolved to withdraw his people towards the south, to quit Utah, and even to abandon the Union itself. This intention was afterwards relinquished, and on the 12th of June the Prophet made a treaty of peace with Commissioners Powell and M'Culloch. The army entered the city on the 26th of the same month, and subsequently withdrew to a distance of some miles. All danger was for the time at an end, and Mr. Buchanan issued a proclamation granting a pardon to those who had advanced upon the troops, and destroyed their military stores.* The feud had been temporarily quieted by a compromise; but the Mormon difficulty yet remained for more effectual settlement in later years.

The different constructions placed by the British and American Governments on the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, with respect to Central America, proved a source of much trouble on both sides of the Atlantic; and the matter was alluded



RESIDENCE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG, SALT LAKE CITY. (*From a Photograph.*)

* Journey to the Great Salt Lake City. by Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley. Vol. I., chap. 5.

to at considerable length by President Buchanan in his Message of December, 1857. In the United States it was contended that the treaty placed both Powers on an equality with respect to their occupying, fortifying, colonising, or assuming or exercising any dominion over, any part of the Isthmus connecting the Northern and Southern Continents. By the English Ministers it was maintained that the agreement of 1850 left them in possession of all that portion of Central America which was in the United States had consented to violate their traditional policy, and to engage with a foreign Government never to occupy or acquire territory on a certain portion of the American Continent. Now, however, it appeared by the contention of the English Government that this result had not been effected, and that the sacrifice had been made in vain.

It had for some time been felt in both countries that an entirely new treaty would be desirable;

THE SAN JUAN RIVER, NICARAGUA.

their occupancy at the date of the treaty. On the one hand it was believed that the operation of the document was retrospective as well as prospective; on the other, that it was prospective only. Mr. Buchanan observed that the United States would never have consented to such a treaty, had they supposed that England was to retain possession, in one form or another—either as owner or protector—of the whole coast extending from the Rio Hondo to the port and harbour of San Juan de Nicaragua, together with the adjacent Bay Islands, excepting a small portion of the coast between the Sarstoon and Cape Honduras. For the sake of securing, as they believed, the entire neutrality of that part of America, the people of and negotiations to this end were opened at London. On the 17th of October, 1856, a treaty was signed by Mr. Dallas, the American Minister in England, and by Lord Clarendon, Foreign Secretary in the Government of Lord Palmerston. On being submitted by President Pierce to the Senate, on the 10th of December in the same year, it underwent numerous modifications at the hands of that body, and was ratified by President Buchanan on the 12th of March, 1857. The treaty, as originally sent over to America, contained much which the Government and Legislature of the United States were not likely to sanction. It recognised the territorial possessions of the Mosquito Indians to their full extent. It confirmed

all *bonâ fide* grants of land made by those savages, even when beyond the limits of the territory reserved to them, and including a considerable tract within the boundaries of Greytown and in its immediate neighbourhood. It engaged the two Governments, in case the Republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, or either of them, should refuse to accept the arrangements contained in the previous articles, not to propose nor consent to any arrangement more favourable to the refusing party or parties. It authorised certain extensions of British Honduras to which the United States had always objected, and confirmed the western boundary of that settlement, if it were ratified within two years by the State of Guatemala. The amendments introduced into the Senate asserted that the sovereignty of the Bay Islands was vested exclusively in Honduras; that the sovereignty of the Mosquito Coast belonged exclusively to Nicaragua, the Indians having only a possessory right to their lands there; and that the United States did not in any way guarantee grants of land made to any parties by the Mosquito tribes. The object of the last of these provisions was generally believed to be the discouragement of British colonisation in those regions; but the only amendment to which England objected was that relating to the Bay Islands. The clause in the original treaty, while acknowledging these islands as part of the Republic of Honduras, confirmed the arrangements of the convention of 1856, by which, when the convention was fully concluded, they were to receive a distinct Government for all local purposes, and would be united with Honduras in little more than the name. For this clause the Senate substituted a simple recognition of the sovereign right of Honduras to the islands in question. Great Britain refused to assent to this alteration, and the treaty was therefore at an end. It was then proposed by Lord Clarendon to conclude another treaty, similar to the first, on the understanding that the United States would consent to add to the Senate's recognition of the sovereignty of Honduras over the Bay Islands, a clause affirming that the said recognition should not take place until the Republic of Honduras had concluded and ratified a treaty with Great Britain, by which that Power should have ceded, and Honduras should have accepted, the said islands, subject to the provisions and conditions contained in such treaty. As this was raising in another form what had already been most emphatically rejected by the American Senate, the proposal was of course declined. It is characteristic of the general views of Mr. Buchanan that he mentioned, among the objections to the convention negotiated between England and Honduras, the introduction of a clause stipulating that slavery should not at any future time be permitted to exist in the latter country. The freedom to enslave was very dear to the party at that time represented by Mr. Buchanan, and he was jealous of anything which restricted it.

The Kansas question occupied a large place in the first annual Message of the new President. The elements of disturbance were yet in force when Mr. Buchanan took up the reins of power. Contest had indeed slackened for some time; but the opposing parties were still in arms, and nothing like a pacific agreement had been reached. On the 19th of February, 1857, the Territorial Legislature passed a law providing for the election of delegates, on the third Monday of June, to a convention which was to meet on the first Monday of September, for the purpose of framing a Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. At that time, an extensive organisation of Free Soil men existed in the Territory, the object of which was to put down the existing pro-slavery Government by force, and to establish another more in accordance with the views of the agitators. Unfortunately, no proper provision had been made for submitting to the people the Constitution which might be framed by the convention; and this opened the door to numerous intrigues, and to apprehensions of violence which might in some cases have been groundless. When calling attention, in his Message of December, 1857, to the Act of Congress of the 30th of May, 1854, which left it to the people of each Territory or State to decide for themselves whether they would sanction slavery or not, Mr. Buchanan propounded these queries:—"Did Congress mean by this language that the delegates elected to frame a Constitution should have authority finally to decide the question of slavery; or did they intend, by leaving it to the people, that the people of Kansas themselves should decide this question by a direct vote?" The opinion of Mr. Buchanan himself was that the question should be decided by the immediate vote of the people. Such also was the view taken by the existing Congress; and to the people this great issue was ultimately submitted. As a general fact or principle, Mr. Buchanan was undoubtedly right in maintaining that in Democratic countries all questions of an organic nature should be submitted directly to the people. The majority in a popular assembly does not always or necessarily accord with the majority amongst the masses who elected that assembly; because, where the voting is divided amongst many districts, large minorities in some of

those districts, added to large majorities in others, may give a total majority different from that which appears in the votes of the assembly. This is the principle upon which the Bonapartes have always proceeded in seeking election at the hands of the French people; and it is a perfectly fair and legitimate principle, though inapplicable to the ordinary working of political institutions. But the fatal objection in the case of Kansas proceeded from the fact that large numbers of persons had entered the Territory from Missouri, with the design, not of settling in Kansas as regular colonists, but of remaining there only a sufficient time to influence the elections in favour of slavery. The *plebiscitum* was therefore very likely to be a fraud; and on this account it was regarded with distrust and dislike by the Free Soil party.

The convention to frame a Constitution for Kansas met at Lecompton, according to appointment, in the early part of September. Many of the Free Soil men withheld from voting at the election for delegates, in obedience to that policy of abstention which has often been practised in France, but which has never been productive of any good. Abstention is the policy either of despair or of petulance: in the case of Kansas, it was probably the former. At any rate, it was to be regretted, as any abnegation of popular power must be injurious in a political condition which takes that power for its basis and authority. President Buchanan, in the course of some instructions to Governor Walker, expressed himself very strongly in favour of the whole Constitution being submitted to the people. But in the Kansas-Nebraska Act no such wide and general requirement had been made, and the convention was not bound to submit any portion of the Constitution to the popular vote, excepting that which related to the question of slavery. After a violent debate, the convention determined, though by a majority of only two, to submit that question to the people; and forty-three out of the fifty delegates present affixed their signatures to the Constitution. A large majority of the convention were in favour of establishing slavery in Kansas. An article with this view was accordingly inserted in the Constitution; and whether this should stand or not, was what had now to be determined by the settlers themselves, after the adjournment of the convention, which took place on the 7th of November. The schedule providing for the transition of Kansas from a Territorial to a State Government declared that, before the Constitution adopted by the convention should be sent to Congress, an election should be held, to decide whether it should be with or without slavery. At that election, all the white male inhabitants of the Territory above the age of twenty-one were entitled to vote. They were to vote by ballot, and the ballots cast at the election were to be endorsed, "Constitution with Slavery," and "Constitution with no Slavery." Should there be a majority in favour of the Constitution with slavery, it was to be transmitted to Congress by the president of the convention in its original form. If, on the contrary, there should be a majority in favour of the Constitution with no slavery, the article providing for slavery should be erased from the Constitution by the president of the convention. In that case it was expressly declared that no slavery should exist in the State of Kansas, excepting to this extent, that the right of property in slaves then in the Territory should not be interfered with. The exception was a very serious one, because numerous slave-holders had already gone there with their human cattle; but such was the tenderness of the Kansas convention towards these men that they were permitted to take advantage of their own wrong. To Mr. Buchanan, however, this arrangement seemed in the highest degree fair and admirable. Referring to the negroes already in the Territory, he said:—"The number of these is very small; but if it were greater, the provision would be equally just and reasonable. These slaves were brought into the Territory under the Constitution of the United States, and are now the property of their masters. This point has at length been finally decided by the highest judicial tribunal of the country, and this upon the plain principle that when a confederacy of Sovereign States acquire a new Territory at their joint expense, both equality and justice demand that the citizens of one and all of them shall have the right to take into it whatsoever is recognised as property by the common Constitution. To have summarily confiscated the property of slaves already in the Territory, would have been an act of gross injustice, and contrary to the practice of the older States of the Union which have abolished slavery."* Mr. Buchanan seems here to have confused two things which were in truth totally distinct. It would, no doubt, have been unjust to confiscate the slaves while the question as to whether Kansas should or should not be a Slave State was still in abeyance. But, assuming that question to be decided in the negative, it was a monstrous aggression on the popular will (putting the morals of slavery entirely out of the question) to declare that a number of negroes, who had been taken into the country when their masters went

* Message to Congress, December 8th, 1857.

there to influence the elections, and whom there was plenty of time to send back pending the decision, should remain in a state of servitude which, in the case supposed, would have been against the fundamental laws of the State.

The civil war in Kansas came to a temporary close in July; but there were other causes at work to affect the tranquillity of the United States. Commercial panics created far-spread ruin in the summer and autumn of 1857. A condition of general prosperity had existed for several years; but, as frequently is the case, it had led to over-trading, and a serious revulsion set in. According to Mr. Buchanan, the existing misfortunes had proceeded solely from an extravagant and vicious system of paper-currency and bank-credits, exciting the people to wild speculations, and to gambling in the stocks. The result had been that, in the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions of agriculture and all the elements of national wealth, manufactures were suspended, public works retarded, private enterprises abandoned, and thousands of labourers thrown out of employment. The revenue of the Government had in consequence been greatly reduced, since, being chiefly derived from duties on imports, it was necessarily affected by whatever influenced the general prosperity and money-spending power of the people. Mr. Buchanan inveighed in his Message very emphatically against the system of paper-currency, with its tendency to extravagant expansion, the evil effect of which was seen in the nominal price of every article being raised far above its real value when compared with the cost of similar articles in countries where the circulation was more wisely regulated. He remarked that it was one of the highest and most responsible duties of Government to ensure to the people a sound circulating medium, the amount of which ought to be adapted to the wants of internal trade and foreign exchanges. "Unfortunately," he added, "under the construction of the Federal Constitution which has now prevailed too long to be changed, this important and delicate duty has been dissevered from the coining power, and virtually transferred to more than one thousand four hundred State Banks, acting independently of each other, and regulating their paper issues almost exclusively by a regard to the present interests of their stock-holders. Exercising the sovereign power of providing a paper-currency, instead of coin, for the country, the first duty which these banks owe to the public is to keep in their vaults a sufficient amount of gold and silver to ensure the convertibility of their notes into coin at all times, and under all circumstances. No bank ought ever to be chartered without such restrictions on its business as to secure this result. All other restrictions are comparatively vain." Such a system, however, did not exist in the United States. From a report made by the Treasury Department in 1857, it appeared that the American banks had in the aggregate considerably less than one dollar in seven, of gold and silver, compared with their circulation and deposits. Any unusual pressure, therefore, compelled them to suspend payment; and commercial ruin of the most terrible character followed, as the natural consequence of a system which was radically unsound.

CHAPTER XX.

Second Expedition of Walker to Nicaragua—Arrest of the Filibuster by Commodore Paulding, of the U.S. Navy—His Subsequent Release—Trial of Commodore Paulding for Excess of Duty—President Buchanan's Verbal Condemnation and Actual Encouragement of Piratical Expeditions—Preparations by Walker for Another Attempt—Views of the Nicaragua Government—Question of the Right of Search revived—Irritation at the Acts of British Vessels—Settlement of the Question by the Concessions of the English Government—First Laying of the Telegraphic Wire between England and America—Opening of Transit Routes across the Isthmus of Panama—President Buchanan on the Desirability of making a Pacific Railway—Affairs in Kansas—The Popular Vote on the Constitution—Frauds in the Election, and Triumph of the Pro-Slavery Party—Action of Congress and of the Federal Government—Difficulties in Utah—Movement against Mormonism—Massacre at Mountain Meadows—Character of Brigham Young.

In the latter part of 1857, Walker, the Filibuster, made another descent on Nicaragua. Encouraged by the sympathy with which he was received on being conveyed to New Orleans, in May, after the failure of his former enterprise, he at once resolved upon a renewed attempt. It took some months to bring together a sufficient number of fighting men, and to make all necessary preparations; but on the 25th of November he landed at Punta Arenas with four hundred troops, if such they can be called. Although the expedition had been long in course of organisation, nothing was done to prevent its sailing;

and the steamer by which the adventurers were carried to Central America passed under the stern of the United States sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, lying off Punta Arenas, without any notice being taken of it. Lieutenant Cilley, of the Government sloop, was on shore at the time, with two men, and was ordered off by Walker. The Lieutenant replied that he was an American citizen, and had as good a right there as himself; whereupon, Walker threatened him with arrest. The pirate leader then took possession of Scott's Buildings, and of a schooner lying at Punta Arenas. Captain Chatard, of the *Saratoga*, informed him that he must give up the schooner and evacuate the buildings. He did so, but evinced no inclination to abandon the adventure on which he had started. Moving farther up the Point, he hired a few small huts, and hoisted his flag. But the desperate project proved very short-lived. On the 6th of December, Commodore Paulding arrived in the *Wabash*, and, being subsequently joined by other vessels, commenced operations against Walker.

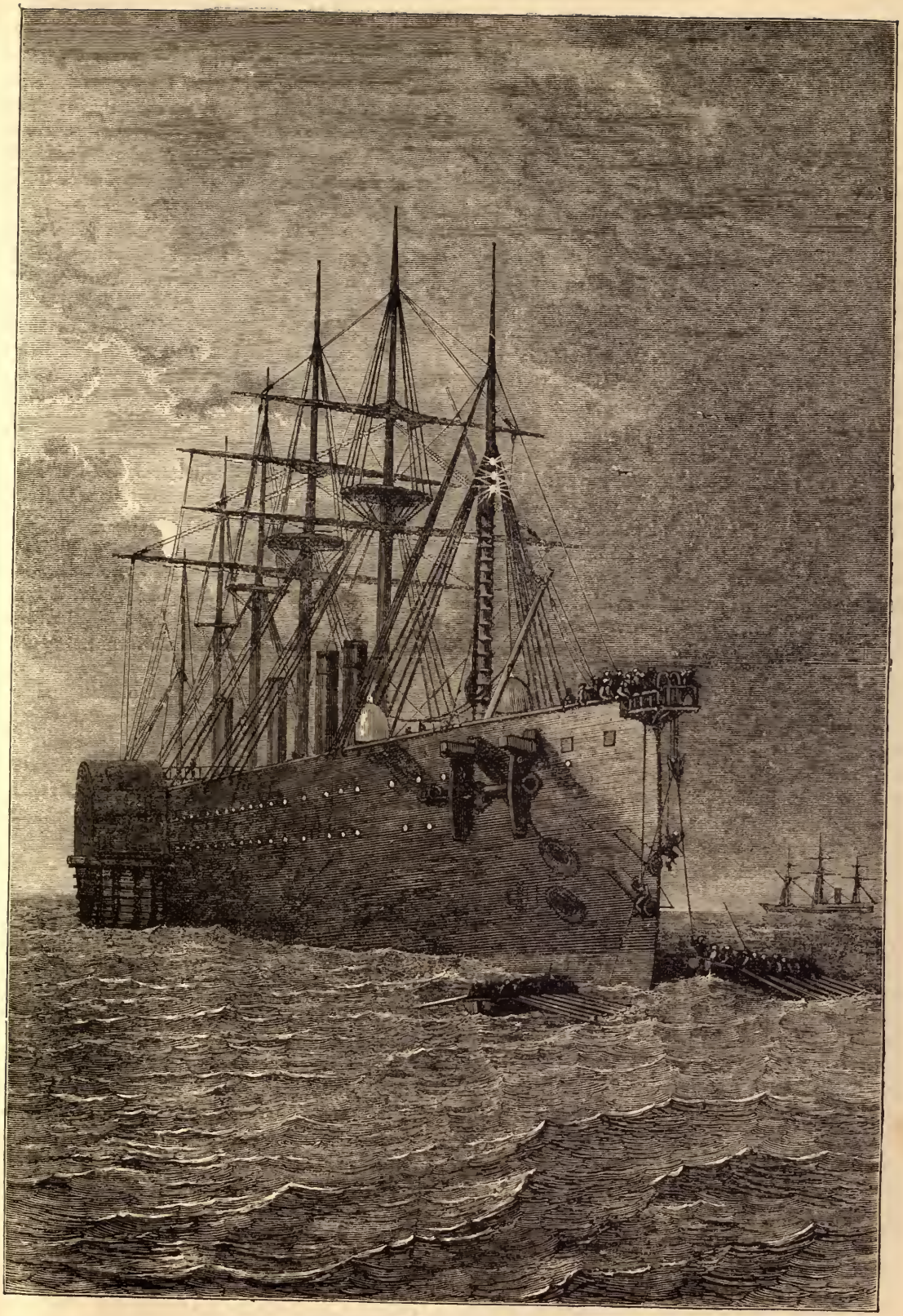
Four hundred men were landed, and Captain Engle, who had command of them, was met by Walker, who invited him to his hut. Captain Engle then gave the Filibuster a communication from Commodore Paulding; on receiving which, Walker said, "I surrender, and am under your orders." "Then, sir," said Captain Engle, "haul down your flag." Walker obeyed, and it is recorded that in doing so he shed tears. A detachment of Walker's force, under a person calling himself Colonel Anderson, had already been sent with fifty men to take possession of Fort Castillo and four steamers, which service he effected without opposition. He afterwards surrendered the fort and the vessels to a frigate of the United States, but, previously to doing so, destroyed all the buildings, and broke the machinery of the steamers. The pirate chief and his followers were then put on board the *Wabash;* but Walker was afterwards set at liberty on pledging his honour, in writing, to go to New York in the first steamer, and deliver himself up to the United States Marshal there. This promise he redeemed, and subsequently accompanied the Marshal to Washington, where he was informed by the Secretary of State, General Cass, that the Government did not consider him a prisoner, and that it was only through the action of the judiciary that he could be lawfully held to answer any charge against him. He was therefore set at liberty. Commodore Paulding (whose instructions were simply to prevent the pirates landing) fell under the displeasure of the Government, which regarded the proceedings of his men on Nicaraguan soil as a violation of international law. It would surely have been better to wait until the rulers of Nicaragua had made some objection, which, as the technical violation of their soil was committed in the protection of the State itself from a lawless invader, they were not likely to do. As a matter of fact, they did the very reverse; yet Paulding was brought to a court-martial, and censured for his conduct. In a special Message to Congress early in 1858, the President asserted the illegality of the Commodore's act, while admitting that it arose from pure and patriotic motives.

The annual Message of December 8th, 1857, delivered just after the arrest of Walker, condemned very strongly the wicked character of these attempts upon friendly Powers. "The most eminent writers on public law," said Mr. Buchanan, "do not hesitate to denounce such hostile acts as robbery and murder. Weak and feeble States, like those of Central America, may not feel themselves able to assert and vindicate their rights. The case would be far different if expeditions were set on foot within our own territories, to make private war against a powerful nation. If such expeditions were fitted out from abroad against any portion of our own country, to burn down our cities, murder and plunder our people, and usurp our Government, we should call any Power on earth to the strictest account for not preventing such enormities." Yet, notwithstanding all this vehement protestation, nothing effectual was done to prevent the very acts which President Buchanan denounced as crimes of the first magnitude. Expeditions were deliberately fitted out in the ports of the United States, and not a finger was stirred to hinder them. They sailed in the sight of all men, and were not stopped. The Commodore who seized the pirate was for that very reason brought to a court-martial, and blamed, though the Government of Nicaragua approved his measures. The pirate himself was set at liberty, with apologies for having been subjected to the annoyance of a brief arrest; and when proceedings were commenced against him, they were stopped by a *nolle prosequi*. The special Message of January, 1858, repeated the indignant condemnation of Filibustering contained in the annual Message of the previous month; but no one believed in the sincerity of language which was so persistently contradicted by acts. Walker was relieved from judicial prosecution on the 2nd of June: he at once set to work on another expedition.

During the interval of preparation, he went about to various towns, making high-flown speeches, openly avowing his design, accusing the Govern-

ment, now of complicity in his former attempt, now of treacherously deserting him, and in every possible way exciting the populace to support his projects. Shortly after his discomfiture at Punta Arenas, he actually demanded that the Government should take him back to Nicaragua in a national vessel, and salute his flag on arriving at the Isthmus. He wrote a letter to the President, declaring his determination to proceed once more to Central America; and this time, at any rate, it could not be alleged that the authorities were ignorant of what was intended. Mr. Buchanan caused peremptory orders to be issued to the Federal officers in the South, to stop all Filibustering expeditions, if possible; but everybody had now ceased to understand Mr. Buchanan's directions of this nature in a serious spirit. Early in the year, the Nicaraguan Government had, through its Minister at Washington, made the Government of the United States perfectly well aware of its views on the subject, and of its feeling with regard to Commodore Paulding's act in landing on a portion of Nicaraguan territory, for the sake of capturing Walker, and putting an end to his enterprise. Señor Yrissari, the Minister in question, thanked the American Government for the very act which President Buchanan condemned. He observed that the point of land from which Commodore Paulding forced away these banditti was an almost deserted one, on which no Nicaraguan authorities were to be found; therefore he considered the proceedings of the Commodore perfectly justifiable, for, he argued, a man-of-war of any nation may take up pirates from a barren island, or from one thinly populated. On

GENERAL CASS.



PICKING UP THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

the 1st of May, Nicaragua and Costa Rica appealed to the great European Powers for protection; but the European Powers were not sufficiently interested in the matter to take any action in defence of these small Republics. The new expedition of Walker, however, was not for the present carried out. We shall meet with this energetic adventurer once more, but not in the year which now requires our consideration.

The question of the right of search, claimed by England in respect of American vessels supposed to be engaged in the slave-trade, arose once more during 1858, and caused a great excitement of public feeling in the United States. During the spring, the Washington Administration gave orders to all collectors of Customs to report any outrages of this nature committed by the British in the Gulf of Mexico, and directions were issued for strengthening the Gulf squadron, with a view to resisting such acts. The President demanded explanations, both from England and Spain, and the *Colorado*, which left Norfolk, Virginia, on the 12th of May, carried with it specific orders for the home squadron to stop all interferences from any quarter whatever. Several instances of the boarding of American vessels by British cruisers were reported, and led to the utmost irritation in all sections of the people. The Senate, on the 18th of May, unanimously adopted a resolution by Mr. Seward for inquiring into the facts in question. General Cass, the Secretary of State, demanded a discontinuance of the searching of American vessels. The Government addressed Lord Napier, the British Ambassador at Washington, on the subject; and Mr. Dallas, the American Minister at London, received instructions to demand compensation for the outrages, and to insist peremptorily on their cessation. While the matter was pending, the objectionable acts still went on; but as in time it became evident that the British Government were willing to discuss the question in an amicable spirit, the excitement in the United States gradually calmed down. It was not, however, until Monday, the 5th of July—the eighty-second anniversary of American Independence—that the fact of this dangerous controversy being at an end was publicly announced in England. On that occasion, Mr. Dallas informed the assembled guests that the right of search, and even the right of visit, had been totally and finally given up by the British Government. There could not have been a better opportunity for making such a statement; and, as the alleged right was one which could not be vindicated on any principles of fairness, reason, or international comity, its abandonment was likely to create a much better feeling between the two countries than had existed for a long while. The right of search, more than anything else, led to the war between America and England in the early part of the century. Had it been persisted in, it would assuredly, at some time, have led to another war; and the prospects of peace were immensely strengthened by the welcome announcement of Mr. Dallas on the 5th of July, 1858.

Exactly a month after the day when Mr. Dallas thus spoke, the means of almost instantaneous communication between England and America were first perfected. The idea of an Atlantic Cable was suggested in 1845 by Messrs. J. Watkins Brett and Jacob Brett. The plan seemed too overwhelming for realisation, and it was not until 1857 that the Company which had been formed for carrying out the marvellous and magnificent project got seriously to work. In March of that year, 2,500 miles of wire were manufactured and tested, and the laying down of this prodigious line commenced at Valentia, in Ireland, on the 5th of August following. Two American and two British vessels were employed in the task, but, after the wire had twice broken, the ships returned to Plymouth. They started again on the 20th of June, 1858, but a violent storm once more put an end to the attempt. A third voyage was commenced shortly afterwards, and proved successful. From Valentia to Newfoundland, 2,050 miles of wire extended through the depths of the Atlantic, and connected, as by the operations of mind itself, the Old World and the New. When, on the 5th of August, 1858, news reached Liverpool that the connection had been established with Newfoundland, a glow of enthusiasm passed through the populace, and fraternal demonstrations took place between the English and Americans. The British flag at the Town Hall and Exchange, and the flag of the United States at the American Consul's residence, were immediately hoisted. The following message was despatched, on the evening of the 5th of August, from the directors in England to the directors in America:—"Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory to God in the Highest; on earth peace, good-will towards men." The message, including the addresses of the senders and receivers, occupied thirty-five minutes in transmission. Immediately afterwards, a message was sent from the Queen of England to the President of the United States, expressing her Majesty's satisfaction at the completion of an undertaking so likely to promote harmony between the two nations. This was received in Newfoundland in sixty-seven minutes. In America, the excitement was intense, and the event was celebrated with illuminations, torch-light processions, military parades, salvoes of

artillery, and other demonstrations of feeling. The subjoined message was sent from the President to Mr. Cyrus W. Field, one of the American managers of the Company, on hearing that the cable had been successfully laid :—"I congratulate you with all my heart on the success of the great enterprise with which your name is so honourably connected. Under the blessing of Divine Providence, I trust it may prove instrumental in promoting perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations." These hopeful anticipations were doomed to temporary disappointment. The cable had been hastily manufactured, and was not fitted to bear the enormous strain to which it was subjected. In a little while the insulation of the wire became faulty; the defect increased with every day, and the power of transmitting intelligence utterly ceased on the 4th of September. A new Company was formed in 1860. Various other attempts were made, and, after failures very trying to the patience of all concerned, the cable was finally laid in 1866; since which time it has been in successful operation between the shores of Great Britain and the United States.

At the same period, the transit-routes across the Isthmus of Panama were engaging considerable attention in America. A route through Nicaragua had been opened in August, 1852, and closed on the 18th of February, 1856, when the charter to the United States was arbitrarily annulled by the Government of President Rivas. A second treaty was signed in November, 1857, by General Cass and the Minister of Nicaragua, by which the use of this transit was secured to the United States and all other nations; but the Nicaraguan Government hesitated about ratifying the agreement. The Panama route was established by a treaty with New Granada, and the neutrality of the Isthmus was guaranteed by the United States, so that the passage from sea to sea might not be interrupted. A third route—that of Tehuantepec—was opened in December, 1853, by a treaty with Mexico, which conferred on the citizens of the United States the right of transit for their persons and merchandise, and which stipulated that neither Government should interpose any obstacle to such use. In 1858, these routes were still new to the American public, and the subject attracted the regard both of commercial men and politicians. The Pacific Railway was another great project of that time. President Buchanan, in his Message to Congress of December, 1858, observed that twelve months previously a road to the Pacific was held by many wise men to be a visionary project. They had argued that the immense distance to be overcome, and the intervening mountains and deserts, were obstacles which could never be surmounted. It had been found, however, that those obstacles were less formidable than had been supposed, and at the end of 1858 mail-stages with passengers passed and repassed regularly, twice a week, by a common waggon-road between San Francisco and St. Louis and Memphis, in less than twenty-five days. While disclaiming all authority to appropriate money for the construction of the Pacific Railway, except that derived from the war-making power of the Constitution, the President urged that there were important collateral considerations inciting his country to undertake the work as speedily as possible. "The first and most momentous of these," he continued, "is that such a road would be a powerful bond of union between the States east and west of the Rocky Mountains. This is so self-evident as to require no illustration. But, again, in a commercial point of view I consider this the great question of the day. With the eastern front of our Republic stretching along the Atlantic, and its western front along the Pacific, if all the parts should be united by a safe, easy, and rapid intercommunication, we must necessarily command a very large proportion of the trade both of Europe and Asia. Our recent treaties with China and Japan will open these rich and populous empires to our commerce; and the history of the world proves that the nation which has gained possession of the trade with Eastern Asia has always become wealthy and powerful. The peculiar geographical position of California and our Pacific possessions invites American capital and enterprise into this fruitful field. To reap the rich harvest, however, it is an indispensable pre-requisite that we shall first have a railroad to convey and circulate its products throughout every portion of the Union. Besides, such a railroad through our temperate latitude, which would not be impeded by the frosts and snows of winter, nor by the tropical heats of summer, would attract to itself much of the travel and the trade of all nations passing between Europe and Asia." America acknowledged the force of these words, and the Pacific Railway has been one of the greatest achievements of her genius, skill, and capital.

Kansas was still agitating the whole Union by her domestic troubles. On the question of slavery being put to the popular vote, it was decided in the affirmative. How little value can be attached to this result, may be judged from the fact that many Missourians, who were all advocates of slavery, were present and gave their votes, though they had come without any intention

of settling in Kansas, and with no other purpose than to influence the election. The form of oath administered is said to have been—"Are you *at this instant* an inhabitant of the Territory?" Such a question was of course contrived with an express view to evasion, and the Free Soil men were naturally indignant at so outrageous a violation of the popular will. Some of the Missourians were arrested, but Judge Lecompte—a great supporter of slavery—at once issued writs of *habeas corpus* for their release. Two judges were also apprehended—one for stuffing the ballot-boxes, and the other for receiving fraudulent suffrages. Yet the clause, thus dishonestly voted, was transmitted to Washington, together with the whole of the Lecompton Constitution, as a genuine expression of the will of Kansas, and as such was received by the Federal Government. Several angry debates took place in the Senate and House of Representatives; for those were days in which the conflict of principles was particularly bitter. When President Buchanan sent the Kansas Constitution to Congress for ratification, on the 2nd of February, 1858, he at the same time transmitted a Message which unequivocally indicated the bias of his own mind. He characterised the city of Lawrence, in Kansas, as a hot-bed of Abolitionism; denounced the obstinacy with which the Free State men insisted on their ideas; and asserted that the dividing line in Kansas was not between political parties, as in other places, but between those who were loyal to the Government, and those who were endeavouring to destroy it by the force of usurpation. Kansas, he argued, had become, by the will of the people, as much a Slave State as Georgia or South Carolina, and he affirmed that admission into the Union under the Slave Constitution was the only means of restoring tranquillity. Every piece of intelligence from that distracted region, however, showed that tranquillity was the very thing which the Constitution had *not* secured. Civil war had once more broken out; two armies and two leaders were in the field against one another; two Governments existed in open rivalry; two Constitutions had been framed; frequent collisions took place, and many individual acts of atrocity were committed. The advocates of slavery had won the day by a resort to artifices which deprived the popular vote of all significance and value; but they found themselves called on to confront the indignation of the Free Soil men, and to fight at the sword's point for what they had gained by a perversion of the ballot-boxes. Moreover, the Free Soil House of Representatives, which was again in session, took a decided stand against the vote which had recently been declared. The members of this Assembly passed resolutions protesting against the admission of the State into the Union under the Slave-holding Constitution; repelling with scorn the libellous charge contained in the Message of the President accompanying that Constitution, to the effect that the Free Soil men of Kansas were a lawless people; and solemnly pledging themselves to resist the obnoxious Constitution and Government by force of arms, if necessary. The Council concurred in these resolutions, to which, indeed, there were only two negative votes.

On the Constitution coming before Congress, it was encountered by an opponent who until recently could not have been contemplated in that character. Senator Douglas, the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which was generally held to have been contrived in the interests of the Southern slave-holders, refused his sanction to what had been effected in Kansas, on the fair and reasonable ground that the vote on the slavery clause did not really express the popular will. Nevertheless, the Bill passed the Senate; but the House of Representatives demurred. In the end, a compromise was effected, and, in June, 1858, a Bill became law, which provided for another popular vote, when, on an indirect issue, the Lecompton Constitution was to be either accepted or rejected. The Free Soil party had gained the major part of what they required; and on the 29th of January, 1861, near the end of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, Kansas was admitted into the Union as a non-slaveholding State. The defection of Mr. Douglas in 1858 (if defection it can be called) was the beginning of a split in the Democratic party, which led to the great Republican success at the Presidential election of 1860.

The troubles in Utah were as far from being settled as those in Kansas. After the compromise which had been come to, in 1858, between the Mormons and the Federal troops, a brief period of tranquillity ensued; but the elements of disturbance had not ceased to exist, and a collision occurred in 1859. Judge Cradlebaugh opened a Court at Provo, in March of that year, for the purpose of trying a certain number of Mormons who were under arrest. To guard the prisoners from rescue, the judge made a requisition for a company of soldiers, as there was no jail where the trial was to be held. General Johnson, finding that a good deal of excitement existed among the Saints, sent no fewer then a thousand men to protect the action of the Court. This proceeding appeared to Governor Cumming to be excessive, and he therefore ordered the General to recall his troops. The latter refused, and a rupture

between the two officials followed, as a matter of course.

The Governor was supported by the Attorney-General and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; but Johnson maintained his position, and kept his men in attendance on Judges Cradlebaugh and Sinclair. It was asserted by the Mormons that the General and the two justices were animated by a hostile spirit towards themselves, and they accused the army of drunkenness, and of every kind of irregularity which can disturb or debauch society. Opinion in the older parts of the Union was, on the whole, in favour of the Mormons; and in May the Federal Government formally disapproved the conduct of Judge Cradlebaugh. In Utah itself, however, a somewhat powerful minority cherished the most unfriendly feelings towards the Administration of Brigham Young, and the very principles of Mormonism. These malcontents were chiefly to be found in Carson Valley, on the frontiers of California; and in August, 1859, they made a formal proclamation of independence, and expressed their desire to constitute a new Territory under the protection of the Union. In this declaration they accused the Mormons of having committed a long series of abuses against the inhabitants of Western Utah; of violating the Organic Act which constituted the Territory; of showing themselves enemies to the Constitutional Government and the institutions of the country; of having declared war against the United States; of having refused to submit themselves to the Federal laws, at the same time claiming the benefit of them whenever it was their interest to do so; of having disputed the right of the United States judges to try offenders, whenever they happened to be Mormons; of having succeeded by their legislative intrigues in staying the course of justice; of protecting criminals, and nullifying the laws of the Union; of declaring ineligible for any public employment any unmarried citizen, unless he had resided two years in the Territory of Utah; of having stained their hands with the blood of their fellow-countrymen peacefully passing across their soil; of having deprived them of their property, without even a show of justice; and of poisoning the minds of the Indians, and inspiring them with unfriendly feelings towards the Americans, who were thus forced to be in frequent collision with them. The accusation with respect to the Mormons having murdered certain of their fellow-countrymen had reference to the massacre of a company of emigrants near Mountain Meadows, Santa Clara, in the autumn of 1857. They were passing through Utah on their way to California, when a hundred and forty persons were slaughtered, and only infants at the breast were spared. The authors of the atrocity had the appearance of Indians; but the people of Carson Valley alleged that they were in truth Mormons in disguise. The real facts, however, were not brought to light until 1876, when one of the Mormon leaders was tried, convicted, and condemned to death, for his complicity in this massacre. The memorial of the Carson Valley malcontents produced no effect, and tranquillity prevailed in the Mormon settlements for a considerable period. In the spring of 1860, the Federal army quitted Utah, and Brigham Young once more reigned in undisputed power.

In taking leave for a long while of this remarkable man, we may be allowed to quote the testimony to his character borne by John Hyde, himself a Mormon until he turned apostate, and who, after he had quitted the fold, published a book in New York about his former associates. This writer, though often speaking with much bitterness of the Saints, admits the existence of great qualities in Brigham Young. "One of the severest tests of greatness," says Hyde, "is the power to completely centre in oneself a thousand interests, and the deep affection of a thousand hearts. All really great men have done this. Philosophy has had its disciples, adventurers their followers, generals their soldiers, kings their subjects, impostors their fanatics. Mohammed, Smith, Brigham Young, have all been thus. No man ever lived who had more deeply-devoted friends than Brigham Young. The magnetism that attracts and infatuates, that makes men feel its weight and yet love its presence, abounds in him. Even his enemies have to acknowledge a great charm in the influence he throws around him. The clerks in his office, and his very wives, feel the same veneration for the Prophet as the most respectful new-comer. . . . . The whole secret of Brigham's influence lies in his real sincerity. Brigham may be a great man greatly deceived; but he is not a hypocrite. Smith was an impostor; that can be clearly established: Brigham Young embraced Mormonism in sincerity, conscientiously believed, faithfully practised, and enthusiastically taught it. As devoted to Smith as Kimball is now to him, he reverenced him as a Prophet, and loved him as a man. For the sake of his religion, he has over and over again left his family, confronted the world, endured hunger, come back poor, made wealth, and given it to the church. He holds himself prepared to lead his people in sacrifice and want, as in plenty and ease. . . . . Few men can persist in believing him a hypocrite, either in his family, or in private meetings, or in public. I am convinced that, if he be an impostor,

he has commenced by imposing on himself.* This is the testimony of an enemy, and must be received with respect, however great our antipathy to the tenets of Mormonism, and to the whole career of Young. So great a force operating on so many minds, and so largely affecting the history of the current generation, cannot proceed entirely, even if it proceed partially, from a low, self-conscious imposture. The second Mormon Prophet has been one of the moving powers of the last five-and-thirty years. He has to a great extent triumphed over opposition, and is even now revered by thousands. We may lament this fact; but it is vain to deny it, or to underrate its value.†

CHAPTER XXI.

Practical Revival of the Slave-trade—Affair of the *Echo*—African Slaves taken to Charleston, and there seized by the Federal Authorities—Legal Decision on the Questions involved—Events of 1859—Formal Cession of Belize to England—Cession by England of the Bay Islands to Honduras—Assistance rendered by an American Commander to the English Fleet in the Peiho—"Blood is thicker than Water!"—Conclusion of a Treaty between the United States and China—Mr. Ward at the Chinese Court—State of Anarchy in Mexico—Proposed Treaty between Mexico and the United States—Causes of its Failure—Difficulties with England on account of San Juan—Occupation of the Island by an American Force—Violent Conduct of General Harney—Moderation of the American Ministers—The Disagreement composed by General Scott—Final Settlement of the San Juan Question in 1872—Attempted Insurrection at Harper's Ferry—Trial and Execution of John Brown—Effect of his Death in the North—Speeches of Wendell Phillips—The Event a great Accession of Strength to the Abolitionist Party.

ENCOURAGED by the evident leanings of Mr. Buchanan, the Pro-slavery party made vigorous efforts, under the Presidency of that gentleman, to increase their power, and extend the application of their principles. The slave-trade, though illegal, was carried on with but little disguise along the shores of the Southern States. Texan newspapers advertised cargoes of blacks just arrived from Africa, and they were bought and sold like any other merchandise. It was proposed by the most extreme section of the Southerners to legalise the trade once more; but this would have been going too far even for the existing Administration, and the suggestion, while it was received with favour in some quarters, did not obtain general support among responsible politicians. Nevertheless, the slave-trade was practically revived, and many awkward incidents were the consequence. One of these gave much trouble to the Federal authorities.

An American ship, the *Echo*, sailed from a New England port, with three hundred and fourteen negroes on board, in the latter half of 1858. These unfortunate beings were the survivors of four hundred and fifty-five Africans who had been embarked seven weeks previously from the coast of Congo, and their destination was one of the Southern States of America. On entering the port of Charleston, South Carolina, however, the commanders of the *Echo* found there the Federal cruiser *Dauphin*, the captain of which had recently taken a suspicious-looking clipper near Cuba, and had carried it to Charleston, as being the nearest port. He now took possession of the slaves on board the *Echo*. The event caused great excitement among the townspeople, and they formed a design to seize the negroes, who had been handed over to the United States military commandant. By a law passed in 1835, no man of colour could enter the port of South Carolina without being liable to be sold as a slave; and this law had been so rigorously enforced that negroes arriving in English or other foreign vessels were detained in prison until the ships to which they belonged were ready to leave. It was now represented to the sheriff of Charleston that some free men of colour had been brought there, in defiance of the laws of South Carolina. The sheriff consulted the law officers of the State, and they were unanimously of opinion that South Carolina had a sovereign right to determine the fate of all negroes who set foot within its bounds. Hereupon, the sheriff summoned the Federal commandant to deliver up to him the blacks brought by the *Echo*, to be dealt with by the tribunals in conformity with the laws existing in that part of America. Nominally, it was the freedom of the negroes which was being contended for; in reality,

* Mormonism, its Leaders and Designs. By John Hyde, Jun. New York, 1857.—The above passage is reproduced from M. Jules Remy's work on the Great Salt Lake City.

† It is but just to say that only a comparatively small proportion of the Mormon population are native Americans. The largest number have been recruited from foreign countries, and no inconsiderable portion from Great Britain itself.

it was the freedom of Southern planters to enslave them. But the demand was resisted. The commandant, before replying, consulted the attorney of the Federal Court, and was directed by him to retain the negroes in his possession. By way of precaution, the Africans were transferred to one of the forts commanding the Charleston roads, as it was feared that an attempt would be made to take them away by violence. Some of the Charleston journals affected to believe that the strangers, finding the climate and soil of South Carolina similar to their own, would wish to remain, and that it would be an act of inhumanity to inflict on them the sufferings of a second voyage; but it was not at all likely that the wishes of these unfortunate barbarians would, under any circumstances, have been allowed to form an element in the question.

JOHN BROWN.

The matter was settled, as far as the blacks themselves were concerned, by their being transported in a Federal vessel to the free negro colony of Liberia, founded, between 1816 and 1822, on the west coast of Africa, by the American Colonisation Society. This flourishing settlement, which has done so much to ensure a happier future to the black race, was originally under the direction of the Society by which it was established; but in 1847 it was allowed to proclaim itself an independent Republic, and as such it has existed ever since.

Although the slaves were thus rescued from a miserable fate, the difficulties of the Federal authorities were not yet over. The officers of the *Echo* were tried in the Federal Court of South Carolina; but it was argued on their behalf that their arrest was an undue exercise of power, and

that the Constitution had been violated. The point was obstinately contested until the close of the year; but the Court declared that the law under which the slave-dealers were apprehended was perfectly constitutional, and that the arrest was in accordance with the law. Nevertheless, the advocates of the accused still desperately struggled for their view of the case; contending that the Constitution, in giving Congress the right to punish piracy, meant piracy in the ordinary sense of the word—that is to say, brigandage on the high seas—and not such acts as those in question. Many more legal quibbles were raised; and in the end the officers were acquitted.* Other vessels engaged in the slave-trade were pursued and seized by Federal cruisers; but it was a difficult matter to find juries to convict.

Very few events of importance occurred during the year 1859 until near the end. Walker was still meditating a renewed attack upon Central America, but for the time was unable to bring his plans to bear. Another expedition was sent against Cuba; but the vessel was wrecked, the arms and ammunition of the Filibusters were lost, and the men saved themselves with difficulty. In the summer months, Americans were more interested in the war of independence then being waged in Northern Italy, with the assistance of the Emperor Napoleon, than in anything at that time proceeding on their own continent. Yet there were facts worthy of attention nearer home, and they did not entirely escape remark. Among these was the formal cession to England, by the Republic of Guatemala, of the territory previously known as British Honduras, or Belize, of which, however, the English had long been in practical possession. A popular New York journal, always animated by a feeling of unfriendliness towards England, remarked that this cession created a new British colonial establishment on the American continent, and completed the chain of English possessions from Canada to Demerara. The fact, in the opinion of this journal, was a commentary on the value of the Monroe Doctrine as supported by the United States, and a striking instance of the failure of American diplomacy in Central America. It was certainly a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and very naturally created a sentiment of angry jealousy in the United States. Popular feeling, however, received some satisfaction from the cession by Great Britain of the Bay Islands to Honduras, on the 28th of November. It had always been maintained at Washington that Honduras was the legitimate possessor of those islands, and it was the refusal of the English Government to part with them, excepting on certain conditions not approved by the Americans, that caused the abandonment of the treaty negotiated in 1856 between Mr. Dallas and Lord Clarendon.

A pleasing incident in the summer of 1859 tended to the creation of a kindly feeling between England and the United States. During the war in China, which was being carried on by the allied forces of Great Britain and France, Admiral Hope, on the 25th of June, made an attempt to reduce some forts lately erected at the mouth of the river Peiho. Two of the gunboats grounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy, and a third was so damaged by the fire from the forts that she sank at her anchors. Seeing the critical position of the English, the American commodore, Tatnall, who was close by at the time, bore down to their assistance with the memorable words, "Blood is thicker than water;" and the help thus generously rendered was of great service in mitigating the effects of the repulse. The Americans were at that time in China for the purpose of concluding a treaty with the Emperor. In this design they succeeded; but it was said at the time in some of the English newspapers that their Minister, Mr. Ward, had submitted to various indignities to attain his end. The assertion appears to have been entirely erroneous. An Anglo-Chinese newspaper—the *North China Herald*—published an account of the journey of Mr. Ward to Pekin, which showed that he had been treated with perfect courtesy. The only thing as to which any complaint appears to have been uttered was the jolting of the carriages in which the Minister and his suite were conveyed a portion of their way; but vehicles without springs are common in that part of the country. Mr. Ward was at all points received with the consideration due to his rank and to the great nation which he represented. The junks on the Peiho were handsomely fitted up to do honour to the strangers; coloured silk festoons floated from the landing-places; and whenever the party went on shore, they were received by a military guard. From Peh-tang, whence they had started, they proceeded for five days up the river in boats provided by the Chinese Government; and from Tung-chau they were sent in carriages to Pekin. At the capital they were lodged in a handsome mansion, and were visited by the Mayor, the Judge of the province, and the Imperial Commissioners. They were invited to a ball and to a banquet, and at a later period an English prisoner was delivered into the hands of Mr. Ward, as a testimony of friendship and respect. The ratifica-

* Annuaire des Deux Mondes, 1858-9.

tions of the treaty, however, were not exchanged at Pekin, nor was the American Minister admitted to an interview with the Emperor, because, with a very proper regard to his own dignity and that of his Government and nation, he refused to kneel, or in any way touch the ground, in presenting the treaty. The Emperor had so far departed from custom as not to make any demand for the "ko-tow"—the most extreme form of submission; but Mr. Ward refused to perform any acts of abasement. The personal audience, therefore, did not take place. Nothing, however, could exceed the good feeling with which the matter was discussed; and when the box containing the President's letter to the Emperor was handed to the Chinese Minister, the latter received it with much respect, lifted it above his eyes, and appointed a guard of honour over it. Mr. Ward then returned to Peh-tang, where the ratifications were exchanged.

The anarchical condition of Mexico in 1859 induced President Juarez to propose to the United States an alliance offensive and defensive. The draft of this treaty, sent home by Mr. M'Lane, the Envoy from Washington, conceded to the United States a right of way across the Northern States of Mexico, between the Rio Grande and ports on the Gulf of California, with guarantees for its protection; rights of way and valuable privileges of transit for the American company holding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; the privilege of erecting and maintaining warehouses at the termini of the several transit-routes; the right of transporting troops and munitions of war over such routes, and of sending troops to protect them, in default of Mexico fulfilling that duty; and free entry and transit of goods belonging or consigned to American citizens in Arizona through the ports of the Gulf of California, and across Sonora. Entire and unquestionable freedom of religious opinion and religious worship throughout the Republic was by this treaty to be granted to the Mexicans; and a clause was introduced, indicating the willingness of the Mexican Government to accept a modified form of Protectorate. But the very condition which suggested the treaty prevented its being carried into effect. There were at that time two Governments in Mexico—the Dictatorship of Juarez at Vera Cruz, and the Dictatorship of Miramon at the capital. The two factions were somewhat equally balanced; victory and defeat for a long time alternated on both sides; and it would not have been a safe proceeding to contract engagements with either chieftain, since it was impossible to say how long he would retain any authority whatever. Yet the fact of such a proposal having been made, and to some extent entertained, indicated the existence of a singular feeling in both countries. Mexico was so sick of the disorganisation and civil war which had existed for more than a generation, that a large and influential party was prepared to place the Republic under the control of those Northern Americans who, twelve years before, had marched even to the metropolis, and dictated a humiliating peace at the cannon's mouth. In the United States, many persons were desirous of obtaining that command over Mexico to which the proposed treaty would have been the preliminary step. To those so thinking, it appeared the "manifest destiny" of the Federation to extend its rule over the whole of North America; and that which the strength of England denied them in the direction of Canada, they hoped to obtain from the weakness of the Spanish-Americans in the direction of Mexico. That their wishes in this respect have hitherto been thwarted, may be set down among the happy strokes of fortune. The people of Anglo-America could not be otherwise than enfeebled and lowered by association with such a race as that which has succeeded to the sovereignty of Montezuma.

Another dispute with England arose during the summer of 1859. Near the coast of Vancouver's Island is a smaller island called San Juan. The possession of this territory was of some importance to England, because of its commanding the narrow channel between British Columbia and the United States. The incomplete definition of the boundaries between the two countries' possessions, contained in the treaty of June, 1846, led to conflicting interpretations, and neither party was inclined to compromise. Nevertheless, the question remained in abeyance for several years, and the island was occupied jointly by British and American officials. At length, however, the Americans began to get impatient; and, on the 9th of August, General Harney, the United States commander in Washington Territory, sent four companies of artillery from Fort Washington to reinforce Captain Picket, who was already stationed in San Juan with a small number of men. The captain then issued an order, in which he said:—"In compliance with orders and instructions from the General commanding, a military post will be established on this island, on whatever site the commanding officer may select. All the inhabitants of the island are requested to report at once to the commanding officer in case of any incursion of the Northern Indians, so that he may take such steps as he may deem necessary to prevent any future recurrence of the same. This being United States territory, no laws other than those of the United States, nor Courts except such

as are held by virtue of said laws, will be recognised or allowed on this island." Here was a clear assertion of sovereignty in a case which was still doubtful; and it excited considerable indignation on the part of the British colonists. The English argument was that San Juan is obviously a part of Vancouver's Island; that it commands the neighbouring channel; and that that channel is the gate to the Gulf of Georgia, to Fraser's River, and to British Columbia—mostly British water and British possessions. The case for the United States, as set forth by Mr. Nugent, the American Commissioner, was, that there are two channels between the continent and Vancouver's Island, both leading out into the Straits of Fuca—viz., the Strait of Rosario, a narrow channel nearest the mainland, and the Canal De Haro, which, besides being the beaten track, is much wider, has a greater average depth of water, and is nearer to Vancouver's Island. "It is claimed on the part of Great Britain," continued Mr. Nugent, "that the Strait of Rosario, being the channel nearest the mainland, is that contemplated by the treaty; but a very slight consideration of the circumstances under which the line was run, as well as of the wording of the article, will show that this position is wholly untenable. In the first place, the only reason why the boundary line was caused to deflect from the 49th parallel, before it reached the Pacific Ocean, was to avoid the southern end of Vancouver's Island, on which there was then a British settlement. The intendment of the article was merely to save Great Britain the Island of Vancouver, and consequently the nearest channel to Vancouver was undoubtedly that through the middle of which the treaty contemplated the line should run. Again, the islands bordering on the continent belong to the continent, unless otherwise stipulated; but there is no stipulation except as to Vancouver's Island, neither was there any reason existing at that time why there should be, as none of the islands in dispute were then occupied by subjects of Great Britain."

Immediately on hearing of the occupation of San Juan by the United States troops, Mr. Douglas, the Governor of British Columbia, protested against the act, and threatened to land British soldiers, if it were persisted in. From General Harney's reply to this protest, it appeared that his proceedings were due, not to any orders from his Government, but to his own idea of what was fitting under the circumstances. He alleged that his motive in sending troops to the island was "to protect the American citizens residing there from the insults and indignities which the British authorities of Vancouver's Island, and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, have recently offered them, by sending a British ship-of-war from Vancouver's Island to convey the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company to San Juan, for the purpose of seizing an American citizen, and forcing him to Vancouver's Island, to be tried by British laws." It was very doubtful, however, whether any such event had taken place. Mr. Douglas denied it in the most unhesitating and unqualified manner. The conduct of General Harney was especially blamable, because it was an outrage on an understanding come to between Mr. Secretary Marcy and the British Minister at Washington, in 1855, to the effect that neither Power should exercise sovereignty on the island until the Boundary Commissioners had sent in their report. The American officer nevertheless persisted in the course on which he had entered. He said he would lay the facts before his Government, who would doubtless seek proper redress from the Government of Great Britain. In the meanwhile, he notified Mr. Douglas that he would not permit a repetition of the insult of which he complained, and would retain command on the island, to protect its citizens in the name of the United States, until he had received further instructions from Washington. It is a remarkable fact, and one not very creditable to General Harney, that that officer, a little before sending soldiers to San Juan, had paid a friendly visit to Governor Douglas, and had said not a word about the alleged grievance. Had he done so, as he was afterwards reminded by the English official, he would have learned that the complaint was unfounded. At any rate, if General Harney had really any complaint to make against the British authorities on Vancouver's Island, the more usual and the more courteous method of proceeding would have been to lay the matter before those authorities, with a demand for redress, before proceeding to so extreme a measure as sending artillery to a territory which, as matters then stood, was neither distinctly American nor distinctly British.

Had the Ministers of the United States been animated by a similar spirit to that of General Harney, war between the two countries might have been the result. Fortunately, they looked at the matter in a very different light, and, in answer to the representations of the British authorities, expressed their willingness to abide by the arrangement of 1855. General Scott was at once sent to the scene of contention—not, indeed, to supersede General Harney, but to act as a political negotiator. He and Mr. Douglas discussed the whole question in the most temperate and amicable spirit; and the result was, that all the American troops, with the exception of a single company, were withdrawn

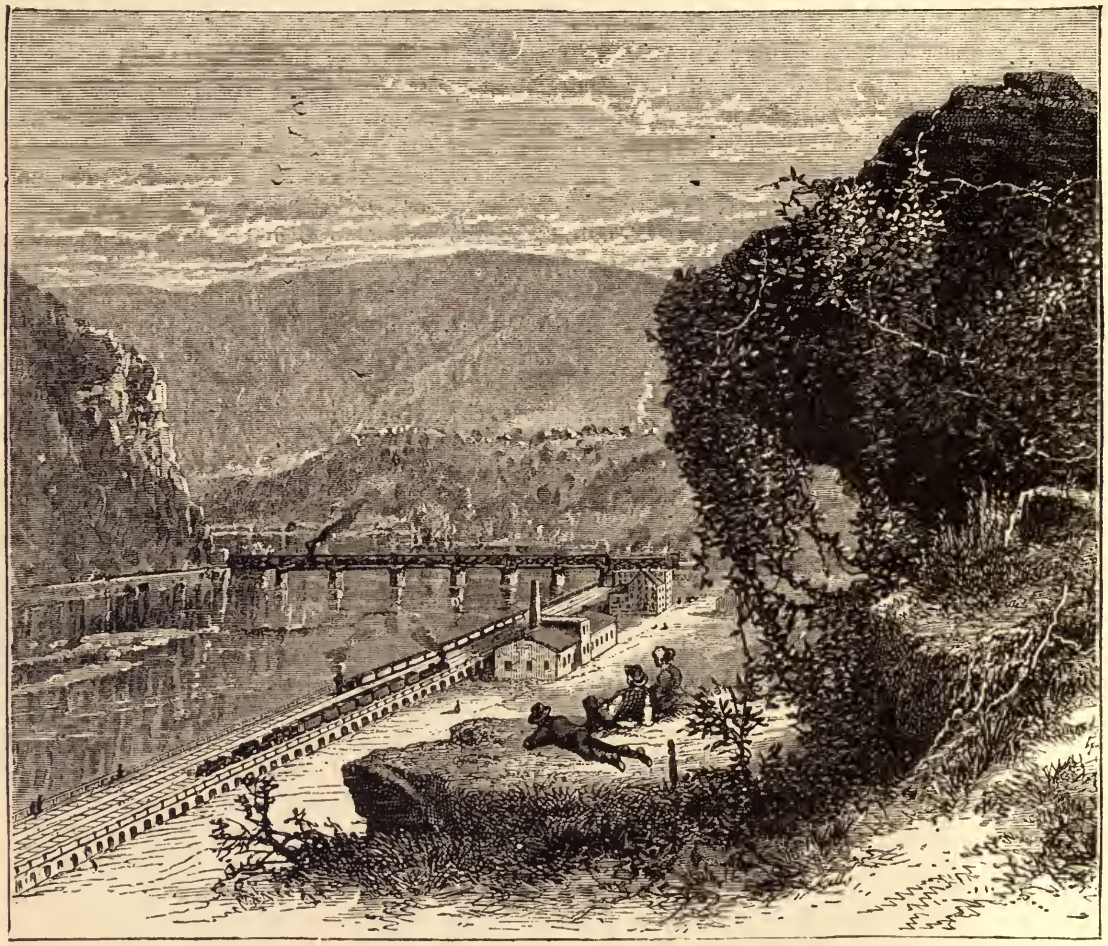
from the island, and that orders were issued for suspending work on the fortifications which had been commenced by General Harney. Hereupon, the English squadron which had been sent to the neighbourhood of San Juan took its departure, and affairs resumed their usual tenor. In May, 1860, General Harney was recalled, after again exhibiting an aggressive spirit. This of course did not settle the general question as to whom the island belonged to, and the doubt continued to exist for another thirteen years. In 1871 the matter was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany, who decided in favour of the United States, in October, 1872, and the island was evacuated by the British on the 22nd of the following month.

The quarrel about San Juan sank into insignificance as compared with an event which occurred in October, 1859, and which agitated the whole Union with apprehension of its consequences. A native of Connecticut, bearing the humble name of John Brown, had for many years been the terror of Southern slave-holders and their supporters. He was an Abolitionist, not merely on political grounds, but on moral and religious grounds as well. To him slavery was a sin so tremendous that to tolerate it in any way, or for any period, was a crime of equal magnitude. He was a man belonging to the farmer class, simple in manners, truthful in nature, fanatical in his convictions, and beyond the influence of fear when he had determined on any course. In Kansas, he fought the pro-slavery party with extraordinary courage, and often defeated them with loss. He had sons like himself, and two of these, who had settled in Kansas during the recent commotions, were murdered by the "border ruffians." Brown devoted himself to revenge—not merely, there can be little doubt, for personal reasons, but also out of a deep conviction of what was required from all honest men in the suppression of an abominable system. He conducted frequent raids into the border districts of Missouri, hung the persecutors of the anti-slavery party to trees, and struck so much terror into the slave-holders that they waited their opportunity for putting him to death. Believing that he was commissioned by God to punish the oppressors of the blacks, and to liberate the blacks themselves, he now determined on a desperate enterprise. At the confluence of the Shenandoah with the Potomac, stands a little town called Harper's Ferry, situated on the Virginian shore, opposite Maryland. The spot is wild and lonely, for the river at that point sweeps past between wooded hills and shadowing mountains, and the whole country has the character of a solitary gorge, traversed by a broad and rapid stream, and overhung by forests and towering uplands.

John Brown resolved to attack Harper's Ferry, and to make it the starting-point of his attempt to rouse the negroes of the Southern States. He collected a band of twenty white men in the middle of October, and held them in readiness on the Maryland bank. At ten o'clock on the night of Sunday, October 16th, these men crossed the railway bridge over the Potomac, and seized the Federal armoury at Harper's Ferry. Here they were speedily joined by several hundred sympathisers; and they barricaded and entrenched themselves in the position they had assumed. Throwing out pickets, they arrested all persons who ventured abroad, and a coloured man who approached too near the railway bridge, which was held by a number of the insurgents, was immediately shot down. Telegraphic communication with other parts of the country was interrupted by cutting the wires; arms were hastily despatched towards the South, and every inducement was held out to the negroes to engage in a general revolt. On the following morning, an attack was made on the armoury by the townspeople, with a view to dispossessing the invaders. It was for awhile successfully repelled by those within, who fired through the barred windows; but in time it became apparent that the building could not be permanently held. Some of the insurgents endeavoured to escape. A person named Lehman threw himself into the river in the hope of getting off by hard swimming. In an instant, he was fired upon and wounded. Casting himself upon a rock in the stream, he raised his hand, as if in token of surrender; but the hot blood of his opponents was fully roused, and no surrender was accepted. A rifleman waded to the isolated rock, and, with the utmost coolness and deliberation, blew out his brains. Brown and his companions now retreated to the engine-house, where they remained all through Monday and the night following, together with their wounded and their prisoners. The autumn rains had set in heavily, and darkness closed round the combatants with a double shadow. The conflict had been very sharp, and in several houses about the town lay the dying and the dead. But by this time intelligence of the outbreak had reached Washington, and assistance was on its way to Harper's Ferry. At seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived with a force of marines and land troops hastily gathered together. The local militia of Virginia had also been called out, and further resistance was utterly

vain. Yet Brown and his followers still refused to surrender. The doors of the engine-house were therefore battered in, and the invaders were captured, with the loss of only one man killed on the side of authority. But Brown himself was wounded in several places in the final attack; his remaining two sons were slain; and others of his followers lay dead about the arsenal.

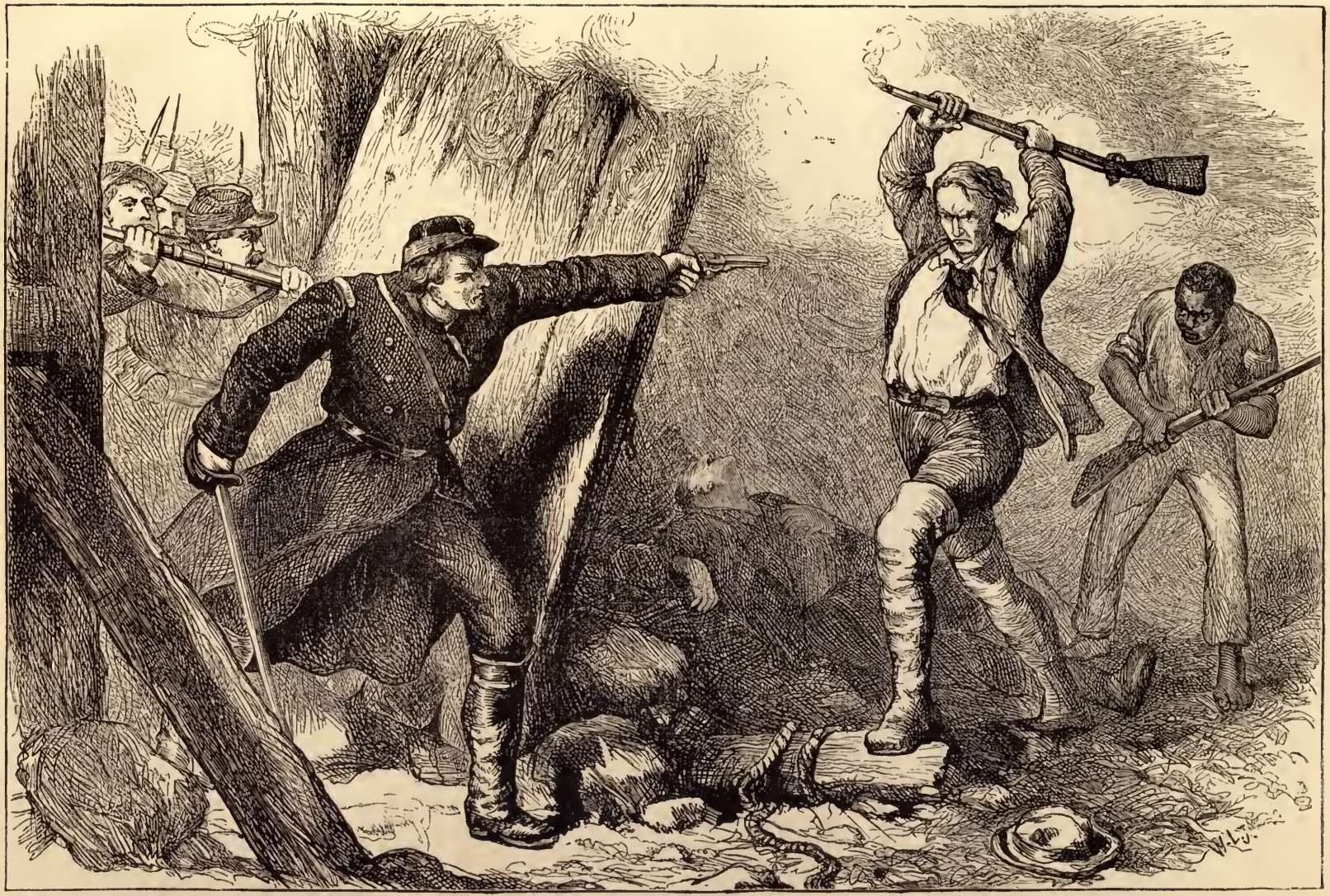
the slightest opportunity presented itself. He conversed freely and cheerfully with all who visited him, and his manner was so courteous, simple, and self-possessed as to produce a favourable impression even on the slave-holding population of Virginia. The Governor of that State testified that Brown was the most resolute man he had ever seen; that he was the most daring, the coolest, the most



HARPER'S FERRY.

The demeanour of Brown, when lodged in prison, was exactly what might have been expected from such a man. He had acted according to an imperative sense of duty and moral responsibility; he had set his life upon a desperate cast, and, having failed, he was prepared to meet the consequences with that quiet and unpretending courage which was a conspicuous part of his nature. He was described by the American papers as a man of fifty-nine years, rather small-sized, with keen, restless, grey eyes, and a grisly beard and hair; wiry, active, determined, and very likely to endeavour to escape, if

sincere; the man in whose truth, on any question, he would the soonest trust. In his possession was found a document, entitled "The Provisional Constitution and Ordinances for the People of the United States," which commenced with the words: "Whereas slavery, throughout its entire existence in the United States, is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude, or absolute extermination, in utter disregard and violation of those



CAPTURE OF JOHN BROWN IN THE ENGINE-HOUSE.

eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Independence; therefore, we, the citizens of the United States, and the oppressed people who, by a recent decision of the Supreme Court,* are declared to have no rights which the white man is bound to respect,—together with all the other people degraded by the laws thereof,—do for the time being ordain and establish for ourselves the following provisional constitution and ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives, and liberties, and to govern our actions."

The preliminary examination of Brown took place at Charleston, Virginia. He protested against the unfairness of being so hastily charged, and denounced the whole proceedings as a mockery of justice. His conviction was a foregone conclusion, as the conviction of any man must be who is taken in the very act of breaking the laws. He had challenged the strength of Virginia, and indeed of all the Southern States, and of the Federation itself. He had defied ordinances which he knew to exist, and had roused the passions and the fears of men. It was not to be expected that the slave-owners would show him any mercy. They had power on their side, and legal right; and, however great one's admiration of the motives which influenced this man, it is impossible not to see that a slave-insurrection, had it been really brought about, would have proved the most disastrous method of settling the great difficulty that could possibly have been devised. Brown was warmly supported by the Abolitionists; but, even in the North, more temperate politicians deplored the error he had committed, and saw that there was no reasonable hope of his being spared. The case was handed over to the grand jury, and the trial took place on the 27th of October. The prisoner requested time to prepare his defence, the assistance of counsel from the Free States, and liberty of communicating with the other prisoners; but most of these demands were refused, and the trial was pushed on with cruel and indecent haste. Virginia was frightened and vindictive, and, as an excuse for not granting any delay, it was urged that the women of the State were harassed by alarm and anxiety as long as their husbands were away from home, and that the jurymen desired to return to them. When Brown was brought into court, he was so weak, owing to the wounds he had received, that he could not stand upon his feet, but lay full-length upon a bed; yet the fears of his enemies were even then predominant. The Governor of Virginia, Mr. Wise, is stated to have remarked at Richmond, before the members of the Legislature, that Brown was a murderer, and ought to be hanged. As it was one of the prerogatives of the Governor to grant pardons, after convictions which might appear to him not strictly in accordance with justice, it was a monstrous outrage on propriety to give utterance to such an opinion while the case was yet awaiting trial. But the remark was only of a piece with the whole procedure. The prisoner was, indeed, furnished with counsel by the court; but the gentlemen to whom the duty of defending him was assigned, had no time for preparing their speeches, for calling witnesses, or for examining the law of the case. He was supplied with no list of witnesses for the prosecution, nor had he any knowledge of who they were to be, until they were produced in court. Brown himself had sent for counsel to the Northern States; but, on arriving, they were so exhausted by their long and hurried journey that they asked for a short delay, which was denied them. All this while, the prisoner lay on his pallet, sick, feverish, and half-conscious, knowing little of the methods by which his conviction was to be secured, but feeling certain from the first that conviction was inevitable. A verdict of guilty, on the 31st of October, was followed by sentence of death, and the execution was fixed for the 2nd of December. The decision was appealed against, but ultimately confirmed. On hearing the verdict and the sentence of the Judge, Brown said, "Gentlemen, make an end of slavery, or slavery will make an end of you." It was an utterance in the spirit of prophecy.

As the fatal day approached, the feeling of apprehension on the part of the Virginians became still more intense. Governor Wise ordered out a large military force, to overawe any attempt at rescue that might be made. It was also proposed to establish martial law; but this was not done. Brown expressed entire resignation to his fate, and money was liberally contributed in the Northern and Western States to support his family. At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of December, the prisoner was brought out of jail. Before leaving, he bade adieu to his fellow-prisoners, and was very affectionate to all excepting his principal assistant, a man named Cook, whom he charged with having deceived and misled him respecting the support he was to receive from the slaves. Brown, it appears, had been led to believe that they were ripe for insurrection; but, whether from fear, or from actual disinclination, this seems not to have been the case. Cook denied the charge, but otherwise said very little. When asked whether he was ready, Brown replied, "I am always ready;" and it was the simple truth. His arms were pinioned,

* The Dred Scott decision, in 1857.

and, wearing a black slouched hat, and the same clothes in which he had appeared at the trial, he proceeded to the door, apparently calm and cheerful. As he stepped out into the open air, he saw a negro woman with her child in her arms: he paused for a moment, and kissed the infant tenderly. Another black woman exclaimed, "God bless you, old man! I wish I could help you, but I cannot." Six companies of infantry, and one troop of horse, were drawn up in front of the jail; close by was a waggon, containing a coffin. After talking with some persons whom he knew, Brown seated himself in the waggon, and looked at the soldiers gathered about him. The vehicle then moved off, flanked by two files of riflemen in close order. The field where the gallows had been erected was also in full possession of the military. Pickets were stationed at various localities, and the spectators were kept back at the point of the bayonet, to prevent all possibility of a rescue. When Brown had mounted the gallows, and the cap had been put on his head, together with the rope around his neck, the executioner asked him to step forward on the trap. He replied, "You must lead me—I cannot see." All was now ready on the scaffold itself; but, owing to some fear on the part of the authorities, the soldiers were marched and countermarched, frequently changing their positions as if in the face of an enemy. This lasted ten minutes, and the executioner asked the unfortunate man if he was not tired. "No," answered Brown, "not tired; but don't keep me waiting longer than is necessary." At length the fatal act was completed; but Brown was a strong man, and the pulse did not entirely cease until after thirty-five minutes.* His companions were executed in March, 1860.

It is a curious feature in the case that the criminal had expressed a desire that no religious ceremony should be performed over his body by "ministers who consent to or approve of the enslavement of their fellow-creatures." He said he should prefer to be accompanied to the scaffold by a dozen slave-children and a good old slave-mother, with their appeal to God for blessings on his soul, rather than have all the eloquence of the whole clergy of the commonwealth combined. His first desire was that his body should be burned; but this was objected to by his wife, and it was sent in a coffin to the North. In many parts of New England, the day of Brown's death was observed as a day of mourning. Bells were tolled, and public prayers offered up; and in the State of Massachusetts an attempt was even made to adjourn the Legislature. Wendell Phillips pronounced two most magnificent orations on the occasion—one while Brown was still lying under sentence of death, the other at his grave. In the first of these he mentioned a fact which brings an element of tenderness into the forlorn and bloody drama. A New England lady—Lydia Maria Child—wrote to Governor Wise, when Brown was awaiting execution, with a request that she might be allowed to nurse the sick and wounded man while life was still permitted him. "I am an Abolitionist," she said; "I have been so thirty years. I think slavery is a sin, and John Brown a saint; but I want to come and nurse him, and I pledge my word that if you will open his prison-door, I will use the privilege under sacred honour *only* to nurse him. I enclose you a message to Brown; be sure and deliver it." The message was:—"Old man, God bless you! You have struck a noble blow; you have done a mighty work: God was with you; your heart was in the right place. I send you across five hundred miles the pulse of a woman's gratitude." Governor Wise was in some respects a stern man; but that letter and that message overcame him. He opened the prison-doors to Lydia Child.

The annual message of Governor Wise to the Virginian Legislature, delivered shortly after the execution of Brown, was expressed in a querulous tone, which showed how deeply the fears of Southern gentlemen had been touched by the inroad of a few enthusiasts. Virginia, he said, would resist invasion; but he was obliged to confess that the Abolitionist tendencies of the Free States were rapidly increasing, while the Conservative feeling, as he called it, was fast diminishing. He regarded it as a mockery to describe the insurgents as monomaniacs; for, if so, a large proportion of the people in many of the States were monomaniacs too. He professed to discover the source of this predatory war in the British provinces of North America, which furnished asylums for fugitives, and sent them forth into the bordering States. It would therefore be necessary for Virginia to put herself in full panoply, and to "fight for peace." In a few years she had to fight for the very existence of the wrong which was so dear to her, and to lose the battle in the end.

The attempt of Brown had failed. It was rash, it was hopeless, it was ill-advised, if we consider nothing but the immediate consequences; but it led to vast results in a future which was not distant. It made still more obvious the utter incompatibility of a Free North and a Slave-holding South. It quickened throughout all the Northern States a

* Accounts in the newspapers of the day.—Life and Letters of Captain John Brown, edited by Richard D. Webb. London, 1861.

passion of reforming zeal, the materials whereof had been long accumulating, but which it required some such event to kindle into sudden and consuming flame. It roused the fears and armed the hands of Southern planters, and made them comprehend that the day of reckoning was not far off, and that this dread question must be brought to an issue fierce, agonising, and conclusive. It caused both sides to understand their wishes and their will better than they had ever understood them before. It cleared away a mass of equivocations, evasions, compromises, and insincerities. It placed the moral law above the Constitutional, and called sternly and sharply on all men to choose their colour, and to abide by it. Abolitionist principles in the North received an immense accession of strength from this act of John Brown. The coming Presidential election was determined beforehand by that Virginian execution: the victory of Abraham Lincoln dates from the defeat of Harper's Ferry. Had Brown succeeded for a time—had he raised the negroes, and inaugurated a servile war with all its horrors—he would have failed utterly. It was a good thing that he failed in the minor degree, and that *his* blood, and not the blood of Virginian slave-holders, was the germinating seed. His body slept quietly in its Northern grave; but his spirit went abroad over the land, making real and permanent the good to which he aspired, and for which he died.

CHAPTER XXII.

State of Opinion in December, 1859—Division between North and South—New York Manifesto—Proceedings in the Senate—Difficulty in Electing a Speaker to the House of Representatives—The President's Message—Slavery and the Slave Trade—State of Mexico—Official Letter of Secretary Cass on the Slave Trade Revival—Horrors of the Traffic on the West Coast of Africa—Charges brought against Mr. Buchanan—Appointment of a Committee of Inquiry by the House of Representatives—Mr. Buchanan's Protest against that Step—Visit of the Prince of Wales to the United States—The Presidential Contest (1860)—Assembling of the Democratic Convention at Charleston, South Carolina—Speech of Mr. Cushing—Position of Mr. Douglas towards the Democratic Party—Abandonment of the Principle of "Popular Sovereignty" as applied to Slavery in the Territories—Resolutions of the Extreme Democratic Party—Attempt to range the whole Union on the side of Slavery—Split in the Convention—Secession of Southern Members—Adjourned Meeting of the Democratic Convention at Baltimore—Further Secessions—Democratic Nominations to the Presidency—The National Constitutional Union Party—Meeting of the Republican Convention at Chicago—Its Platform—Nomination of Abraham Lincoln—Character of the Man.

Nothing could exceed the agitation of the country at the reassembling of Congress on the 5th of December, 1859. The execution of John Brown was a fact not more than three days old, and the public mind was still rent with conflicting opinions as to the outbreak at Harper's Ferry, and the punishment of its leader. Secession was again being openly talked of at the South; even some of the Northerners were beginning to doubt whether the Union could be much longer maintained, or was worth maintaining at the price of so much animosity and feud, such perversions of constitutional liberty, and such restrictions on free speech. This, however, was not the prevailing sentiment in the Northern and Central States. A manifesto was extensively circulated for signature in New York, the object of which was to rebuke any tendency to separation. The authors of this document, while expressing great abhorrence of what they described as the crimes of John Brown and his associates, declared it as their unalterable purpose to stand by the Constitution in all its parts, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States. They denounced as unpatriotic and untrue, revolutionary and dangerous, the idea of an irrepressible conflict between the two great sections of the Union. They maintained, on the contrary, that the North and South were created for each other; that there was a natural and necessary affinity between them by parentage, history, religion, language, and geographical position; and that even their different climates and different forms of industry added strength to the bond of union, by enabling them to supply each other's wants. And they pledged themselves to discountenance and oppose, by their influence, their example, and all other legitimate means, every form of sectionalism. Excellent as was the purpose of this manifesto, it was feeble in comparison with the passions which were then hurrying on the nation to a crisis. The forces of disintegration could not be controlled by a few well-meant sentences.

It was only the Senate which reassembled on the 5th of December. The members of the Lower House had not arrived in sufficient numbers to form a quorum, so that the Presidential Message

was not at that time delivered. The Senate, however, at once proceeded to business. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, moved for the appointment of a select committee to make a full and searching investigation into all the circumstances connected with the Harper's Ferry outbreak, and also to report what legislation was necessary for the future preservation of the peace of the country, and the safety of public property. To this Mr. Trumbull moved an amendment, extending the inquiry to an investigation of the circumstances connected with the seizure of the arsenal at Franklin, Missouri, during the civil war in Kansas; but, after a long debate, the Senate adjourned without coming to any definite resolution. When at length the House of Representatives was able to commence its proceedings, another difficulty presented itself, which was not overcome for several weeks. Sixteen candidates were put in nomination for the office of Speaker; but not one succeeded in obtaining the requisite number of votes. The division turned upon the general question of slavery, intensified and embittered by the recent outbreak at Harper's Ferry. No Speaker was elected until the 1st of February, 1860, when a gentleman holding strong anti-slavery views was chosen, to the disgust and mortification of the South; and Mr. Buchanan, tired of waiting for the other branch of the Legislature, sent in his Message to the Senate on the 27th of December, 1859. With reference to the Harper's Ferry affair, the President expressed the strange belief that it would be the means of allaying excitement on the question of negro bondage. The extinction of the slave-trade had always, Mr. Buchanan protested, been among the chief aims of his policy; but, if so, he had certainly been very unfortunate in the selection of means for bringing about that result. He congratulated his countrymen on its having been finally settled by the Supreme Court of the United States that every citizen had a right to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories belonging equally to all the States of the Federation, and have it protected there under the Federal Constitution. Neither Congress, nor any Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, had authority (the President declared) to annul or impair this vested right. These principles of constitutional law were described by Mr. Buchanan, in the face of all that had happened in Kansas, at Harper's Ferry, and elsewhere, as "manifestly just in themselves, and well calculated to promote peace and harmony among the States."

As regarded the foreign relations of the country, complaints were urged against no other European Power than Spain, which still delayed the settlement of the United States' claims. The purchase of Cuba was earnestly recommended to the national representatives, in accordance with the policy which Mr. Buchanan himself had been instrumental in putting forth in the celebrated letter from Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1854. The San Juan affair was referred to in a conciliatory spirit; but the condition of Mexico drew from the President some remarks which were little short of a declaration of war. "I regret to inform you," he said, "that there has been no improvement in the affairs of Mexico since my last Message, and I am again obliged to ask the earnest attention of Congress to the unhappy condition of that Republic. Outrages of the worst description are committed on persons and property. There is scarcely any form of injury which has not been suffered by our citizens in Mexico during the last few years. We have been nominally at peace with that Republic; but, so far as the interests of our commerce or of our citizens who have visited the country as merchants, shipmasters, or in other capacities, are concerned, we might as well have been at war. I recommend Congress to pass a law authorising the President, under such restrictions as they may deem necessary, to employ military force against Mexico, for the purpose of obtaining indemnity for the past, and security for the future." Mexico was unquestionably in a state which was disgraceful to any nation calling itself civilised. The two Governments—that of Miramon at the capital, and that of Juarez at Vera Cruz—were desolating the land by their contending forces, and there was no immediate prospect of either completely vanquishing the other. Mr. Buchanan's Administration inclined to Juarez, as representing more liberal and progressive principles than his rival, and even went so far as to lend him four million dollars, in consideration of the right of transit which had been granted to the United States.

That Mr. Buchanan gave his best services to the slave-interest, was a fact constantly appearing in his principles and his political actions. He did indeed make some pretence of checking the revived slave-trade; but the disgraceful traffic went on, nevertheless. In the early part of 1860, the public were made acquainted with a letter addressed, on the 23rd of February, 1859, by Mr. Secretary Cass to Mr. Dallas, the American Minister in London. The general upshot of this communication was—that the United States had the most fervent desire to suppress the slave-trade, and had made great efforts to that end; that the law had of course been evaded at times, and must necessarily be so now and then, in spite of the utmost vigilance; that the Washington

Government, at the date of the despatch, contemplated still greater efforts to secure the desired result, and proposed to substitute light, rapid, armed steamers for heavy sailing vessels; that England could on this question do more than America, by ensuring the complete fulfilment of her treaty stipulations with Spain; but that, in any case, the United States would never grant to the ships of any other nation the right of searching suspected vessels carrying the American colours. Such were Mr. Cass's assertions and promises: the fact still remained that the slave-trade flourished, in spite of prohibitions, explanations, steamers of light draught, and despatches of heavy burden. An American writer, the special correspondent of the *New York Times* on the west coast of Africa, gave a shocking account, in 1860, of the traffic in Africans, and of the utter insincerity of the boasted efforts at suppression. The correspondent, when he first went out, was inclined to believe that the asserted revival of the slave-trade was little better than a party cry: it was not long ere he came to a contrary opinion. He found that the American squadron was a mere pretence. The vessels were often away, on one pretext or another; and when they were on the spot, their captains were prone to accept hospitable invitations from the captains of slavers, and to become very friendly with them. The law itself was so contrived as to deter and discourage all zeal in its execution. Unless conviction followed the capture of a slaver, the officer effecting the capture was liable to a civil suit and damages. The consequence was that three out of every four vessels clearing from the coast with live cargoes succeeded in getting off safely. Commonly, there were not more than two or three of the American squadron off the coast at one time, and it was said that the English vessels captured six slavers to one taken by the Americans. Even when captured, the wrong-doers often escaped punishment. Nominally, the punishment was death; but death was never inflicted. Juries, indeed, seized upon every excuse for returning verdicts of acquittal; so that the law could be safely defied, and was in fact a nullity.

Where there was so elastic a law, and so great a disposition on the part of the authorities to connive at its evasion, any pretence was sufficient to cover the operations of the slavers. The usual pretext was that the vessels were engaged in the palm-oil trade, and it was customary to take out a large number of casks, ostensibly for containing the oil, but really for holding water for the wretched Africans. The necessity of effecting the shipment of the negroes hurriedly, and carrying them away concealed, led to sickening cruelties. A craft of three hundred tons burden was often made to hold a thousand human beings. If the water was deficient in quantity, the captives perished of thirst, and were thrown overboard. Slavers who saved two-thirds of their cargo were held to do well; and cases were not uncommon in which half the original number of slaves packed on board a given ship died before the end of the voyage. The horrors of "the middle passage," as it was called, may be judged from a terrible story told by this American correspondent on the western coast of Africa. "A short time since," he wrote, "her Majesty's ship *Viper* captured the brig *Tavernier* of New York, having a cargo of near six hundred negroes aboard. When first seen, she was flying American colours. Capture being inevitable, she threw her papers overboard, and hauled down her flag. The scene between decks was shocking. Stowed in a sitting posture, with their knees drawn up close to their breasts, were over five hundred human beings whose skins were black, mostly children and young persons, and some women. So close were they packed that they could not move, and could hardly breathe. In this suffocating condition they were struggling for life. The strong were killing the weak, to make room for themselves, and that a little more of God's air might be had. Disease was among them in many other forms, and especially ophthalmia. Sea-sick, home-sick, starving, crying for air and water, these poor wretches crowded this floating charnel-house. But the slavers were merciful, for they helped the slave to die. When one was sick nigh unto death, they kindly assisted him or her overboard, before the soul had left the body. The quality of their mercy was not strained either, for they sometimes would substitute another death for drowning—the negro was knocked on the head with an axe. Disease breaking out, it was supposed to be contagious, and the sufferers were made away with without any scruples of that troublesome thing called conscience. An idea of the mortality on board the *Tavernier* may be formed when I state that, after her capture by the *Viper*, upon her passage over to St. Helena, whither she was sent in charge of a prize crew, nearly one hundred of her negroes died. This was during a run of only about ten days' duration." The slave-trade was checked by only one circumstance, and that in no great degree. Many of the slave-holders in the older Southern States were themselves inclined to suppress the traffic, in order that others might not be enabled, by obtaining negroes cheap, to destroy the monopoly. But the desire on the part of those others to share in the profits of servile labour was

stronger than the wish to exclude them; and the slave-trade flourished, in proportion to the augmented demand.

The position of Mr. Buchanan was rendered still more embarrassing by a charge which was brought against him in the early part of 1860, and which was to the effect that he had not only employed his patronage, but actually resorted to pecuniary bribes, for the purpose of securing the success of the Kansas Bill. He was accused also of sanctioning abuses in the public departments of the State, such as the Post Office, the Navy-yards, and other establishments. Hostile resolutions were proposed in the House of Representatives, and carried on the 5th of March; and the first of these provided that a committee of five members should be appointed by the Speaker, for the purpose of investigating the conduct of the President and other officers of the Government in respect to these matters. Mr. Buchanan replied on the 28th of March in an energetic Message, containing an emphatic assertion of his innocence, and denying the competency of the House of Representatives to bring any accusation against the President, though he did not dispute their right to inquire into departmental or administrative abuses. "I do therefore," he said, "solemnly protest against these proceedings of the House of Representatives; because they are in violation of the rights of a co-ordinate Executive branch of the Government, and subversive of its constitutional independence; because they are calculated to foster a band of interested parasites and informers, ever ready, for their own advantage, to swear before *ex parte* committees to pretended private conversations between the President and themselves, incapable from their nature of being disproved—thus furnishing materials for harassing him, degrading him in the eyes of the country, and

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

eventually, should he be a weak or timid man, rendering him subservient to improper influences, in order to avoid such persecutions and annoyances; because they tend to destroy that harmonious action for the common good which ought to be maintained, and which I sincerely desire to cherish, between the co-ordinate branches of the Government; and, finally, because, if unresisted, they would establish a precedent dangerous and embarrassing to all my successors, to whatever political party they might be attached." The movement led to no result.

Among the few agreeable incidents of 1860 were the reception of the Japanese Ambassadors by the President, in May, and the visit of the Prince of Wales to the United States, later in the year. The second event was owing to an invitation from Mr. Buchanan. On the 4th of June, he wrote to the Queen:—"I have learned from the public journals that the Prince of Wales is about to visit your Majesty's North American dominions. Should it be the intention of his Royal Highness to extend his visit to the United States, I need not say how happy I should be to give him a cordial welcome to Washington. You may be well assured that everywhere in this country he will be greeted by the American people in such a manner as cannot fail to prove gratifying to your Majesty. In this they will manifest their deep sense of your domestic virtues, as well as their conviction of your merits as a wise, patriotic, and Constitutional Sovereign. —Your Majesty's most obedient Servant, JAMES BUCHANAN." Her Majesty's reply was as follows: —"My good Friend,—I have been much gratified at the feelings which prompted you to write to me, inviting the Prince of Wales to come to Washington. He intends to return from Canada through the United States, and it will give him great pleasure to have an opportunity of testifying to you in person that these feelings are fully reciprocated by him. He will thus be able, at the same time, to mark the respect which he entertains for the Chief Magistrate of a great and friendly State and kindred nation. The Prince of Wales will drop all Royal state on leaving my dominions, and travel under the name of Lord Renfrew, as he has done when travelling on the Continent of Europe. The Prince Consort wishes to be kindly remembered to you.—I remain your very good Friend, VICTORIA R." The visit of the Prince of Wales took place in the autumn. He arrived at Detroit on the 20th of September, and visited Washington on the 3rd of October, Philadelphia on the 9th, New York on the 11th, and Boston on the 17th. Embarking at Portland, Maine, on the 20th of October, he returned to England, carrying with him many very pleasant memories of the kind and cordial greetings he had everywhere received from American citizens.

All this while, the country was distracted by the Presidential contest, which had never before been carried on under such momentous and agitating circumstances. The South was already on the verge of rebellion, and the Democratic party throughout the Union encouraged its truculent vein. The convention of this party was the first to meet. Its members assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23rd of April, 1860. They were nearly six hundred in number, and represented thirty-two States. The first day was occupied with the work of organisation; on the morning of the second day, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, was chosen permanent president of the convention, and a vice-president and secretary for each State were appointed. Though coming from the chief New England State, Mr. Cushing was a friend of Southern principles, and his abilities and position pointed him out as the fittest man for occupying the chair. He was at that time about sixty years of age, and had been Attorney-General in the Administration of Mr. Pierce. Of large experience in the business of politics, he had also a persuasive tongue and a fluent style of oratory, which made him generally popular with the party to which he was attached. On the present occasion he opened the debates with an address, in which he told his auditors that they were there "to maintain the public liberties, to reconcile popular freedom with Constitutional order, to maintain the sacred reserved rights of the sovereign States, to stand, in a word, the perpetual sentinels of the outposts of the Constitution." The "reserved rights" which Mr. Cushing considered so sacred were of course nothing else than the right to hold slaves, to extend the area of slavery indefinitely, and to use the force and authority of the Federation for the promotion of those ends. He accused the Republicans of labouring to overthrow the Constitution, and of aiming to produce a permanent sectional conspiracy of one half of the States against the other half. It was the high and noble office of the Democratic party, he said, to strike down and conquer those banded enemies of the Constitution; and he accordingly exhorted the convention to give effect to the views which its members were chosen to maintain. The task of laying down a general statement of principles—a "platform," as it is called in America, by the continued use of a metaphor which was in vogue with the early English settlers—was confided to a Committee on Resolutions, composed of one delegate from each State; and this platform, if

sanctioned, was to be taken as the authentic expression of the objects of the party during the approaching contest.

Three years earlier, the man most favoured by the Democrats, as their probable candidate at the next Presidential election, was Senator Douglas, of Illinois, whose Kansas-Nebraska Bill was held to have given him great claims on the South and its coadjutors. But this gentleman had recently considered that the slave-holders had gained enough, and he was unwilling to grant them anything more. He had opposed Mr. Buchanan's zealous efforts to obtain the admission of Kansas to the Union as a slave State, and had thus earned the hatred of the extreme members of the Democratic party. The more advanced section of that party had passed far beyond the stage at which it was content with the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as applied to the existence of slavery in new Territories and States. That was the principle embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which had been passed in the interests of the South. But it was found that in Territories such as Kansas the principle of popular sovereignty, by which the question of slavery or no-slavery was left to the decision of the people themselves, could be made subservient to the interests of the slave-holder only at the cost of a most exhausting struggle, and that even then the ultimate issue was not certain. The Southern Democrats, therefore, would have no more of this delusive arrangement, and would in fact be satisfied with nothing short of a recognition by the Federal Government of the system of slavery as a national and permanent institution.* It had been supposed by the Northern Democrats that the convention would find a sufficient exposition of its views in the Cincinnati platform, agreed to in 1856 when Mr. Buchanan was a candidate for the Presidency, by which the doctrine of popular sovereignty was distinctly affirmed; and that nothing more would be done than to repeat it. They soon found that they were mistaken. The majority of the convention voted against accepting the Cincinnati platform without addition or alteration, but agreed to adopt it with the following resolutions:—"That the Democracy of the United States hold these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the Territories: First, that Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the Territories; second, that the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any Territory, nor to prohibit the introduction of slaves therein, nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom, nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever. That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect, when ne-

EARLY HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, GENTRYVILLE, INDIANA.

* Lossing's History of the Civil War in the United States of America (Philadelphia, 1866); and other contemporary authorities.

cessary, the rights of persons or property on the high seas, in the Territories, or wherever else its constitutional jurisdiction enters. That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their character. That it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect the rights of persons and property on the high seas, in the Territories, or wherever else its jurisdiction extends. That it is the duty of the Government of the United States to acquire Cuba at the earliest practicable moment. That it is the duty of the Government of the United States to offer protection to naturalised citizens from foreign countries."

This was a great advance upon the earlier pretensions of the South, and showed that that section of the Union was bent, not merely on protecting its own supposed interests from encroachment, but on establishing a despotism over the whole Union, and humiliating the North by an entire subjection of its wishes and convictions to those of its adversary. It would be amusing, if it were not lamentable, to observe how completely the Southern view of Federal powers shifted with the varying necessities of the day. When the Ordinance of 1787, forbidding slavery in the North-west Territory, was in question—when the Missouri Compromise was the object of attack—it was argued, with the sanction of judges of the Supreme Court, that the Union had no constitutional right to interfere in the matter of slavery. Now, however, it was contended that it was the duty of the Federal Government to recognise and protect slavery wherever it existed. In other words, the Union might not interfere *against* slavery in any way, but might, and indeed must, interfere for its support and extension. It was unconstitutional to limit that institution, but it was the height of political orthodoxy to promote and strengthen it. The Federal administrators had nothing whatever to do with negro bondage, or they had a great deal to do with it, according as they acted against or for the slave-owners. They had no right to make provision for the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, but were bound to act as a police for seizing and sending back fugitive negroes, and to help the slave-owner, the slave-driver, and the slave-trader, wherever they could. So, also, with the Territories. These were perfectly free to introduce slavery; but, however much they might wish it, they were to have no right of excluding the serfdom of the black race from their soil. The human mind cannot conceive a haughtier stretch of insolence and tyranny.

The minority of the committee, representing the moderate Democrats of the Northern States, were astonished and grieved at this string of resolutions. They adhered to their original motion for the adoption of the Cincinnati platform, with the addition of two resolutions expressive of adhesion to the principles of the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court; but the additional resolutions were carried against them. Three reports were presented to the full convention on the evening of the 26th of April; and on one of these, representing the Douglas platform with some modifications, being carried, all the delegates from Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas, all but two from Louisiana, and three from Arkansas, withdrew from the convention. Next day, they were followed by twenty-six out of the thirty-four delegates from Georgia, and by two from Delaware. All Charleston was in a state of eager excitement. The action of the seceders was vehemently applauded, and people began to dream of a separate Confederation, unless the Union could be thoroughly broken to their purposes. Mr. D. C. Glenn, of Mississippi, in announcing the withdrawal of the delegates from that State, told the representatives of the North that in less than sixty days they would find a united South standing side by side with the delegates from the slave-holding States. The seceders, in fact, refused to be bound by the only principle which can determine the deliberations of any representative assembly. They repudiated the views of the majority, and left the hall in anger. Had the majority been in their favour, they would of course have been loud in asserting its supremacy.

The remaining members of the convention proceeded with the transaction of their business, and on the 1st of May began balloting for a candidate for the Presidency. During that and the two following days, fifty-seven ballotings were taken, but no name obtained the requisite number of two hundred votes. Mr. Douglas had the largest number, but he was fifty below the mark. At length, on the 3rd of May, it was resolved to adjourn the convention to the city of Baltimore, there to reassemble on the 18th of June; and it was hoped that in the meanwhile the Democratic party in the several States would make provision for supplying all vacancies in their respective delegations. The seceders organised a separate assembly, which they styled "the Constitutional Convention," and adopted a report disavowing the principle of popular sovereignty. They did not, however, nominate any candidate for the Presidency, but on the 3rd of May adjourned to Richmond, Virginia, where their deliberations were to be resumed on the second Monday in June, and where the Southern demo-

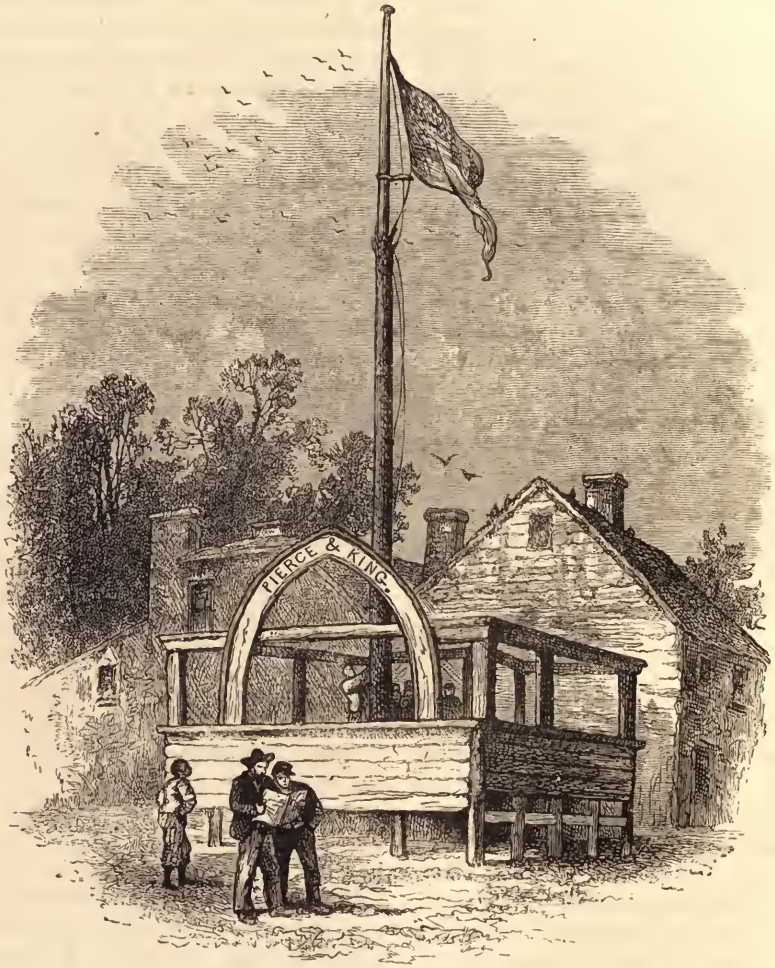
cracy were requested to send their representatives. Before they seceded from the Union, the slaveholders revolted against their own party, and formed a separate association, which plainly demanded the complete submission of the North, as the only terms on which the South would remain in the Union at all.

On Monday, the 11th of June, the seceders reassembled in the Metropolitan Hall, Richmond, but, after a little discussion resulting in no definite action, they adjourned on the following day to the 21st of the month. It had been determined, on the recommendation of Mr. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, and others of the same party, to make some attempt at a re-combination with the Northern Democrats, by attending the sittings of the regular convention at Baltimore. To Baltimore accordingly they went, and, on the first day of the adjourned meeting—the 18th of June—presented themselves for admission. But admission was denied them. It was contended that, having voluntarily withdrawn, they could not re-enter at their mere whim and pleasure, and that the States which they represented had already been called upon to elect others in their places. For several days the question was debated with passionate eagerness, often leading to unseemly brawls; and ultimately it was agreed by a decisive majority that the seceders should be excluded. Then followed another secession of delegates, representing the less moderate section of the State Rights party, which took place on the 22nd of June; and next morning Mr. Cushing himself withdrew, together with a majority of the Massachusetts delegation, though not in all cases from the same motive. The convention, thus impoverished as to numbers, began once more to ballot for a Presidential candidate; and the choice now fell unequivocally on Mr. Douglas for the chief office, with Mr. H. V. Johnson, of Georgia, for the lower post. Yet, although the nomination of Mr. Douglas was secured by a large majority of such of the delegates as remained, it was obvious, after the split which had just taken place in the Democratic ranks, that he would have only a very partial support in the country. Most of the seceders, under the chairmanship of Mr. Cushing, formed a separate assembly (which they termed the National Democratic Convention), carried a platform expressive of extreme pro-slavery views, and nominated Mr. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Presidency, and Mr. Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for the Vice-Presidency.

Some weeks before these results were arrived at —viz., on May 9th—a new political body, called the National Constitutional Union Party, and consisting of members of the old Whig and more recent American or Know-nothing associations, met in convention at Baltimore, and nominated for the first and second offices Mr. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Mr. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts—the latter a well-known politician and diplomatist. But the proceedings of this body attracted little attention. The contest, it was clear, would lie between the Democratic and Republican parties; and the division in the first necessarily increased the chances of the second. The Republican convention met at Chicago, Illinois, on the 16th of May. The assemblage took place in a large temporary wooden structure, which, notwithstanding its size, could not accommodate more than a third of the immense gathering of people. The platform of principles submitted to the convention on the following day was contained in seventeen resolutions, which began by affirming that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the National Constitution, was essential to the preservation of the Republican institutions of the United States. The country was congratulated on the fact that no Republican member of Congress had uttered or countenanced any threats of disunion such as had frequently been uttered by Democratic members without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates. Menaces of this nature were denounced as an avowal of contemplated treason; the report then passed on to the consideration of more practical matters. On the subject of slavery, the resolutions declared that each State had the right of controlling and managing its own domestic affairs; that the new dogma, affirming that the Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, was a dangerous political heresy, revolutionary in its tendencies, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country; that the normal condition of all parts of the United States was that of freedom; that neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any individuals, had authority to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States; and that the reopening of the African slave-trade, under cover of the national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, was a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to the country and the age. The platform giving expression to these principles was adopted on the evening of the 17th by an unanimous vote. The next day, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Hamlin, of Maine, for the Vice-Presidency. The nominee was at a newspaper office in Springfield, the place of his residence, when a

telegram, announcing the fact, was put into his hands. Alluding to his wife, he remarked to his friends, "There is a little woman down at our house who would like to hear this. I'll go and tell her." He went straightway, making no further speeches.

Abraham Lincoln was a native of Kentucky, where he was born in 1809, but had for many years been settled in Illinois. His origin was extremely humble, and his early years were passed in absolute poverty. Working now as a field-labourer, now as a boatman, he made his way by the same dogged perseverance which afterwards enabled him, as Chief Magistrate of the Republic at a period of unexampled difficulty, to overcome a formidable rebellion, and to restore the Union to its pristine strength and authority. By dint of intelligent assiduity, he contrived to give himself a fair amount of education; studied for the law, and in time acquired a position as a barrister. In 1833 he became a member of the Legislature of Illinois, and in 1846 entered Congress, where he soon became known as a supporter of Northern views in politics, though not as an extreme Abolitionist. Lincoln was a man rather of action than of words. The quiet, self-contained manner in which he received the news of his nomination for the Presidency was thoroughly characteristic. He said of himself, a few years later, that when he had "put his foot down" upon any principle or course of action, he did not remove it until the purpose was accomplished. His foot was set down hard and fast on the serpent of rebellion, and was never withdrawn until its writhings ceased, and its last breath gasped forth into the pestilent air. Another of his quaint sayings, in a moment of general discouragement, was that they must "keep pegging away" at the rebellion, and it would be certain to collapse. In him, a grim intensity of will was



AN AMERICAN "STUMP."

softened and rendered human by a cheerful spirit of reliance, and by wild, boyish outbreaks of native drollery, not always dignified, but having a homely force and fitness, like the proverbs of Sancho Panza. Much of the earth and clay of his original calling clung at all times to Abraham Lincoln; but the earth was fertile and fecundating—the clay was of the honest stuff with which Nature works. He was in truth nothing of a courtier: in all things he was a man. His personal appearance answered to the ruggedness, yet kindly caprice, of his character. Tall and gaunt, uncouth of limb, angular in feature, with bushy eyebrows and wiry hair, he seemed the man to grapple with peril and disaster; but a constant play of humour about the mouth tempered the severity that elsewhere reigned alone in the haughty pathos of a great, stern soul. With the exception of Andrew Jackson, Lincoln was the only President of the United States since the time of Madison who presented to the world a vividly-marked individuality. All the others were mere officials, identified with a doctrine or a measure, but not otherwise recognisable. Jackson and Lincoln were stamped with a strong hand, and will live in the memory, not only as Presidents, but as men. But, in other respects, how great the difference between these two conspicuous rulers of their country! In the case of Jackson, we see little else than power. In Lincoln, power waits on excellence, and is the agent of undying good.

WALKER BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Renewed Attempt of Walker on Central America—Capture of Truxillo, in Honduras—Intervention of a British Naval Commander—Capture and Execution of Walker—Election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States—Analysis of the Votes given to him and to the other Candidates—Views and Apprehensions of the South—Opinion in the Slave-holding States with respect to Slavery, and Political Rights—Intemperate Views of some Northern Politicians—Devotion of the North generally to the Maintenance of the Union—The South resolved on Separation—Secession contemplated and prepared for during many years—Meeting of the South Carolina Legislature in December, 1860—Revolutionary Excitement all over the South—Treasonable Conduct of some of the Ministers at Washington—Proceedings in Georgia—Opinions of Mr. Alexander H. Stephens—Progress of the Secession Movement in various Southern States—Meeting of Congress (Dec., 1860)—Message of President Buchanan—Views of the Chief Magistrate on Slavery, State Rights, and the Relations between North and South—Mr. Buchanan's Contradictory Views on the Powers of the Federation and of the Individual States—General Weakness and Indecision of the Message—Dissatisfaction of both Sides with the Ambiguous Utterances of the President.

WHILE the Presidential election was yet pending, Walker, the hero of former exploits in Central America, renewed for the last time his attempts to establish an Anglo-American, slave-holding Government in that region. An expedition under his command departed for the south in June, 1860, and on the 1st of July was off the coast of Yucatan. It consisted of five vessels, carrying five hundred men, all well equipped, and in high spirits. The ships first anchored at the island of Cozumel, on the Yucatan coast, where the adventurers remained several days, communicating with the mainland, receiving large reinforcements and additional stores of provisions, and completing their preparations for the enterprise. The object of attack upon this occasion was not Nicaragua, as in former years, but Honduras. On the 5th of August, Walker landed near Truxillo, and occupied the fort on the following day, after a slight action, in which but little damage was done on either side. The collector of the port and a lieutenant were taken prisoners, but speedily released. What was much more important was the capture of sixteen cannon, a hundred and twenty-five stand of arms, eighteen hundred pounds of powder, and a large quantity of munitions, clothing, and food. Walker then issued a proclamation to the people of Honduras, the object of which was to explain and vindicate his motives in previous expeditions, and in that which he was then conducting. More than five years before, he said, he, with others, had been invited to the Republic of Nicaragua, with the promise of certain rights and privileges, upon condition of certain services being rendered. Those services had been performed; but the existing authorities of Honduras had joined a combination to drive the Anglo-Americans from the country, and were endeavouring to expel the people of the Bay Islands from the settlements which they had recently made on the mainland. Ostensibly, it was to vindicate the rights of these islanders, and of certain Nicaraguans, that Walker now went to Honduras; but his real object was to add another to the slave-holding States of the American Federation. The organs of the Washington Government emphatically asserted the resolve of the President to prevent such expeditions, to intercept the departure of Filibusters from New Orleans, and to compel their return. But it does not appear that any measures of importance were actually taken, and the defeat of Walker's piratical attempt was due in the main to English intervention.

For a short time, the Filibuster pursued a career of much success. He seized the Custom House at Truxillo, together with a large amount of money and other valuables, and, being now well provided with the means of war, was in a favourable position for carrying out his designs. When, however, the plundering of the Custom House became known to Captain Salmon, of the British ship *Icarus*, that officer wrote to Walker to inform him that the Customs receipts of the port of Truxillo were mortgaged to Great Britain in payment of a debt, and that to protect the interests of England he must re-establish the legitimate authority of Honduras. He offered the adventurer the protection of the British flag, on condition that he should lay down his arms, refund the money taken from the Custom House, and quit the country. Walker accepted these terms, but, before the stipulations could be completely arranged, altered his mind, left Truxillo at the head of his men, and, marching into the interior of the country, committed many acts of violence and plunder. Captain Salmon accordingly determined on active operations, in combination with the troops of Honduras. By the latter, who had now plucked up a spirit, Walker was pursued along the coast, the *Icarus* following close in-shore. At length the whole band surrendered, and Walker, after trial, was shot on the 12th of September. Being a Roman Catholic, he was accompanied to the place of execution by a priest, and died with

courage and self-possession. His career had in it little to attract regard; but he was at any rate a brave man, and might have been a hero, had his actions proceeded from any moral principle or noble aim. His deluded followers were speedily released; and so ended the series of attempts on Central America.

This last expedition attracted much less attention than its predecessors, because of the absorption of the public mind by the Presidential contest. The popular excitement grew in intensity as the period approached when the electoral body was to be chosen by ballot. This body consisted of three hundred and three members, and from its composition it was tolerably certain what the final issue would be. The election itself—that is to say, the final choice of the President by the persons deputed to perform that duty—took place on the 6th of November, 1860. It resulted in a large majority for Mr. Lincoln, who received one hundred and eighty votes, or fifty-seven more than all the others combined. Mr. Breckinridge had seventy-two votes, Mr. Bell thirty-nine, and Mr. Douglas twelve. To constitute a majority, one hundred and fifty-two votes were required; but Mr. Lincoln greatly exceeded that. He had in fact received the whole electoral support of every one of the Free States, with the exception of New Jersey, which partially opposed him. The entire popular vote for Lincoln was 1,857,610—a total far in excess of any one of his opponents, but considerably under the whole of the adverse votes put together. This fact is dwelt on with much satisfaction by a Southern historian of the Civil War, who, after relating that in several States the friends of Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell combined to a certain extent in order to keep out Lincoln, states that the popular vote for Douglas, giving him his share of the fusion, was 1,276,780, and that the numbers for Breckinridge and Bell, including their proportions of the same arrangement, were respectively 812,500 and 735,504. According to this calculation, the whole popular vote against Lincoln amounted to 2,824,784, giving an adverse majority of nearly a million votes.* But the fact is not one of very great importance. Wherever there are many candidates, there is a possibility that the total adverse vote may be greater than the total affirmative; yet this does not in any sense invalidate the result. Elections can only be determined by positive, not by negative, expressions of the popular will; and to fuse together, in the mere process of counting heads, those parties who in the main declined to coalesce in fact, is more ingenious than philosophical. If we are to proceed by this method at all, it must be admitted that the election showed one thing beyond dispute—namely, that the people of the United States, as regarded the immense majority, were not favourably disposed to the principles of the extreme Democratic party who made the Civil War. It was only the supporters of Mr. Breckinridge who contemplated that issue.

Another circumstance which the slave-holding interest turned to as much account as it could, was the fact that in nine of the Southern States—viz., North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas—there was no Republican electoral vote. It was therefore contended that Mr. Lincoln would be nothing more than a sectional President—not the chief of the whole nation; and that he would use his power for the purpose of coercing and oppressing his political antagonists. The objection was absurd, for the South had the same opportunity of voting as any other part of the Republic, and had no right to complain when it was fairly beaten. Nevertheless, the argument carried with it considerable weight in those quarters which it was desired to influence, and had a great effect in paving the way for secession. Before the inauguration of President Lincoln, the presses and pulpits of the slave-holding States rang with furious denunciations of the North, and it was asserted on all hands that nothing but the entire ruin of the South was contemplated by the party which had now become dominant. It mattered not that, for nearly the whole of the sixty years which had elapsed since the election of Jefferson, the Democratic party had had control of the Executive, and a powerful voice in the Legislature; it mattered not that for a lengthened period the Supreme Court had done little more than register Southern decrees, and that the Constitution had been repeatedly interpreted in favour of the most extreme views of the slave-owners. The South was determined to place itself before the world in the position of a martyr and a victim, and to impeach the Republicans beforehand as tyrants and self-seekers. That the Government of Mr. Lincoln would do nothing against slavery where it already existed, was certain. The Chicago platform had specifically set forth that the maintenance of State rights, and especially of the right to settle all "domestic

* The First Year of the War, by Edward A. Pollard. Richmond, Virginia, 1862.—The official statement of the results was—Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,365,976; Breckinridge, 874,953; Bell, 590,631: total vote against Lincoln, 2,831,560; adverse vote, after the subtraction of the numbers given to Lincoln, 973,950.

institutions" without Federal interference, was essential to the balance of power in the Union, and to the perfection of the national institutions; and the extreme danger and difficulty of touching such a question were sufficient guarantees that those words were not idly used. Even with the South in full rebellion, threatening the very existence of the North in order that slavery might be confirmed and extended, Mr. Lincoln was slow to adopt the extreme measure of granting freedom to the blacks. There is no ground for supposing that with a loyal South he would ever have sanctioned such a revolution. What the leaders of the South really feared, and with reason, was a vigorous opposition to the principle of arbitrarily spreading slavery over all the Territories of the United States, and of subjecting the whole policy of the Federation to the desires of one section. This was the actual cause of the revolt.

The time had been—and that scarcely a generation before—when the clergy of the Southern States had the boldness to denounce slavery as a curse and a sin. Now, however, they blazoned it forth as something super-excellent and divine. They asserted that it was sanctioned by the Bible and by Christianity; and Dr. James H. Thornwell, President of a Theological Seminary at Columbia, South Carolina, described the African slave-trade as "the most worthy of all Missionary Societies." At the same time, the North was persistently traduced, the principles of the Declaration of Independence were reviled as anarchical and atheistic, and, in the name of a so-called Democratic party, Democracy was cried down. The conspirators at the South were not content with the subjection of negroes only. The rights of all men but those of a small governing class were equally endangered. No doctrine was more in favour with the wealthy planters than that of the inequality of political conditions. The authors of *De Bow's Review*—a periodical of great authority in the South—were fond of asserting that the right to govern exists only in a very small minority, while the duty to obey is inherent in the great mass of mankind; that there was nothing to which the ruling class in the South so much objected as universal suffrage; that the real civilisation of a country is in its aristocracy; that it would be a good thing for the South to create an acknowledged aristocracy by laws of entail and primogeniture, though at the sacrifice of a thousand paupers; and that the feudal barons of England were a model representative government.* The old social distinctions of former periods of English history reappeared on the western continent. A Virginian writer asserted in the same periodical that "the Cavaliers, Jacobites, and Huguenots, who settled the South, naturally hate, contemn, and despise the Puritans who settled the North. The former are master-races—the latter a slave-race, the descendants of the Saxon serfs." "We are the most aristocratic people in the world," said the *Charleston Mercury*. "Pride of caste, and colour, and privilege, makes every man an aristocrat in feeling." The "mean whites" of the slave-holding States had but a poor prospect before them, in the event of an independent Southern Government being established; but for the present they were cajoled with empty promises.

It would be uncandid to deny or endeavour to hide the fact that intemperate language was not unknown at the North also. Some of the Abolitionists used no measure in their condemnation, not merely of slavery itself, but of the slave-owners, and of the whole state of society at the South. Mr. Lloyd Garrison even made a virtue of this kind of language, which, however it may be excused as an outburst of righteous indignation at crying wrongs, was certainly impolitic. A book on the subject of slavery, written in 1859 by a man named Helper (a North Carolinian), was especially violent in its tone towards the Cotton States. Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts, who was Speaker of the House of Representatives in the thirty-first Congress, is said to have made use of the expression, "Let the Union slide!" Mr. Seward, one of the leading men of the Republican party, asserted that there was a natural, essential, and irrepressible hostility between the two sections of the Union.† But it was the continual aggression of the South which provoked these utterances, and it was at the South that the tendency to separation, except at the price of complete predominance, was most persistently displayed. The North, as a rule, was only too willing to abet any arrogance and wrong-doing on the part of the slave-owners, if the Union could be thus maintained. Mr. Wendell Phillips, in an address delivered immediately after the election of Lincoln, objected to the new President because he was for keeping the negro in chains, out of obedience to Southern wishes, and complained that Mr. Seward, after a declaration in 1848 that the provision in the Constitution for giving up fugitive slaves was a violation of the Divine law, had on very recent occasions maintained that the Constitution was eternal, and that John Brown was

* See the specific passages quoted in Lossing's History of the Civil War, Vol. I., pp. 39, 40 (*note*).

† Pollard's First Year of the War.

justly hanged. Mr. Everett had become a bye-word to the Abolitionists, for insisting on the necessity of compromise. The fact is that, except in the extreme Abolitionist circles, the North loved the Union better than anything else in the world, and was prepared to sacrifice more for its preservation.

On the other hand, the South had been contemplating rebellion for years, and had only refrained from attempting it because, hitherto, she had pretty generally had her own way. She threatened to dissolve the Union in 1795, if Jay's treaty with Great Britain were ratified. Mr. Calhoun told Admiral Stewart, at so early a period as 1812, that when the party to which he belonged were unable to control the whole Union, they would dissolve their connection with it. The Georgian House of Representatives, in 1825, declared by a formal resolution that the hour was rapidly approaching when the Southern States must confederate, and say to the Union that they would no longer be coerced. The South Carolina Nullification Convention, in 1832, threatened to withdraw from the Union, and to resist the Federal officers with arms, if the provisions of the Tariff Act were enforced; and another convention in the same State, twenty years later, affirmed that South Carolina had "a right to secede from the Confederacy whenever the occasion should arise justifying her, in her judgment, in taking that step." In June, 1858, William L. Yancey, of Alabama, a man of the highest influence at the South, wrote to a friend:—"Organise committees all over the Cotton States; fire the Southern heart; instruct the Southern mind; give courage to each other; and, at the proper moment, by one organised, concerted action, precipitate the Cotton States into revolution." In 1859 and 1860, South Carolina intrigued with the other Southern States for the establishment of a slave-holding Confederation. But as long as Mr. Buchanan held the reins of power, it was not worth while to do more than prepare for the future. Had Breckinridge been elected in 1860, there would have been no secession in 1861. Even had Douglas become President, it might not have been thought that "the proper moment" had arrived. But the choice of Lincoln immediately determined the resolution of the South. On the day before the Presidential election, the Governor of South Carolina, William H. Gist, recommended in his Message to the Legislature that, in the event of Mr. Lincoln being returned, a convention of the people of the State should be immediately called, to consider and determine for themselves the mode and measure of redress. At the same time he expressed the opinion that the only alternative left in such a case was the secession of South Carolina from the Union; and he desired to see the whole military force of the commonwealth put in a position for resistance. On the 7th, the United States officials in Charleston resigned, and on the 10th the senators for South Carolina, James H. Hammond and James Chestnut, Junior, relinquished their seats in the Federal body to which they belonged. A convention was summoned for the 17th of December; and it was decided that all collection of debts due to citizens of non-slaveholding States should be stayed. The excitement all over the South was prodigious. People seemed to go mad with delight. They embraced one another with the fervour of Frenchmen in the first glow of a successful revolution; they made speeches at every possible opportunity; they swore eternal fidelity to one another; they heaped the most extravagant reproaches on the North for having exercised its constitutional right of voting for the man who seemed to it fittest to rule. Secession cockades were universally worn, and flags bearing the picture of a palmetto-tree—the symbol of South Carolina, and now the emblem of rebellion—were displayed on public buildings and in private houses.

The Southerners had some reason for rejoicing. They had at last found a pretext for doing what they had long desired to do, and they were beginning their treason under the most favourable auspices. Friends and helpers were to be found at Washington in places of trust and power. President Buchanan himself was using all his influence, as far as he dared, to advance the cause of the South, and place her in the best position for carrying out her designs. Mr. Cobb, of Georgia, the Secretary of the Treasury, wrote from his office an address to the people of his State, in which he said that, after the 4th March, 1861, the Federal Government would cease to have the slightest claim on the loyalty of the Georgians, and that it was their duty to secede from the Union. This was penned on the 6th of December, 1860: on the 8th, he resigned, and soon returned to Georgia, to take part in the coming rebellion. He had been contemplating and providing for that movement ever since it had appeared likely that Lincoln would carry the day; and at the beginning of November had recommended that the cotton-crop of Georgia should be sent to the North at once, in order that, on its receipt, prepayment should, according to custom, be made for the next year's produce, which, under the anticipated circumstances, would never be delivered at all—a cool proposal to cheat Northern manufacturers out of an immense sum of money. Mr. J. B. Floyd, of Virginia, the Secretary of War, had quietly contrived that the arsenals of all the

Northern States should be stripped of arms and ammunition, and that those warlike materials should be concentrated in the other section of the Union. Mr. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior, wrote to his friends at home that his allegiance was due to his State, and to that alone; that, as long as he was at Washington, he would shield and protect the South; but that he wished to see a confederacy of all the Southern States. Mr. W. H. Trescott, of South Carolina, who was then moderate, in comparison with the tone of South Carolina. He was opposed to secession, but nevertheless considered that the time for bold, decided action had arrived; and he recommended the appropriation of a million dollars for the purpose of arming the State. The general opinion of the Legislature was in favour of a clear assertion of the principle of State rights. A large majority assented to resolutions affirming that every State had a right to secede from the Union whenever it

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Assistant Secretary of State, was also cognisant of the conspiracy, and he did his best to forward it; and it was at one time contemplated to seize the Government by force of arms, and prevent the inauguration of Lincoln.

To South Carolina must be granted the bad preeminence of beginning the Secession movement. Georgia followed very quickly. The Legislature of that State met on the 7th of November, and the Governor, in the course of his Message, recommended the passing of a law making it an offence to introduce into Georgia any goods, wares, or merchandise from any of the Northern States which had made enactments in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. His address, however, was pleased; that the States were not created by the Federal Government, but were themselves the creators of that political condition; that from the individual States the National Government derived its powers, and to them was responsible; and that when the Federation abused the trust reposed in it, the States, as equal sovereigns, had a right to resume the powers respectively delegated by them. This, no doubt, was the prevalent sentiment of Georgia; but it was not universal. A loyal and a disloyal feeling existed in that State. The former had for its great spokesman Mr. Robert Toombs, who, at a public meeting held at Milledgeville on the 14th of November, advocated immediate secession and war, and objected to the people being

consulted in convention, lest they should pronounce against his views. The latter found a temporary exponent in Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, who on the following day had the courage to maintain that the election of no man to the Presidency, if he were constitutionally chosen, would be a sufficient justification for separating from the Union. They were pledged to maintain the Constitution, and Constitution, if that is their fell purpose; let the responsibility be upon them." The same speaker argued that, with a majority of the United States Senate and of the Supreme Court politically opposed to him, the new President would be unable to take any measures against the practice of slavery. He then went on to show that the Constitution of the United States made the nearest approach to

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could not break it because the majority had elected a man of whom they did not approve. "Whatever fate is to befall this country," continued Mr. Stephens, "let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted—if the Republic is to go down—let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. Let the fanatics of the North break the perfection of any political system in the world. These principles were reiterated by Mr. Stephens, in the State Convention of Georgia, which met early in January, 1861; yet all this devotion to the Constitution was not without a saving clause, cleverly contrived with a view to future emergencies. In the speech at Milledgeville, Mr. Stephens had declared that, should Georgia determine to go out of the Union, he would bow to the popular will; that the cause of the people was his cause, and their destiny his destiny. The people of Georgia *did* so determine, and Mr.

Stephens had no scruple in accepting the position of Vice-President of the new Confederacy which was presently established.

Georgia, in fact, was determined on Secession, despite the moderation of the Governor's Message to the Legislature. On December 14th, 1860, an address to the people of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, was agreed to by several members of the Georgian Chambers. Its object was to urge upon those States the importance of co-operation; but it was not well received by the South Carolinians, who were for the present desirous of acting alone. Mississippi followed in the wake of the Secession movement before the close of November. The representative of that State in Congress—a native of Georgia, boasting the hyper-classical name of Lucius Quintius Curtius Lamar—submitted to the people of Mississippi a plan for a Southern Confederacy. Their State was to combine with all the slave-labour States, the Territory of New Mexico, and the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, under the title of "The United States of America," the President of which Confederation should be the Governor of Mississippi. The Constitution was in the main to be the same as that of the old Union, the laws and treaties of which, together with its regulations, contracts, and engagements, should still remain in force. Alabama was in a divided mood with respect to the great question of the day; but the Governor was heartily for Secession, and that was certainly the wish of the majority. Florida was strongly in favour of breaking with the Union. Louisiana hesitated; so also did North Carolina; while Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, were for the present inclined to hold back from any movement of a directly rebellious character.

Thus, when Congress met on the 3rd of December, the South, though hovering on the borders of civil war, had not yet actually resolved on that fatal step. The President's Message—the last annual Message of Mr. Buchanan—was naturally anticipated with very great interest, owing to the unexampled gravity of the situation. It was delivered to Congress on the 4th. The leading tendency of Mr. Buchanan's opinions was powerfully exhibited in the course of this address. He necessarily took particular note of the disturbed condition of the South, and asked why it was that discontent so extensively prevailed, and that the Union itself was threatened with destruction. He found the cause of this distressing state in what he described as "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States." Mr. Buchanan, while professing to base his rule on a zealous opposition to all sectional views, had invariably been the friend of one section of the Union, and the bitter enemy of the other. He had used all his official power for promoting the purposes of the South, and for keeping the North in that state of subjection in which, with but few and fleeting exceptions, it had remained for sixty years; and now that his power to do this any longer was about to cease, his animosity to the Free-labour States was expressed without measure, and almost without decency. The movement towards disunion, he said, did not arise so much from the claims of Congress, or of the Territorial Legislatures, to exclude slavery from the Territories, or from the enactment of Personal Liberty Laws by some of the Northern States, as from the fact that the general question of slavery had been violently agitated throughout the North for a quarter of a century. In this way the slaves had been filled with vague notions of freedom, and a sense of insecurity had been created in Southern households. "Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary," he continued, "extend and intensify itself, until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature." The President made it a part of his indictment that the agitation against slavery had been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and County Conventions, and by Abolition sermons and lectures; that the time of Congress had been occupied by violent speeches on the subject, and that divers appeals of a disturbing character had been spread broadcast over the land. With a simplicity which was almost puerile, Mr. Buchanan observed that all that was necessary to settle the slavery question for ever was for the North to let the Slave States alone, and to permit them to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. That, he said, was all for which those Governments had ever contended; and, as sovereign States, they were solely responsible, before God and the world, for the social customs existing among them. The North, according to Mr. Buchanan, had no more right to interfere with such arrangements than with similar institutions in Russia or Brazil.

It is impossible to see how special pleading could go beyond this. Mr. Buchanan entirely put out of view, or rather in express terms denied, the manifest fact that the South was *not* content to be left in quiet possession of its own institutions. It demanded a great deal more than that negative liberty. It required the privilege

of seizing upon all the Territories of the United States, foreclosing the question of slavery by an arbitrary decision, and forcing the people of those regions to admit the system of negro serfdom, whether they desired it or not. It asserted a right to pursue fugitive negroes into every Free State of the Union, to arrest them there, and to drag them back to bondage, in defiance of the most cherished sentiments of the North. It had extorted from the North a three-fifths representation in Congress for its slaves. It claimed the whole power of the Union, military and civil, for the protection of its property and the maintenance of its ideas. It would be content with nothing less than a Slave Empire extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the borders of Canada to those of Mexico. From generation to generation, from year to year, almost from month to month, its demands grew more extravagant, its threats more insolent, its tone more haughty and aggressive. Yet Mr. Buchanan could stand forth in the face of the nation's representatives, and coolly say that all the South demanded was to be let alone. The South had already spread the shadow of its peculiar institution over every Territory where there was not manhood enough on the part of Northern emigrants to withstand its dictates. It now required that this institution should be established in those parts of the Union, even against the votes of the inhabitants. It had passed a Fugitive Slave Law; it had procured the ratification of its will in the Supreme Court of the Federation; it had made the Union itself the servant of its interests and the accomplice of its crimes. Yet Mr. Buchanan, in the very teeth of Southern revolt, could lay the blame of that disaster on those who had suffered, not on those who had sinned. In the view of this Chief Magistrate, who was never tired of declaiming against sectionalism, it was a flagitious thing for any man in a free country to write a line, or speak a word above his breath, against the existence of slavery. Not encroaching legislation, not actual interposition on the spot, not military or civil force interfering in any way with the domestic arrangements of the South, but the mere fact of discussing those arrangements, was the offence with which Mr. Buchanan charged the Northern States. They might canvass every other question under heaven; but for Massachusetts to say that slavery was wrong, that slavery was an evil and a danger, that black men had bodies to feel the lash, that black men had souls to be elevated or debased,—this was the deep and unpardonable iniquity. If New England would not hold its tongue on the divine right of Southern planters to degrade and torture four millions of human beings whose colour was different from their own, the Union might go to wreck, and it was only the Northern freeman who was to blame.

Of course, any one holding the position of Mr. Buchanan was obliged to make some concession to legality, and to denounce in terms the sedition which he was encouraging in fact. Having done all the mischief that he dared, the President found it necessary to declare that the election of his successor, however unpleasant to one section of the Republic, afforded no excuse for rebellion. To justify a revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of "a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution. He denied that Secession could be justified as a Constitutional remedy: the principle was wholly inconsistent with the history and character of the Federal Constitution. Such a proposition had not been advanced until many years after the origin of the Federal Government, and it had then been met and refuted by the arguments of General Jackson. He might have added, if such a statement had been proper in a Presidential Message, that in his closing years General Jackson regretted that he had not hung Mr. Calhoun for his share in the Nullification movement of 1832. The great question whether the Constitution had delegated to Congress any power to coerce a State was then argued by Mr. Buchanan from the point of view that was natural to his principles. "After much serious reflection," he said, "I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress, nor to any other department of the Federal Government. It is manifest upon an inspection of the Constitution that this is not among the specific and enumerated powers granted to Congress; and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not necessary and proper for carrying into execution any one of those powers. So far from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention which framed the Constitution. It appears from the proceedings of that body that on the 31st of May, 1787, the clause 'authorising an exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State' came up for consideration. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed:—'The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound.'

Upon his motion, the clause was unanimously postponed, and was never, I believe, again presented. Soon afterwards, on the 8th of June, 1787, when incidentally adverting to the subject, he said:—'Any Government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the Government of Congress'—evidently meaning the then existing Congress of the old Confederation. Without descending to particulars, it may be safely asserted that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things, we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the Confederacy. But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would doubtless be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it, but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict, a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the meantime, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence?"

Following a suggestion made by Mr. Madison in 1799, when the Virginian Legislature had protested against the Alien and Sedition Acts as "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution," Mr. Buchanan desired to see an "explanatory amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This, he said, might originate either with Congress or with the State Legislatures, and might be confined to a settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points: 1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it then existed, or might afterwards exist. 2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common Territories until they should be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions might prescribe. 3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his fugitive slave delivered up to him by any State into which he might have fled, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for that purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating the alleged right were violations of the Constitution, and consequently null and void. That in the existing temper of the country any such attempt would be made, or that if made it would succeed, was extremely improbable; and Mr. Buchanan can only have thrown forth his three proposals as a means of saving appearances. He evidently contemplated a speedy dissolution of the Federal compact. For this he had been preparing all through his term of office; and this he suggested, in terms that were scarcely disguised, in his address to Congress.

In an earlier part of the Message he observed that if the coming President did not act vigorously in executing the Fugitive Slave Law against the enactments of Northern State Legislatures, the Constitution would be wilfully violated by one portion of the community, in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. "In that event," he observed, "the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union." Mr. Buchanan's ideas of State sovereignty varied with the degree of latitude within which they were applied. Nothing was to interfere with the right of the Southern States to establish and maintain slavery within their own borders; but the Northern States were not to have the right of declaring that a fugitive bondsman who had found refuge on their soil was to enjoy the protection of their laws. Federal interposition in the one case was in the highest degree unconstitutional; in the other, the whole force of the Union might be exerted to over-ride the will of New England Legislatures, and to drag the hunted negro from the cover of a Northern roof. A similar inconsistency was apparent in the tone adopted by the President on the question of the right of seceding. In one breath he asserted that the States had no constitutional right to dissolve the Union, and in the next he said that the Federation had no legal power to hold a rebellious State by force. That which a Government has no legal power to do, it has no right to do; and if the Federation was not entitled to coerce a State which had resolved on separate existence, it was clear that the State so acting would not be violating the Constitution. Rights without corresponding legal powers form no part of the polity of nations. In denying the power to coerce, Mr. Buchanan, by implication, admitted the right to rebel, which in terms he had denied. He equivocated with him-

self, that the Union might more readily be shattered.

The President's views with respect to the powers of the Federal Government in this matter of Secession were based on the legal advice of his Attorney-General, Mr. Black, who, in an opinion dated November 20th, argued against the Constitutional right of the Union to restrain any State from separating. But his hesitation pursued him throughout. "In order to justify Secession as a Constitutional remedy," he said, "it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner, our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into so many petty, jarring, and hostile Republics, each one retiring from the Union without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our fathers many years of toil, privation, and blood to establish." Nothing could be more admirable than this; but it was directly contradicted by other parts of the Message, and by the whole tenor of Mr. Buchanan's policy during the four years that he had filled the Presidential chair.

The utmost that the President would consent to do was to protect the forts and other public property in the States which threatened secession. This was all the provision he would make against a rebellion which every day grew more imminent and more dangerous. The indecision of his Message gave general dissatisfaction. It displeased the South as much as the North; on all hands it was regarded as the utterance of a man who was perplexed and overwhelmed by events which he had not the courage to control. On the whole, however, this singular document leant much more towards the Slave States than towards those which favoured the principle of free labour. Sedition was encouraged; the conspirators against the Union were given to understand that they might safely proceed. It was evident that during the remaining three months of Mr. Buchanan's rule the South would be free to plot openly and undismayed against the Union which it was bent on destroying, and which the President had neither the heart nor the desire to defend.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Resignation of General Cass, Secretary of State—Warnings of Generals Scott and Wool—Debates in the House of Representatives and Senate—Proposals for Compromise—Continued Agitation in South Carolina—Measures taken against the Negroes—Meeting of the State Convention—Ordinance of Secession unanimously affirmed—Excitement at Charleston—Arrangements for carrying on the State Government—Address from the People of South Carolina to the People of the other Slave-holding States—Exposition of the Motives for Secession—Mr. Memminger's "Declaration"—Charges brought against the North—A Geographical Line drawn across the Union—Mr. Lincoln's Policy from the Southern Point of View—Debate in the Convention—Slavery, and not the Tariff, the chief Cause of Secession—"A great Slave-holding Confederacy" the avowed Desire of South Carolina—The South determined to ruin where it could not rule—Commissioners to be despatched to the other Southern States—Steps taken by South Carolina as an Independent Commonwealth—Effect of recent Events in the South and in the North—Resolution to defend the Union.

With every successive day, the aspect of affairs grew darker. We have seen that Howell Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, resigned his office on the 8th of December, because, having plotted sufficiently at Washington, he desired to carry on the work of treason at the South. On the 12th of the same month, General Cass, the Secretary of State, gave up his seals to the President, since, finding himself powerless to counteract the sedition which was going on all around him, he resolved to be no longer even a tacit accomplice in the ruin of his country. Cass, though a member of the Democratic party, and therefore disposed to Southern views, was loyal to the Union, of which, in several respects, he had been an ornament. He was succeeded by Mr. J. S. Black, the Attorney-General, and the place of Mr. Cobb was filled first by Mr. Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland, and afterwards by General John A. Dix, of New York. Mr. Buchanan was troubled in the extreme, and knew not what to do. He therefore, by Proclamation issued on the 14th of December, recommended the observance of the 4th of January ensuing as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, throughout the Union. The actual progress of treason, he either would or could do nothing to curb. General

Scott warned him of the probability of the Southern population seizing on some of the national forts, and recommended that they should be so garrisoned as to render any attempt to take them if the South Carolinian forts were properly secured. But Mr. Buchanan did little or nothing, and the rebellious mood at the South gathered strength with immunity.

GENERAL SCOTT.

entirely hopeless. General Wool, a veteran of the war of 1812, and now commander of the Eastern Department, also wrote urgently on the dangers of the time, and promised to do his utmost to preserve South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi,

In both divisions of the Federal Legislature, gentlemen from the South declaimed in favour of their section of the Republic. In the House of Representatives, Alexander R. Boteler, of Virginia, proposed by resolution to refer so much of the

A SLAVE AUCTION.

President's Message as related to the condition of the country to a special committee, consisting of one from each State (thirty-three in all), with power to report at any time. The motion was adopted, on the 4th of December, by 145 votes to 38; but many of the Southern members refused to vote, and others declared that their States contemplated speedy secession. Several gentlemen from the North, whose opposition to slavery was well known, made suggestions pointing to a recognition of some of the most extreme demands of the slave-holders, in the vain hope that the other side might in this way be conciliated, and the Union be saved. Mr. Vallandigham, a member for the State of Ohio, proposed (in February, 1861) that the Federation should be divided into four sections, to be called the North, the West, the Pacific, and the South; but the scheme was so contrived as to give a preponderance to the slave-holding interest. In the Senate, on the 18th of December, 1860, a Committee of Thirteen was appointed to consider the condition of the country, and report some plan, by amendments of the National Constitution or otherwise, for its pacification. Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, then offered a series of amendments of the Constitution, the general purport of which was to restore the Missouri Compromise, and by various enactments and provisions to protect the institution of slavery and the property of the slave-holders. In addition to these amendments, Mr. Crittenden offered four resolutions aiming at the more complete enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, and at the same time declaring that strong measures ought to be adopted by Congress for the suppression of the African slave-trade. These proposals were much more tender to Southern interests than to Northern demands; but they were swept away by the tide of events.

Incendiary speeches continued to be uttered in South Carolina, which was the chief leader of rebellion. As early as the middle of November, the old banner of the Federation had been taken down from the State House at Charleston, when the Palmetto-flag was hoisted in its place. It was boastingly declared that "the detested rag of the Union" should never again float in the free air of South Carolina; and the new ensign was set up on a high flag-staff in the public streets on the 17th of November, and saluted with the roar of artillery, the shouts of the people, and the playing of the Marseillaise, followed by a Miserere, as a requiem for the Union which it was supposed was now dead and buried.* It does not appear that the negroes joined in the Marseillaise, and assuredly, if they had ventured to sing it on their own account, their punishment would have been sharp and peremptory enough. Vigilance Committees had been formed, and it was part of their business to prevent any manifestation of opinion on behalf of the North, and to "put down all negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and congregations of negroes that might be considered unlawful." The patrol companies thus appointed had power to determine what was unlawful, and to punish all slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, as they might deem proper. It is therefore very evident that when Charleston was in high festival at the approaching dissolution of the Union, with processions passing through the streets, and banners flaunting defiance to the Federal Government, the black population were not among those who rejoiced, or who looked on the Palmetto-flag with feelings of affection.

When the South Carolina Legislature met, which was on the 26th of November, the question of separation from the old Union was almost the only matter that engaged attention. On the 10th of December, Governor Gist was succeeded by Francis W. Pickens; and on the 17th the members of the State Convention assembled in the Baptist Church at Columbia, from which, on the following morning, they removed to Charleston, in consequence of an outbreak of small-pox in the former city. Their sittings being resumed at the capital, they appointed several committees for conducting the preliminary steps of secession, and for opening negotiations with other slave-holding States with a view to the formation of a new Federal Government; and on the 20th of December the committee appointed to prepare an Ordinance of Secession presented their report. The ordinance, the object of which was declared to be "to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled 'the Constitution of the United States of America,'" set forth that—"We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." This ordinance was adopted at once and unanimously. The next moment it was an-

* Lossing's History of the Civil War, Vol. I., chap. 4.

nounced outside the place of assembly that "the Union was dissolved." The words were passed on from mouth to mouth, and the news soon spread over the whole city, causing a degree of excitement and enthusiasm which put a stop to all business for the day. The church-bells rang, the people shouted; houses and public buildings were dressed with flags, and a number of young men, going to the church-yard, formed a circle round the grave of Mr. Calhoun, the great advocate of Southern privileges, and vowed to devote their lives, fortunes, and honour, to the independence of South Carolina. There could be no question as to the popularity of the act just performed. South Carolina, as a member of the convention remarked, had accomplished the work of forty years; and Charleston was mad with an insane and shocking joy.

The question immediately arose as to what should be done to carry on the Government of the State, and to provide for the exigencies of the day. Mr. Calhoun, a son of the great man, said that they had pulled down the temple which had been built for three-quarters of a century; that they were houseless and homeless, and must secure themselves from storms. It was generally agreed that, on the passing of the Ordinance of Secession, the several officers appointed by the United States ceased to have any functions; and it was ultimately resolved to appoint them officers of the State of South Carolina exclusively. Other ordinances were passed, declaring that all ships owned wholly or in part by citizens of slave-holding States should be registered as vessels of South Carolina; directing all moneys collected by public officers to be paid into the State Treasury, for the use of the State; and empowering the Governor and his Executive Council to issue a proclamation to the world that "this State is, as she has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free, and independent State; and as such has a right to levy war, conclude peace, negotiate treaties, leagues, or covenants, and to do all acts whatsoever that rightfully appertain to a free and independent State." On the 21st of December, three commissioners were appointed to go to Washington, with instructions to treat for the possession of the National property within the limits of South Carolina; and on the same day the committee charged with preparing an address from the people of that State to the people of the slave-holding States generally, made its report.

The Address itself, which was written by Mr. Robert Barnwell Rhett, a prominent member of the Secession party, recounted the several grievances of which the South complained, and threw on the Free States the entire blame of disunion. Twice in the previous thirty-five years, it was remarked, had South Carolina called her people together in solemn convention, "to take into consideration the aggressions and unconstitutional wrongs perpetrated by the people of the North on the people of the South." Those wrongs had been borne patiently under the expectation that they would be final. But the submission of the slave-holding States had only instigated to new forms of outrage; and South Carolina, once more assembling her people in convention, had dissolved her connection with the United States. "The one great evil from which all other evils have flowed," said this Address, "is the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States. The Government of the United States is no longer the Government of a Confederate Republic, but of a consolidated Democracy. It is no longer a free government, but a despotism. It is in fact such a government as Great Britain attempted to set over our fathers, and which was resisted and defeated by a seven years' struggle for independence. . . . . The Southern States now stand exactly in the same position towards the Northern States that our ancestors in the colonies did towards Great Britain." This allusion to the misgovernment of the colonies by the mother country was a little out of harmony with the feelings of many South Carolinians at that time. The sentiment of aristocratical exclusiveness, natural to a community of slave-holders, had produced a very widely-spread regret that the Southern States had ever separated from England. Dr. William Howard Russell, who was sent out by the *Times* as Special Correspondent in the South shortly after the beginning of the Secession movement, testified to this fact, which, under the circumstances, is not difficult of belief.

The two previous occasions, alluded to by Mr. Rhett, when South Carolina had felt compelled to summon conventions for considering the oppressive character of Northern legislation, were in 1832 and 1852. The grievance at the earlier date was the imposition of a tariff contrived so as to favour Northern manufactures at the expense of Southern commodities. At the later date, it was the question of slavery, as affected by the determination of some of the Northern States not to obey the Fugitive Slave Law. As regards the tariff, there can be no doubt that the South had a genuine cause of complaint. Congressional legislation of this nature had for the most part favoured the North and injured the South; and there was nothing to show that liberal ideas of taxation were arising, or likely to arise, among the statesmen in the former section of the Union. But this in itself was no sufficient reason for breaking up a partnership which had

made the nation great and prosperous; nor was it by any means the grievance which was most prominently or earnestly put forward. The great complaint of the South was that the Free States had injuriously interfered with their property in slaves, by passing local Acts for defeating the Fugitive Slave Law. It was feared that the North would soon have the power to make the Supreme Court what it pleased, and that then everything would be interpreted against the interests of the Cotton States. Having for years "construed away all the limitations of the Constitution," the North would speedily proceed to emancipation, and make its will supreme over the whole Union. "Compromise after compromise, formed by your concessions," said the Address to the Southern populations, "has been trampled under foot by your Northern confederates. All fraternity of feeling between the North and the South is lost, or has been converted into hate; and we of the South are at last driven together by the stern destiny which controls the existence of nations. Your bitter experience of the faithlessness and rapacity of your Northern confederates may have been necessary to evolve those great principles of free government upon which the liberties of the world depend, and to prepare you for the grand mission of vindicating and re-establishing them. We rejoice that other nations should be satisfied with their institutions. Self-complacency is a great element of happiness, with nations as with individuals. We are satisfied with ours. If they prefer a system of industry in which capital and labour are in perpetual conflict—and chronic starvation keeps down the natural increase of population—and a man is worked out in eight years—and the law ordains that children shall be worked only ten hours a day—and the sabre and bayonet are the instruments of order—be it so. It is their affair, not ours. We prefer, however, our system of industry, by which labour and capital are identified in interest, and capital, therefore, protects labour; by which our population doubles every twenty years; by which starvation is unknown, and abundance crowns the land; by which order is preserved by an unpaid police, and the most fertile regions of the world, where the Caucasian cannot labour, are brought into usefulness by the labour of the African, and the whole world is blessed by our own productions."* This idea of the happy condition of labour in slave-holding communities, as compared with those in which the labourer is free, was a favourite one in the Southern States of America. When Mrs. Stowe elicited from the ladies of England a remonstrance with the wives of Southern planters on the score of the shocking cruelties practised on the black people, the American ladies retorted by pointing to what has been called the white serfdom of England. But the cases are in truth wholly distinct.

The issue, however, was raised plainly enough in the Address prepared by Mr. Rhett. Free labour was a curse, slavery was a blessing; and it was to keep that curse far from Southern lands, and to maintain that blessing in full force, that South Carolina seceded from the Union. Mr. Memminger, in a "Declaration of the Causes which justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union" (adopted at the same time by the convention), set forth in greater detail the indictment which the South preferred against the North. "The ends for which this Government was instituted," said the Declaration, "have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions, and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States, and recognised by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to endanger the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures, to servile insurrection." The party chargeable with these offences had at length secured to its aid the power of the common Government. A geographical line had been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line had united in the election of a President who had declared that the Government could not endure permanently half-slave and half-free. "On the 4th of March next," said the Declaration, "this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory; that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional; and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease from out the United States. The guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will be lost. The slave-holding States will no longer have the power of self-government or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemies."†

A long debate ensued on the adoption of these

* The Address is published in full in McPherson's "Political History of the United States of America during the Great Rebellion," Washington, 1864.

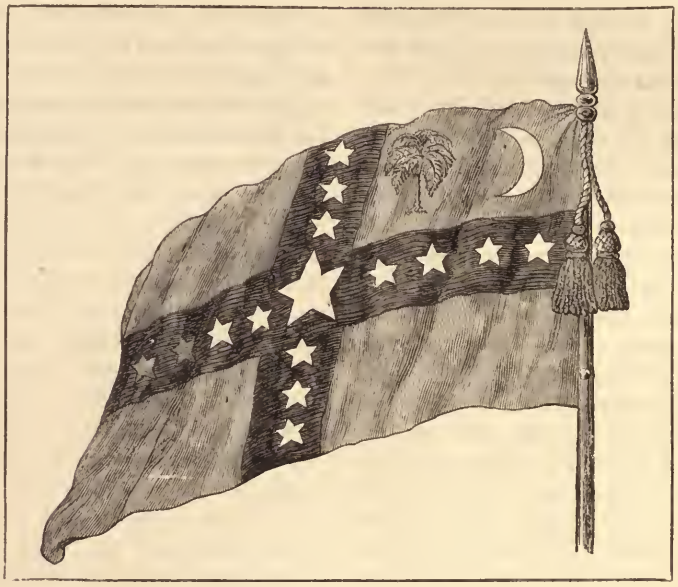
† McPherson's Political History.

papers, and it brought out some curious divergences of opinion among the members of the convention. Mr. Maxcy Gregg objected to the statements of Mr. Rhett and Mr. Memminger, on the ground that they did not give sufficient importance to the tariff grievances, and insisted too much on the violations of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, in the opinion of the speaker, were very unimportant matters. This, however, was not at all the view of Mr. Keitt. He reminded Mr. Gregg that all the South Carolinian senators and members of the House of Representatives had voted for the existing tariff. The tariff, he said, was not the question which had brought them to their present attitude: the question of slavery was the great central point from which they were then proceeding. There can be no doubt that he was right in this view: even Mr. Maxcy Gregg himself afterwards admitted that the immediate cause of the secession of South Carolina was the election of Mr. Lincoln. Now, Mr. Lincoln was not specially identified with any dogmas on taxation, but had certainly been elected by the North because he represented views tending to the restriction of slavery within narrower bounds than those to which the slave-owner aspired. It was to establish slavery more firmly, and to extend it over an increasing area, that South Carolina seceded from the Union, and proposed the formation of a new political bond. The Address prepared by Mr. Rhett very frankly stated:—"To be one of a great slave-holding Confederacy, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any Power in Europe possesses—with population four times greater than that of the United States when they achieved their independence of the British Empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people inhabiting it—with common institutions to defend, and common dangers to encounter—we ask your sympathy and confederation." And again in the last sentence of the Address:—"We ask you to join us in forming a Confederacy of slave-holding States." This was the real and authentic object of the great movement which South Carolina inaugurated. The Union itself had been, under the preponderating influence of the Southern States, "a great slave-holding Confederacy" ever since its existence. Now that the day was manifestly coming when that character would gradually diminish, the old association had lost its former value, and must be supplanted by another. It was not the right of individual States within their own boundaries that was in question. The South knew perfectly well that the Federation would pause a long time indeed before it ventured to touch the domestic institutions of any of the States, which indeed it had no constitutional right to do. But it was certain that the Union, in its collective capacity, would not much longer suffer itself to be the passive agent of Southern arrogance and greed. The South had lost her predominance, and refused to be second where she had so long been first.

The arguments of Mr. Rhett and Mr. Memminger were as bad as the ends which they were designed to justify. If the Northern States, in passing laws contrary to the Fugitive Slave Law, were guilty of a crime against the Southern States, the quarrel of the latter was with the offending States individually, and not with the Federation. No amount of injury inflicted by Massachusetts or Connecticut on Virginia or South Carolina could justify a disruption of the Union, unless it could be shown that the Government at Washington was an accessory in the wrong-doing. But of this there was not the slightest proof. All the proof was the other way. The Federation had been the humble servant of the South ever since the beginning of the century. It was the Federation which passed the Fugitive Slave Law; it was the Federation which provided civil officers and soldiers for enforcing that law, and for sending back escaped negroes to their Southern masters. To say that all this was about to be altered, and that the South was justified beforehand in resorting to civil war, was a mere begging of the question. The election of Mr. Lincoln did not of itself repeal any law whatever. It left the position of the South exactly what it was, as regarded everything that had already been accomplished. It signified nothing more than that the tide of Southern aggression would at length be checked. If the Fugitive Slave Law was to be repealed—if any new arrangement was to be made with respect to the Territories—it could only be through Acts of Congress, or elementary changes in the Constitution, in which the South would be as free to express its views as the North. We might discuss the question through a whole volume, and it would be impossible to come to any other conclusion than that already expressed: viz., that the South, finding itself no longer able to rule, was resolved to ruin.

After much debate, the Address and the Declaration were both adopted on the 24th of December. A third report was then made to the convention, by Judge Withers, from the committee on the relations of the slave-holding States of North America. The object of this committee was to consider the formation of a Federal Union between South Carolina and the other slave-holding States.

The committee advised that such a step should be taken, hoping and believing that the sister States of the South would correctly interpret their action, as by no means arising from any presumptuous arrogance, but from the position which circumstances had necessarily given to South Carolina. After considering the general character of the old Federal Constitution, as applied to a new league of States, the committee concluded by recommending the convention to appoint a Commissioner to proceed to each of the slave-holding States, to invite its co-operation in the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. It was suggested that the Commissioners be further authorised to submit the Federal Constitution as the basis of a provisional Government for such States as should have withdrawn from their connection with the Government of the United States of America, and that the said Commissioners be instructed to invite the seceding States to meet in convention at such time and place as might be agreed upon, for the purpose of forming a permanent Government. On the 26th of December, the convention agreed to send Commissioners to all the States which had formed conventions. These Commissioners were to bear with them an invitation to the seceding States, to meet South Carolina in convention at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 13th of February, 1861, for the purpose of creating a Southern Confederacy. In the meanwhile, South Carolina was in effect a perfectly independent commonwealth, and the convention made provision for continuing commercial operations by using the United States' officers and revenue laws, while changing the style of all papers to the name of South Carolina, and ordering all duties to be paid into the State treasury. It was even determined, on the 27th of December, to appoint ambassadors, ministers, consuls, &c., to represent South Carolina abroad. All citizens of the United States, living in South Carolina at the time the Ordinance of Secession was passed, were declared citizens of the new nation; but those suspected of an unfriendly feeling towards the South had previously been expelled from the State. Governor Pickens now formed a Cabinet with all the usual departments of a Government represented in it. Provision was made for military operations, and for other matters necessary to the conduct of affairs. The State banks were authorised by the Legislature to suspend specie payments, and a loan of 400,000 dollars was contracted, and immediately taken up. A call for volunteers was made, and it was determined to obtain troops by draft, if such a step should become advisable. The convention adjourned on the 5th of January, 1861, and the work which it had accomplished was left to produce its full effect on other Southern States.



THE SOUTH CAROLINA FLAG.

That effect was prodigious. The whole South burned up into one vivid flame of sympathy. In North Carolina, in Virginia, in Louisiana, in Alabama, in Georgia, and in other parts of the South, the initiative taken at Charleston received the most hearty response. In Maryland, a division of sentiment was apparent. Maryland was a slave-labour State, but it touched upon the North, and shared the Northern sentiment of devotion to the old Federation. An attempt to fire fifteen guns at Baltimore was prevented, and the Secession feeling speedily declined. In the Free-labour States the news of Southern disloyalty was first received with something like incredulity, and afterwards with something like dismay. The most general desire was for conciliation, which some, indeed, would have purchased by ignoble concessions. Mr. Seward, who was soon to be Mr. Lincoln's chief Minister, was eloquent in urging on his fellow-citizens the duty of being patient with the South. The Democrats of the Douglas party were willing to do pretty nearly everything which the Southern States were

REMOVAL OF THE TROOPS FROM FORT MOULTRIE TO FORT SUMTER.

then requiring. The Democrats of the Breckinridge party were eager to do all that they ever had required, or ever could require. Even in Boston there was a disposition to frown down the Abolitionists, as the cause of all the mischief. On the 3rd of December, 1860, a large number of persons assembled in Fremont Temple, denounced the acts of John Brown as bloody and tyrannical, and violently drove out of the hall all the Abolitionists and negroes who happened to be in it. Mr. Wendell Phillips was mobbed on several occasions. One sentiment, however, was generally felt by all classes and all parties. It was resolved to maintain the Union by force, if it could not be preserved by milder measures. But it was apparent that nothing could be done during the remaining weeks of Mr. Buchanan's Presidency. His Cabinet had been made up of active traitors and weak accomplices. It is not very easy to say which of these categories Mr. Buchanan himself belonged to; but he certainly was no friend of the North, and, be his motives what they might, his action had been most disastrous to the Union. All men now looked forward to the Administration of his successor; some in the spirit of hope, others in that of fear. Whatever he might do or leave undone, it was known that Mr. Lincoln would not trifle with rebellion. The organ of the President-elect, published at Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln himself resided, spoke very clearly on this subject during those anxious days of waiting. "If," said that journal, "South Carolina does not obstruct the collection of the revenues at her ports, nor violate another Federal law, there will be no trouble, and she will not be out of the Union. If she violates the law, then comes the tug of war." But even here there was a disposition to take the most lenient view. It was not too late to draw back, except for those reasons of false pride which are at the bottom of so many crimes. Had South Carolina paused in her career, or had the other Southern States refused to join her, the quarrel might even then have been settled without blows. There was every disposition on the part of the North to accommodate the feud. The one thing which the North would not grant was separation; the one thing which would rouse it to concerted action was the note of absolute defiance. The same natural regard for settled dominion which nerved Great Britain in her seven years' struggle against the revolted colonies of America, now nerved the Union against her fratricidal brethren in the South. The existing generation of Americans had succeeded to an inheritance of thirty-three majestic and prosperous States. They could not be expected to relinquish any part of their possessions at the demand of a league of slave-holders. For the creation of that Republic, their fathers had fought; for the maintenance of that Republic, themselves would die. It was not possible to misinterpret the prevalent sentiment on that point in the closing days of 1860. On a hundred other subjects there might have been a hundred different opinions; as to that stern necessity there was but one. But there were still two months of Mr. Buchanan's feeble Administration to be traversed, and the cause of treason and of the South had got the start.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Federal Forts in Charleston Harbour—Determination of the Conspirators at Washington to keep the Forts in a weak State of Defence—Difficult Position of Major Anderson at Charleston—His repeated Warnings to the Government to strengthen the South Carolina Works—Treacherous Proceedings of Floyd, the Secretary of War—Remonstrances of General Scott—Weak Conduct of Mr. Buchanan—Withdrawal of Major Anderson from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter—Resignation of Mr. Floyd—Committee of Inquiry on Military Affairs appointed by the House of Representatives—Serious Disclosures as to the Treasonable Measures of Mr. Floyd and Others—Large Transfer of Arms from the North to the South—Occupation of Fort Moultrie and of Castle Pinckney, by the South Carolinians—Beginning of Civil War—Mutual Distrust of the Conspirators—Floyd's Complicity in the Misappropriation of the Indian Trust Fund—The Commissioners from South Carolina at Washington—Their Correspondence with the President, and Return to the South—Gloomy Opening of the New Year (1861)—Strengthening of the Government—Measures for the Protection of Washington against Surprise—Attempt to reinforce Fort Sumter—The *Star of the West* driven from Charleston Harbour by the Insurgents—Demand for the Surrender of Fort Sumter.

In any operations for the vindication of Federal authority in the South, it was necessary that the Government of the Union should be in a position of command as regarded the forts and other military works belonging to that part of the Republic. But the conspirators at Washington had taken care that this should not be the case. The harbour of Charleston was defended by four structures mounted

with guns; viz., Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter, and Fort Johnson. Of these, the strongest and most important was Fort Sumter; the others were of no great value as means of defence. The commandant of Charleston Harbour, in October, 1860, was Colonel Gardner; but he was shortly afterwards removed from his position by Floyd, the treacherous Secretary of War, for attempting to increase his supply of ammunition. He was succeeded by Major Robert Anderson; but if Floyd, Howell Cobb, and their confederates, supposed that they had obtained in him a more pliant agent, they were mistaken. He saw the weakness of the Federal position at Charleston, and he also perceived that the South Carolinians were plotting mischief. On the 23rd of November—three days after his arrival—he wrote to Adjutant-General Cooper, at Washington, warning the Government authorities of the military preparations which were evidently being made by the people, revealing the weak condition of the forts, and advising immediate measures for putting them in a more effective state. Of course his representations were unheeded, for their existing state was the very thing which the conspirators desired to preserve until the revolution could be effected. It would be time enough to strengthen Charleston when it had become one of the chief cities of a Southern Confederacy. For the present, the weaker the Federal forts, the better for the design in hand. Cooper ultimately took service with the rebels; and in the meanwhile it must have been very encouraging to him to read the communications of Anderson. That officer declared that Sumter was at the mercy of insurgents. It was the key of the position; and, should it be seized, its guns would command Fort Moultrie, and drive out the occupants of that work. Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnson would soon follow, and Federal authority would then be at an end in Charleston.

Anderson, though meeting with no satisfactory response, continued to address his warnings to Adjutant-General Cooper, who was in immediate communication with Mr. Floyd, the Secretary of War. The commandant was instructed to address himself exclusively to one or other of those officials, for it was feared that if he should make known the weak condition of the forts to General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the American army, immediate steps would be taken for guarding against such a danger. Floyd was bent on supplying the South with as many arms as possible for use against the Union. On the 20th of December he gave orders that forty-four large guns should at once be sent from the arsenal at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, to an unfinished fort on Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, and seventy-eight others from the same arsenal to another uncompleted fort situated at Galveston. The people of Pittsburg, however, were determined that no such transfer should be made. A meeting was held, at the requisition of the Mayor; the guns were forcibly detained; and when, shortly afterwards, Floyd resigned office, his successor countermanded the order. To send heavy guns to unfinished forts, where they could not be used in defence of Federal authority, but would soon fall into the hands of the rebels, was a notable device of treason; but no guns were to be spared for Fort Sumter, lest the South Carolinians should take it ill. Anderson was even directed to send some of the workmen on the fort to the Charleston authorities, should a demand be made for their services in the State militia. The commandant felt himself powerless, for the Government was evidently resolved to betray the position. General Scott was equally perplexed. He represented the gravity of the situation in the strongest colours to the War Minister and the President; but nothing was done. Mr. Buchanan's excuse for not strengthening the Southern forts was that the South Carolinians would probably send commissioners to Washington for the peaceable secession of the State, and the acquisition by purchase of the Federal property; and that he did not yet know what course Congress would be disposed to take in such a case. The fact is, Mr. Buchanan wished well to Secession, and gladly avoided any measures for its defeat. It is possible, however, that weakness, and not intentional treason, was at the bottom of his policy. At the beginning of the troubles, he was eagerly desirous of sending reinforcements; saying that he would rather be at the bottom of the Potomac than that the forts should be in the hands of those who designed to take them. A few days later, he suffered himself to be converted by the arguments of his War Secretary, who had been taking the advice of Mr. Jefferson Davis, and others of the same faction!*

Left to himself and to his own resources, Major Anderson sent some engineers and workmen to repair Castle Pinckney, and at the same time did his best to strengthen Fort Moultrie. On the 22nd of December—two days after the South Carolinian convention had passed the Ordinance of Secession—he wrote to the Department of War that a steamer had been stationed near Sumter, evidently with a view to prevent any troops being placed in that fort, and that it was obviously the intention of the South Carolinians to seize the position as soon as they might see reason to doubt its being handed

* Speech of Mr. Floyd at Richmond, Virginia, Jan. 11th, 1861.

over to the State. He received no answer whatever to this communication, and, reflecting that he had no means to defend the whole of the four works, but that by concentrating his forces he might perhaps save the principal, he determined to shift his head-quarters from Moultrie to Sumter. Before doing this he transferred the women and children in the former work, first to Fort Johnson, and afterwards to the chief position; adopting a tortuous course with a view to blinding the Charleston authorities as to his real design. The removal to Fort Sumter did not take place until the evening of the 26th of December, when, under a bright moon, the troops were safely carried over from Moultrie, though the South Carolinians were seldom without watch-boats hovering about to observe the actions of the Federal representatives. A few officers and men were left at the abandoned work, to spike the great guns, destroy the carriages, and cut down the flag-staff; after which they were to join their comrades. Anderson at once wrote to Adjutant-General Cooper, informing him of what had been done; but before his letter could arrive, the Charleston Secessionists had telegraphed the news to the War Office at Washington. Floyd was astonished and disconcerted. He demanded explanations of the commandant, saying that the reported withdrawal to Fort Sumter was not believed, because there had been no order for such a movement. It was replied that the change had been made as a necessary measure of defence, and to save both guns and men. Great was the indignation of Floyd. At a Cabinet meeting he called attention to the fact that both he and the President had pledged their words to the authorities of South Carolina that the existing military position in that State should not be changed during the expiring term of the Democratic Administration.* The same statement was made to Major Anderson by a messenger from the Governor of South Carolina, who, on the 27th of December, arrived at Fort Sumter in a boat, with a demand (which was of course refused) for that officer's immediate return to Fort Moultrie. When, on the same day, Floyd brought the matter before the Cabinet, he vehemently declared that the solemn pledges of the Government had been violated, and he demanded of the President permission to withdraw the garrison from the harbour of Charleston altogether. For once, Mr. Buchanan held to his duty, though not without some momentary hesitation. He refused, and Mr. Floyd resigned on the 29th of December. The retiring Secretary (who at once repaired to the South) was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky—a gentleman of upright character and loyal views. On the last day of the old year, Mr. Holt conveyed to Major Anderson the approval of the Government as to his recent action; and, a week later, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution commending the bold and patriotic course followed by the commandant, and offering to support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union. Mr. Buchanan was being steadied by the pressure of circumstances.

Previously to these events, the condition of the Southern forts had been frequently made a subject of inquiry by Northern members of Congress; but for some time the topic was ingeniously stifled by members from the slave-holding States, who always dwelt on the impolicy of irritating the South by exhibitions of distrust. At length, however, at the beginning of 1861, the House of Representatives appointed a Committee on Military Affairs, feeling persuaded that the new Secretary of War, Mr. Holt, would give correct information. The report of this committee surprised the public by some very ugly facts. It appeared that on the 29th of December, 1859, Floyd had ordered the transfer of a large number of muskets and rifles from the armoury at Springfield, Massachusetts, and from two arsenals in the North, to arsenals in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana; and the transfer was in fact made in the spring of 1860. On the 9th of January in that year, Jefferson Davis introduced into the Senate a Bill to authorise the sale of public arms to the several States and Territories, and to regulate the appointment of Superintendents of the National Armouries. The design of this measure was to enable a number of volunteers who had been formed in the South to obtain the weapons which they required. The Bill, after passing the Senate, was lost in the House of Representatives; but Floyd and his companions were not to be foiled. An Act of Congress of 1825 empowered the Secretary of War to sell arms, ammunition, and other military stores, which might be found unsuitable for public service. Accordingly, Floyd, by a forced construction of the law, sold to some of the Southern States, and to certain individuals, an immense number of muskets, at a very low sum each. This was after the election of Mr. Lincoln, and when Secession was beginning to loom ominously on the horizon. That Mr. Buchanan knew of these transactions, and permitted them, seems probable. He has himself put it on record that the refusal to strengthen the Southern forts was his own act;† and it is therefore not

* Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 1.

† Letter to the *National Intelligencer*, dated "Wheatland, near Lancaster, October 28th, 1862."—In this letter, Mr.

unlikely that he connived at the concentration of weapons in the hands of the disaffected. At any rate, the South got the arms, and the North was denuded of them. A newspaper in one of the seceding States put the matter very frankly, shortly after the arrangement had been made. "During the past year," said this journal, "135,430 muskets have been quietly transferred from the Northern arsenal at Springfield alone to those in the Southern States. We are much obliged to Secretary Floyd for the foresight he has thus displayed, in disarming the North and equipping the South for this emergency. There is no telling the quantity of arms and munitions which were sent South from other arsenals. There is no doubt but that every man in the South who can carry a gun can now be supplied from private or public sources. The Springfield contribution alone would arm all the militia-men of Alabama and Mississippi."* Mr. Pollard, the Virginian historian of the war, alludes without any reserve to Mr. Floyd's services in this respect during the latter months of his Administration, and credits him with having transferred from Northern to Southern arsenals no fewer than 115,000 improved muskets and rifles. Of Mr. Floyd's treachery, therefore, no doubt can possibly be entertained. The statements of friend and foe alike convict him.

The removal of Major Anderson from Moultrie to Sumter not merely surprised but enraged the people of Charleston. They said it was a hostile act—the commencement of civil war; and they demanded to be led against the fort now occupied by the officer of the United States, which they believed their enthusiasm alone would enable them to take. Instead of this, however, Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney were occupied by the Secessionists on the 27th of December; on the 28th, the Custom House and Post Office were appropriated; and on the 30th the Government Arsenal was seized by the State militia. On the earliest of those days, the revenue-cutter *William Aikin*, lying in Charleston harbour, was surrendered by the officer in command. The works that had been seized were enlarged and strengthened; and, on Major Anderson sending a post-adjutant to Moultrie to inquire of the commander there by what authority he and armed men were in that fortification of the United States, he was answered, "By the authority of the Sovereign State of South Carolina, and by command of her Government." South Carolina then, was now committed, not merely to Secession, but to rebellion. She had taken more than a political step; she had drawn the sword. Affecting to see in the recent act of Major Anderson a resort to war on the part of that officer, the authorities of Charleston had desperately lifted their hands against the Federal Government, had seized Federal property, and had brought all hope of compromise to an end. It was now certain that the North must prepare for a long and agonising struggle. South Carolina had commenced the evil work, and it was but too probable that the whole South would follow.

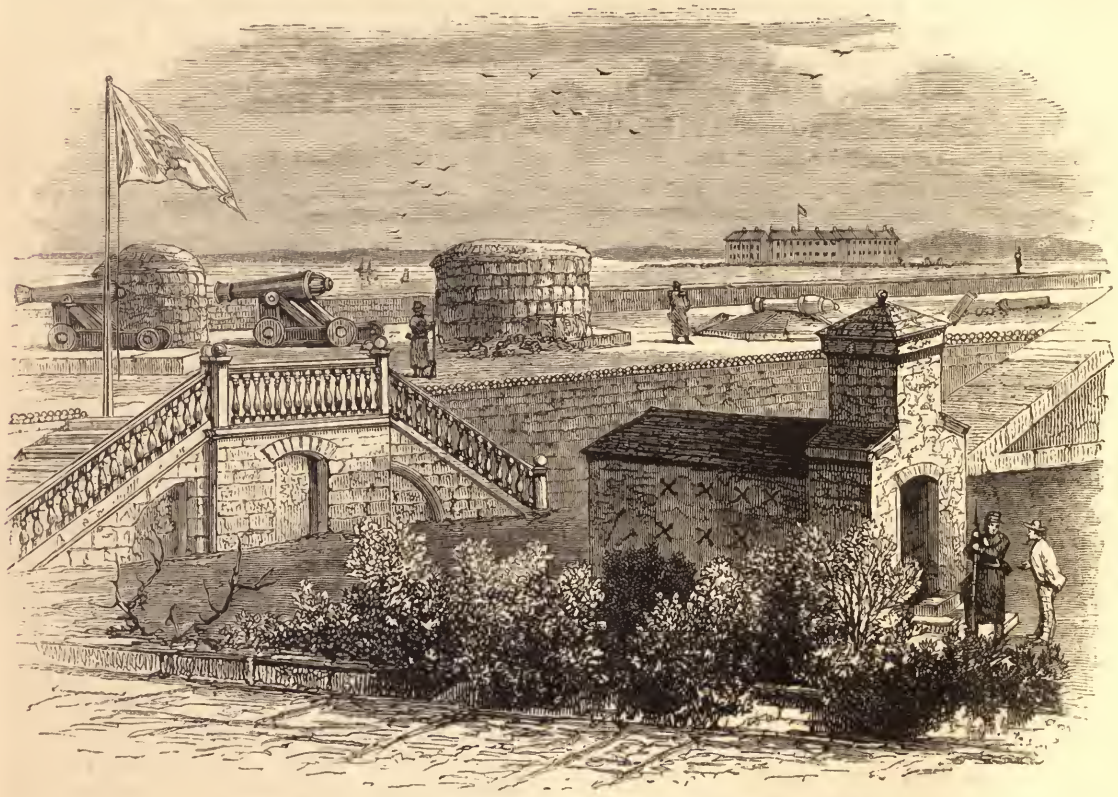
The conspirators, however, had very little reliance on one another, as commonly happens with conspirators. Mr. Trescott, the Assistant Secretary of State, though he had been doing his best for a long while to further the cause of Secession, was so much suspected that by some it was thought unsafe to trust him with any information from South Carolina. Robert Barnwell Rhett spoke of Jefferson Davis, afterwards President of the Southern Confederation, as a dishonest man and a liar. Mr. Buchanan was regarded—and perhaps not without reason—as a trimmer and a waverer, who had not courage enough to side unequivocally with either party. The man most liked appears to have been Mr. Floyd; and certainly he had many claims on the gratitude of the South. He was suspiciously mixed up with a transaction which was known as the misappropriation of the Indian Trust Fund, and which, no doubt, was intended as a means of supplying the slave-holding States with money. The Fund was created for the nominal purpose of carrying on military operations in Utah; and Floyd accepted, from the firm who had contracted for the transportation of supplies, drafts on his Department to the amount of more than two millions of dollars. The acceptances were of so questionable a nature that they could not be negotiated; and at length a clerk in the Interior Department was persuaded to exchange the State bonds composing the Indian Trust Fund for Floyd's bills. The bonds were then turned into money at New York; and it was not until the close of 1860 that the fraud was discovered. A Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the House of Representatives early in the following year, presented a report, in which Floyd's conduct was condemned, though in rather timid phraseology; and the Grand Jury of Washington indicted the offending Minister for malversation in office, complicity in the abstraction of the Indian Trust Fund, and conspiracy against the Government. But it was impossible to take

Buchanan denies that he was at all influenced by the advice of Mr. Floyd. To that extent, his testimony is antagonistic to the assertions of Mr. Floyd himself, in the Richmond speech before alluded to.

* *Mobile Advertiser*, quoted by Lossing.

any steps against the wrong-doer, for he had by that time fled to Virginia.

The Commissioners from South Carolina — Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr — arrived at Washington on the 26th of December, and took for their Secretary Mr. W. H. Trescott, who had recently left the State Department. On the 28th they addressed a letter to the President, explaining the object of their mission. They said they were charged by the convention of the people of South Carolina to treat with the Government of the United States "for the delivery of the forts, magazines, lighthouses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States as agent of the Confederated States of which South Carolina was recently a member; and, generally, to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between the Commonwealth and the Government at Washington." It will be seen that the tone adopted by the three officials from South Carolina was completely that of an independent Government, as the State asserted itself to be. But this was not all. Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, considered themselves entitled to administer reproof to the Government of the United States with respect to what had happened at Charleston. The Commissioners added that they had hoped to conduct the negotiation in such a way as to inaugurate the new relations of South Carolina towards the Union with mutual respect, and to secure a future of good-will and harmony, beneficial to all the parties concerned. But the withdrawal of Major Anderson to Fort Sumter had, in the opinion of the Commissioners, rendered that impossible. "We came here," they continued, "the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbour, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honour, rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here, an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without but against your



FORT MOULTRIE, CHARLESTON. WITH FORT SUMTER IN THE DISTANCE.

orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another; thus altering, to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came. Until the circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangements by which our mutual interests might be amicably adjusted." The letter concluded with a civil war; and he therefore deeply regretted that, in the opinion of the Commissioners, the recent turn of affairs had prevented it. As regarded the military situation at Charleston, the President related what had passed between himself and the four representatives of South Carolina, when, on the 8th of the month, they called on him with reference to that matter. The result of the discussion had been that Mr. Buchanan had under-

VIEW OF CHARLESTON HARBOUR, SHOWING THE FORTS AND SUNKEN VESSELS.

requisition for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbour of Charleston.

Mr. Buchanan answered this communication on the 30th. He said that his position as President was clearly defined in his Message to Congress on the 3rd instant. His ideas on the subject were still the same, and he could therefore only meet the Commissioners as private gentlemen, though he was quite willing to communicate to Congress any proposition they might have to make to that body on the subject of their mission. It was his earnest desire that such arrangements might be made by Congress as would avoid the inauguration of a taken not to reinforce the forts in the harbour until they were actually attacked, or until he had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked. From a "Memorandum of verbal instructions to Major Anderson," sent by Assistant Adjutant-General Butler on the 11th of December, in accordance with the directions of Mr. Floyd, it appeared that Anderson was authorised to shift his quarters to any one of the forts in case of his being positively attacked, or of a hostile attempt being made, or should there be tangible evidence of a design to proceed to such an attempt; but, in the absence of these reasons, he was to refrain from

every act which might tend to provoke aggression. Major Anderson, therefore, according to President Buchanan, had acted without authority, unless he had the "tangible evidence" contemplated by Mr. Floyd, but which that gentleman would certainly have been very slow to recognise as existing. So little was Mr. Buchanan disposed to support the commandant, that, on his own admission, his first promptings were to order him back to his former position; but the seizure of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie by the South Carolinians, without any explanation having been asked of the Federal Government, and the raising of the Palmetto-flag over the Custom House and Post Office, left the President no choice but to refuse the request of the Commissioners to withdraw the troops from the harbour of Charleston. To this letter from Mr. Buchanan, the Commissioners responded on the 1st of January, 1861; but the tone adopted by the writers was so personally offensive, and the allegations of breach of faith were so disrespectfully expressed, that the President returned the communication, with the simple statement that he declined to receive it. The Commissioners left Washington on the 5th of January.

The New Year had dawned very gloomily. In the streets of the Federal capital itself, the disaffected openly wore Secession cockades, and the prospects of strife grew darker and more imminent with each day. From two facts, however, the loyal drew comfort. The treason of South Carolina, and the insolence of the so-called Commissioners, had stung the President into taking a more decided stand on behalf of the Union; and by the middle of January the places of the traitorous Ministers had been filled by men on whom the country felt it could repose with confidence. In addition to the other new Ministers, the Cabinet now enjoyed the services of Mr. Edwin M. Stanton (ultimately Secretary of War under President Lincoln), who, on Mr. Black becoming Secretary of State after the resignation of General Cass, succeeded him as Attorney-General. The situation was so perilous that the assistance of all honest and capable men was greatly needed. It was well known at Washington that the conspirators contemplated seizing the seat of Government itself, and creating a revolution there in favour of the South. The plan was to occupy the city with a large military force, to proclaim Buchanan Provisional President, if he would consent to do exactly as the slave-owners wished, and, if not, to choose some one in his place; at all events, to prevent the rule of Lincoln. To counteract these plots, General Scott was consulted by the Cabinet, and measures were taken for defending the capital from any hostile movement. The strengthening of the Southern forts was also a matter of grave importance. It had been resolved, in the middle of December, to despatch thither a reinforcement of troops; but the intention was betrayed by some traitor in the Government, and the consequences were that the lights in Charleston harbour were extinguished, and the buoys removed from the channel. The enterprise was countermanded for a time; but on the 5th of January, 1861, a merchant-steamer, the *Star of the West*, which had been chartered by the Government, was sent southwards with troops and supplies. This act was so highly resented by Mr. Thompson, the treasonable Secretary of the Interior, that he resigned office, and hastened to his own State (Mississippi), to assist the work of Secession. The people of Charleston were by this time making great preparations for attacking Fort Sumter. Heavy batteries were erected; military companies were drilled in large numbers; Fort Johnson was occupied; a close watch was kept on all vessels approaching the harbour; and Major Anderson was cut off from telegraphic intercourse with his Government.

Such was the situation at Charleston when, on the morning of January 9th, the *Star of the West* was seen approaching Fort Sumter. The ill-advised scheme to reinforce Sumter in a clandestine way, instead of openly sending troops in a Government vessel, was doomed to failure. The fact of the steamer being there had been made known at an early hour to the South Carolinian authorities, who were already in possession of full information as to what was intended. Traitors at Washington had taken good care that intelligence should be sent at once, and the rulers of Charleston lost no time in preparing to resist the attempt. The Federal vessel was received by a shot from a masked battery on Morris Island; and, although the American colours were displayed by her, the battery continued to fire for ten minutes, and a few shots also came from Fort Moultrie. Two steam-tugs and an armed schooner now took up a position to intercept the *Star of the West*, the captain of which, seeing that he was in imminent danger of capture, put to sea, and returned to New York. Major Anderson had not received any information that relief was coming; but the attack on the vessel, and the running up of the national flag at the fore, left him no reason to doubt the real character of the steamer. He could have opened fire on the hostile schooner, or on Fort Moultrie, without the slightest difficulty; and he would probably have done so, upon seeing the vessel

attacked, had not the latter taken the more prudent course of retiring. Yet he was in great doubt as to whether his instructions would warrant him in any display of force. The orders of Mr. Floyd (whose resignation was unknown at Fort Sumter) hung like lead upon his arm, and paralysed his will.

After the withdrawal of the steamer, the Major sent a flag of truce to Governor Pickens, with a demand for explanations; at the same time intimating that, if the outrage were not disavowed by him, he should regard it as an act of war, and should not thenceforward allow vessels to pass within range of his guns. The Governor, in reply, acknowledged the act as that of the State of South Carolina, and gave Anderson to understand that any attempt to reinforce Sumter would be resisted. The commandant felt the difficulty of his position, and determined to refer the matter to his Government for further instructions; expressing to Pickens a hope that he would not prevent the bearer of his letter from proceeding to Washington. It was a sad humiliation for Anderson, to be thus obliged to beg from local authorities permission to communicate with the administrators of the whole Confederation. But no alternative remained open to him under the doubtful and perplexing circumstances of the time; and a lieutenant was sent off with the despatch, which Governor Pickens did nothing to intercept. A day or two after, the surrender of Fort Sumter was demanded of Anderson, and refused by him in rather high-flown language. The channel was then blocked, to obstruct the entry of vessels into the harbour; and the Revolutionary Government awaited in eager suspense the issue of the struggle it had provoked.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Progress of Secession—Assembling of the Mississippi Convention—Division of Parties—Ordinance of Secession affirmed—Violent Speech of a Secessionist—Murder as a Party Weapon—Secession Ordinances in Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana—Seizure of National Forts and Arsenals—Mr. Slidell's Exhortations to the People of Louisiana to support the Secession Cause—The Right to use the River Mississippi as a Free Water Highway—Energetic Action of General Dix, Secretary to the Treasury—Movement in Texas—Union Feeling of Governor Houston, and of a Portion of the Populace—Secret Agency of the Order of "Knights of the Golden Circle"—Resort to Terrorism as a Means of creating a Secession Feeling—Election of a Convention—Houston opposed to the Movement as illegal—Secession voted by the Convention, and submitted to the People—Ratification of the Ordinance by the Popular Vote—Address of the Governor—Deposition of Houston, and Subsequent Submission to the Secessionists—His Defence of his Conduct—The Policy of Self-seeking.

On New Year's Day, 1861, South Carolina was the only State which had actually seceded from the Union; but it was certain that the example would be very speedily followed in many other quarters, and such proved to be the case. The Mississippi convention assembled on the 7th of January at Jackson, the capital of the State, and proceeded to discuss the question of an immediate and absolute separation from the old league. In this State there were two parties—both strongly opposed to the principles of Abolitionism, and equally resolved to maintain what were regarded as Southern interests, but in one respect disagreed as to the method of treating existing difficulties. The Secessionists pure and simple were for cutting the bond of union at once, and in the most peremptory fashion. The others, who called themselves "Co-operationists," desired, before taking that extreme step, to lay before the North a series of demands, to which the whole South should have previously agreed, and the acceptance of which by the Federal Government and the Free Labour States should put an end to the quarrel. Undoubtedly, the latter course had the greater semblance of legality; but it had also the disadvantage of indicating hesitation in a movement which could only succeed, if at all, by a policy of boldness and confidence. The composition of the convention showed that the Co-operationists were in a rather small minority, and it is said that they were intimidated by actual threats, and prevented from giving free utterance to their views. In the final result, only fifteen of the compromisers voted against the Ordinance of Secession which, on the 9th of the month, was carried by eighty-four affirmative votes. The disaffected were not long in want of funds. Citizens in various parts of the State sent money to the Governor; and Jefferson Davis, together with Mr. Jacob Thompson, guaranteed the payment, in May or June, of 25,000 dollars for the purchase of arms. Thompson had resigned his post, as Secretary of the Interior in the Federal Government, only the day before the Mississippi Ordinance of Secession was passed—that is to say, on the 8th of January.

So quickly did Mississippi take hostile action on the resolve of her convention, that three days later a company of artillerists planted cannon at Vicksburg, on the great river after which the State is named, and, on the 18th of January, fired on a steamer to bring her to. The ruling men in the State were all in favour of Secession; but a feeling of loyalty towards the Union prevailed in some quarters, and expressed itself as far as it dared. This, however, was a very dangerous exercise of the right of individual judgment, for terrorism prevailed throughout the State. A speech delivered at a public meeting by one of the most furious of the Secessionists contained phrases which showed the desperate lengths to which Southern enthusiasts were prepared to go, and indeed actually *did* go, and the utter demoralisation that had been caused by the institution of slavery wherever it existed. Alluding to the election of Lincoln, the speaker asked:—"Shall he be permitted to take his seat on Southern soil? No, never! I will volunteer, as one of thirty thousand, to butcher the villain, if he ever sets foot on slave territory. Secession or submission! What patriot would hesitate for a moment which to choose? No true son of Mississippi would brook the idea of submission to the rule of the baboon, Abe Lincoln—a fifth-rate lawyer, a broken-down hack of a politician, a fanatic, an Abolitionist. . . . . *The halter is the only argument that should be used against the submissionists*, and I predict that it will soon, very soon, be in force. We have glorious news from Tallahatchie. Seven Tory submissionists were hanged there in one day, and the so-called Union candidates, having the wholesome dread of hemp before their eyes, are not canvassing the county."* The reference to Lincoln reads like a dismal prophecy of the tragedy which occurred rather more than four years later. But what is to be thought of politicians who openly encouraged murder as their most effective party weapon?

Florida was next in the field. Her Ordinance of Secession was passed on the 10th of January, the day after that of Mississippi; and even before this formal act had been accomplished, the Governor of the former State had made arrangements for seizing the Federal forts. Some of these, however, were too strong to be taken; so the Governor's attention was chiefly confined to the national works in the Bay of Pensacola. They were under the command of Lieutenant Slemmer, a native of Pennsylvania; and not far off was the Navy Yard, then under the direction of Commodore Armstrong. The former received very positive instructions from Washington to do his utmost for the protection of the forts. As in the case of Anderson at Charleston, it was found impossible to defend more than one; and the lieutenant accordingly withdrew into Fort Pickens, as being the strongest of the three. This was on the 10th of January, and on the same day a body of troops, consisting chiefly of men belonging to Florida and Alabama, with a few from Mississippi, appeared before the Navy Yard, and demanded its immediate surrender to the Secessionists. Armstrong was so surrounded by traitors, even amongst the officers and men under his command, that he had not the means of resistance, and was compelled to do as he was bidden. His conduct was at the time imputed to disloyal feelings, especially as he had previously failed to perform a promise of aiding Lieutenant Slemmer in removing to Fort Pickens. But it would appear that the defection of his own subordinates left him without the capability of defending the Federal interests which had been committed to his charge; and it is possible that he had no improper motives, though some of his acts have a rather suspicious aspect. Florida was a perfect nest of rebels, and the authority of the Union was speedily subverted. About the same time that the Navy Yard was thus snatched from its rightful masters, Forts Barrancas and M'Ree, in the Bay of Pensacola, were entered by the insurgents, and turned to their own uses. Some days earlier—on the 6th and 7th of January—the Floridans had seized the Chattahoochee Arsenal, and Fort Marion, at St. Augustine. The latter was a building erected by the Spaniards in the eighteenth century, and had formerly been called the Castle of St. Mark. These acts placed a large number of guns, together with a considerable amount of ammunition, at the disposal of the conspirators.

The position of Slemmer at Fort Pickens was now very serious. The work was calculated to hold twelve hundred men, but he had not more than eighty-one under his command. Armstrong, of the Navy Yard, had been either unable or unwilling to send him any reinforcements, or to do more than despatch a steamer to lie off the walls, with instructions to fire only in case of being herself attacked, and not if any assault were made on Fort Pickens. Slemmer, however, was well provided with guns, shot, and powder, and was furnished with food for five months. When, therefore, on the 12th of January, a demand was made for the surrender of the fort, he at once refused. Three days later, he

* The speech is to be found in a work called "The Iron Furnace, or Slavery and Secession," by the Rev. John H. Aughey, a Presbyterian clergyman of Mississippi; and is here quoted from Lossing's "History of the Civil War."

had an interview with Colonel William H. Chase, of Massachusetts, who, despite his New England birth, had thrown in his lot with the Southern slave-owners and malcontents, and, after having served in the army of the United States, had just accepted the command of all the insurgent troops in Florida. The object of Chase's visit was to endeavour to overcome Lieutenant Slemmer's scruples as to betraying his trust. He represented to the commandant that he might save a great deal of bloodshed, without any compromise of honour, by surrendering the fort, subject to an agreement to be afterwards entered into between the Commissioners of the State and the Federal Government. To Slemmer, such an arrangement appeared in the highest degree dishonourable, and he refused to enter into any terms with the enemies of his country. Further proposals were made on the 18th of January, but with the same result; and the Floridan authorities then commenced preparations for besieging the fort.

The Secession movement in Alabama encountered a good deal of opposition. When the convention met at Montgomery, on the 7th of January, several Union men were found to be members, and the opinions expressed were far from unanimous. Much violent and excited discussion took place; but on the 11th of January the Ordinance of Secession was passed by 61 to 39 votes. In this State, as in others, the national forts were seized, together with the Arsenal at Mount Vernon, and the most frantic joy was expressed by the populace of the towns. Georgia followed in the same path, and on the 18th of January resolved in convention, by a decisive majority, to separate from the Union. Many of the Georgians were in favour of remaining within the Union. Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, as we have already observed, spoke in the convention itself against Secession, though he soon afterwards found his way to accepting it. But Mr. Toombs, so long as he retained his position as a Senator at Washington, kept sending the most exciting telegrams to his native State, imputing remorseless intentions to the Federal Government, and recommending resistance at all hazard; and these had a considerable effect on the waverers. Intimidation was also resorted to, and the Union sentiment was completely suppressed. As early as the 3rd of January, Forts Pulaski and Jackson, on the river Savannah, were taken by the conspirators; for in many of the Southern States the national property was seized before it had yet been determined by the elected representatives whether the Union should be abandoned or not.

This was the case in Louisiana. The leading politicians of that State were confident that the convention, when elected, would approve an Ordinance of Secession; and on the 9th of January the Governor sent expeditions from New Orleans to seize Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi,—Fort Pike, on Lake Pontchartrain,—and the Arsenal at Bâton Rouge. The forts, which were weakly manned, at once surrendered, and others were given up at later dates. The Arsenal was also delivered into the hands of the insurgents; the Marine Hospital was appropriated; and Louisiana, elated by her easy triumphs, was in a very hopeful mood by the time the members of the convention met at Bâton Rouge, which was on the 23rd of January. The President of this body was Mr. Alexander Mouton, formerly Governor of the State—a gentleman who seems to have been little more than the nominee of Mr. John Slidell, whose influence was paramount in Louisiana. Nine days before the convention assembled, a letter, the joint production of Mr. Slidell, Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, Mr. John M. Landrum, and Mr. J. G. Davidson, all of Louisiana, had been sent from Washington to Mr. Mouton, who was there described as "President of the Convention," though at that time he held no such office. The object of this letter was to urge the immediate necessity of secession as a matter of self-protection. The appointment of Mr. Holt to the War Department was denounced as an open attack upon the South, and that gentleman was said to have submitted to the Government the plan of a campaign on a gigantic scale for the subjugation of the seceding States. The writers of the letter exclaimed that without slavery they would perish; but they were willing to reconstruct the Confederacy with any materials that were not absolutely hostile. This was in allusion to certain ideas which had for some time been prevalent in the South, and which pointed to the formation of a new Federal pact, excluding Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and all the New England States, but otherwise following the old lines.* The secession of Louisiana was clearly a settled fact before the convention met, and the ordinance decreeing that result was carried on the 26th of January by 113 ayes to 17 noes. Previous to the members separating, it was unanimously resolved that Louisiana would recognise the right to a free navigation of the Mississippi and its tributaries by all bordering States who were influenced by friendly feelings, and would acknowledge a right to egress and ingress, as respected the mouths of the Mississippi, in all friendly States and Powers. These resolutions were plainly levelled in part at the hasty

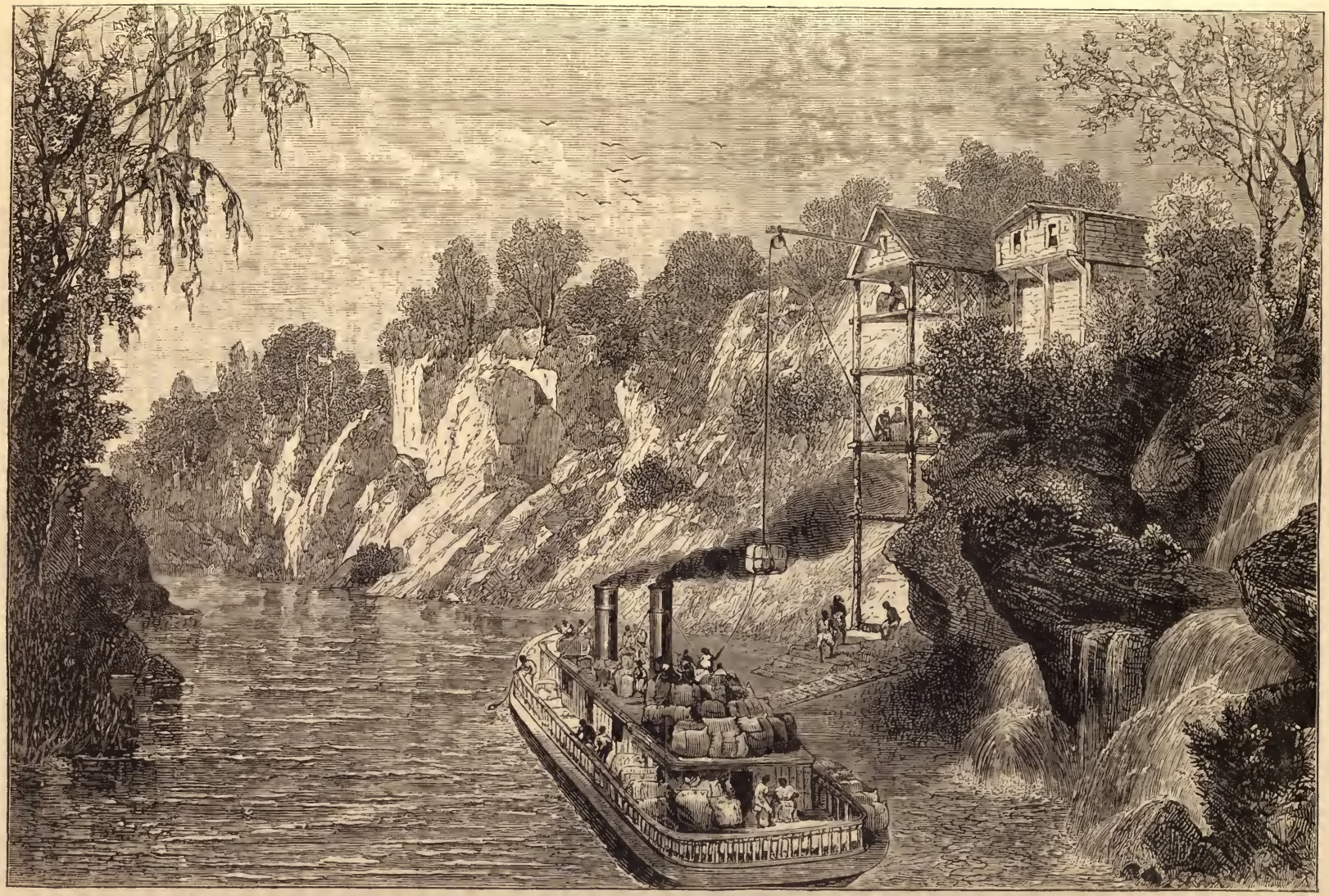
* Lossing.

action of the State of Mississippi in planting a battery at Vicksburg, and blockading the water highway. The Mississippi, in the lower part of its course, runs between the State bearing the same name, and the more western State of Louisiana; Washington was not disposed to trifle with rebellion. One William Hemphill Jones had been sent, as special agent of the Treasury Department, to secure the revenue-cutters, *Lewis Cass*, at Mobile, and *Robert M'Clelland*, at New Orleans.

PLAN OF FORTS AND HARBOUR AT CHARLESTON.

so that both were equally interested in the question as to how far that great river should be left open to others, and how far its traffic should be restricted.

A remarkable effect was produced about this time by a display of resolution on the part of General Dix, the new Secretary of the Treasury, which showed that the re-constructed Cabinet at The former of those vessels had already been seized by the authorities of Alabama; the latter was still untouched. Jones therefore directed the commander, Captain J. G. Breshwood, to proceed immediately with his vessel to New York. Breshwood answered by a direct refusal, which was at once telegraphed to Washington. Dix's reply, by the same agency, was in these words:—"Tell



LOADING A COTTON STEAMER. (*From a Sketch by Miss C. Hopley.*)

Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." These directions, however, were not permitted to reach the agent of the Treasury Department. They were intercepted at New Orleans, and the *M'Clelland* fell into the hands of the conspirators. But the fact of General Dix having issued such an order gave the utmost satisfaction in the Northern States. The final words were often repeated by the loyal, as the most emphatic expression of their devotion to the Union; and a medal to commemorate the event was subsequently struck.

It was now the turn of Texas to throw in her lot with the other insurgents against the national authority. The acquisition of Texas had been one of that long series of events by which the South had endeavoured to increase its power in the Union, and to augment the number of slave States represented in Congress. The reader will bear in mind the acts of violence and bad faith by which the province was wrested from Mexico, and will not have forgotten how the quarrel between the Southern Republic and the United States, with reference to Texas, eventuated in the war of 1846–8. With all these antecedents, it would not have been surprising had the Texans, to a man, been eager to side with those other slave-holding communities which were now engaged in the work of disintegration. Yet that this particular State should be torn from the Union was especially hard, because it was by Federal blood and Federal coin that Texas had been finally secured as a member of the great Republic which is ruled from Washington. The existing Governor was indeed a professed Union man. He was no other than the celebrated General Houston, who in 1835–6 had done more than any one else to detach Texas from Mexico. He had been elected to his present post by a majority of ten thousand; but that was before the Secession movement had commenced, and popular feeling was now beginning to be influenced by the events of the hour. The change, nevertheless, was of very recent origin. Even in December, 1860, there was a strong disposition among the Texans to support the Union; but by January, 1861, a marked revolution had been effected by the action of a secret society called the "Knights of the Golden Circle." It was proposed by these conspirators to seize the neighbouring provinces of Mexico and the island of Cuba, and to establish a Government on the unrestricted principle of slavery. The centre of this new Power was to be at Havannah, with a radius of sixteen degrees of latitude and longitude, and it was to extend as far south as the Isthmus of Darien. The "golden circle," alluded to in the title of the Order, was the imaginary line girdling these imaginary possessions, at an equal distance at all points from Havannah. It has been said that the organisation was founded in 1835 by Mr. John C. Calhoun; but, however that may have been, it is certain that the piratical enterprises of Lopez, Walker, and others, were brought about by the agency of the so-called Knights. At the commencement of 1861, the Knights had established their lodges, which they designated "castles," over the whole of Texas, and the members of the society exercised considerable power, partly in the way of persuasion, and partly in that of intimidation. Several members of the Legislature were concerned in the movement, and persons favourable to the Union are alleged to have been hanged from trees. It was now determined by the Knights to summon a State convention to meet at Austin on the 28th of January; and, although they had no legal right to make such a requisition, the convention was elected. But such an assemblage was no true exponent of the popular will, because large numbers of persons, seeing the illegality of the whole affair, abstained from voting.

Houston regarded the movement with feelings of apprehension. He summoned the State Legislature to an extraordinary session, to commence on the 22nd of January, and the Federal relations of the State were among the subjects to be specially considered by the two Houses. The Legislature, however, contained a majority of anti-Unionists, and the first thing they did was to adopt a joint resolution, recognising the convention as a legally-constituted body. The convention, therefore, proceeded to business, although Governor Houston protested against the assumption by it of any powers beyond the reference of the question of Secession to the people. An Ordinance of Secession was passed on the 1st of February by an almost unanimous vote; but the question was not to be considered as finally settled until it had been submitted to the popular voice. Delegates to the General Convention at Montgomery were then appointed, and a Committee of Safety was formed, ostensibly with the design of protecting the State, but really, there can be little doubt, with a view to influencing by terror the opinion of hesitating Texans as to the advisability of separation from the Federal Government. The popular vote took place on February 23rd, and, whatever the motives that may have swayed the

voters, it was distinctly in favour of Secession. The result was announced at the reassembling of the convention, and on the 6th of March a committee was appointed to convey the information to Governor Houston. That official replied that the convention had transcended its powers, and that its acts were usurpations. The convention retorted by defying the authority of the Governor; and Houston, beginning to hesitate in his former line of conduct, issued an address, in which he said that he loved Texas too well to kindle a civil war on its soil, and that he should not attempt, under the circumstances, to exercise his authority. At the same time, he again denounced the convention as an illegal body, and observed that his worst anticipations had been realised. This indictment, which was published in the early days of Mr. Lincoln's Presidency, and therefore after the formation of the Southern Confederation, is written in a somewhat obscure and ungrammatical style, but is valuable as revealing the state of anarchy and violence under which Texas was then suffering. Referring to the convention, General Houston said:—

"It has elected delegates to the provisional council of the Confederate States, at Montgomery, before Texas had withdrawn from the Union, and who, on the second day of March, annexed Texas to the Confederate States, and constituted themselves members of Congress, when it was not officially known by the convention until the 4th of March that a majority of the people had voted in favour of Secession. While a portion of these delegates were representing Texas in the Congress of the Confederate States, two of them, still claiming to be United States Senators, have continued to represent Texas in the United States Senate, under the Administration of Mr. Lincoln, an Administration that the people of Texas have declared odious and not to be borne. It has created a Committee of Safety, a portion of whom have assumed the executive powers of the Government, and, to supplant the executive authority, have entered into negotiations with Federal officers. This committee, and commissioners acting under it, have caused the Federal troops to be removed from posts in the country exposed to Indian depredations, and had them located with their arms and field-batteries on the coast. They have usurped the power to draw these troops from the frontier, but, though in possession of ample stores, munitions of war, and transportation, have failed to supply troops in the place of those removed. As a consequence, the wail of women and children is heard upon the border. The Committee of Safety has brought danger instead of safety. It has involved the State in an enormous expense for an army where no army was needed, and left unprotected those who needed protection. It has exposed the State to ridicule, and wounded the chivalry and historic pride of the people, by sending an army of over a thousand men to attack a single post upon the Rio Grande, which has been permitted to defy them until such time as its commander saw fit to withdraw. It has assumed to appoint agents to foreign States, and created offices, military and civil, unknown to the laws, at its will, keeping secret its proceedings."

Among the other offences of the convention, Governor Houston mentioned that it had, by ordinance, declared the popular ratification of the constitution by that time provisionally established by the Confederated States; that it had framed a test-oath of allegiance to those States, requiring all persons then in office to take the same, or suffer the penalty of removal; that it had required the Executive, and a portion of the other officers at the seat of government, to appear at its bar, and subscribe to the test-oath; that it had assumed to create organic laws, and put them in execution; and that it had overthrown the theory of free government, by combining all departments in itself, so as to establish a despotism. The Governor concluded by saying that he was ready to lay down his life to maintain the rights and liberties of the people of Texas, or to lay down office rather than yield to usurpation and disgrace. The convention took him at his word, as respected the second of these alternatives, and on the 20th of March deposed him, together with other State officers who refused the new oath. Houston thereupon resigned the seals and archives of Texas into the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, who shortly after issued a proclamation forbidding all intercourse with the people of the Northern States. To profess Union sentiments was now a matter requiring no small exercise of courage, and Houston, though brave in the field, had not the moral fortitude to withstand the predominant party. It may, indeed, be questioned whether his attachment to the Union had any deep root, even when he was most emphatically asserting it. It was to increase the number of slave States that he had torn Texas from Mexico five-and-twenty years before; and now that the Northern party had obtained the ascendency at Washington, it is difficult to see how his affection for the old flag could have been very great. At any rate, he renounced his allegiance to the Federation shortly after his deposition from the office of Governor; and on the 10th of May publicly acknowledged the new Confederation, recommended all Texans to obey its authority, and urged the whole South to prosecute the war with

vigour. He here said that, so long as there was a hope of obtaining their rights and preserving their institutions, he had been in favour of the Union, but that the war had put an end to all such anticipations. "Sectional prejudices," he observed, "sectional hate, sectional aggrandisement, and sectional pride, cloaked in the name of the Government and Union, stimulate the North in prosecuting this war. The time has come when a man's section is his country. I stand by mine. All my hopes, my fortunes, are centred in the South."* The excuse was worthless; for, if Secession was wrong in March, it was equally so in May, and could not be made right by the effort to put it down. We must look elsewhere for the real cause of the ex-Governor's defection. Houston was an adventurer from the first, and a Republic of adventurers was the one most likely to command his respect.

How far the views of Texas had really changed between December, 1860, and the spring of 1861, may be difficult to determine; but it is probable that several yielded to intimidation, and that others were moulded by the course of events, and took the prevalent colour, as so many do in all communities. In September, Houston considered it necessary to defend his very questionable conduct, and declared in a published letter that the Union sentiment, as far as he could perceive, had entirely died out of Texas. It had certainly entirely died out of himself, and its place was supplied by a spirit of fierce animosity against the Federal Government, and the existing President, Mr. Lincoln. He declared that the Washington Cabinet was usurping powers to which it had no title, and that it was waging war against Sovereign States which owed no allegiance to the National Government. With the utmost bitterness, he denounced the acts of the President, and with ridiculous confidence prophesied that the North could never subdue the South, and that a reunion of the antagonistic sections could not possibly take place. By that time the two Federal Governments were in the high tide of war, and it was not a moment when very cool judgments were to be expected from any one. But the defection of Governor Houston began at a date when the passions of men had not been so savagely excited, and when a firm opposition to the revolutionary feeling in Texas might have had some effect in checking its full operation, and would at any rate have put heart into the loyal. His acting otherwise is not astonishing as human nature is constituted, and his conduct was simply that of tens of thousands all over the American States. The waverers went with the side which seemed to be winning; the self-seekers thought only of propitiating the new Slave Republic which appeared for awhile to be firmly established. That they proved to be mistaken in their forecast, is saying nothing more than that morality after all is the greatest force in the world, and that those who hope to prosper in its defiance have in the end to reckon with a power which they could not estimate, which they did not love, which perhaps they did not know, but to which they are compelled to bow.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Virginia slow in joining the Secession Movement—Meeting of the Legislature in Extraordinary Session on the 7th of January—Proposals of Compromise, and Preparations for Defence—State of Opinion in Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, and the New England States—Position of New York—Strange Proposal of Fernando Wood—The States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in Favour of Southern Views—The North-West heartily on the Side of the Union—Secessionist Conspiracy at Washington—Discussion in Congress on the Compromise Resolutions of Mr. Crittenden, and on other Proposals—Mr. Corwin's Resolutions in the House of Representatives—Violent Debates on the various Plans for effecting an Arrangement—Irreconcilable Hostility of the South—Scheme of a Double Government, proposed by Mr. Hunter, of Virginia—Speeches of Mr. Seward and Mr. Andrew Johnson—Complaints of Southern Advocates—Withdrawal from Congress of Secessionist Members—Addresses of Jefferson Davis and Others—Formation of the Territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakotah.

VIRGINIA was not so prompt as some of the Gulf States in joining the movement which had been inaugurated by South Carolina. A good deal of disaffection existed in that part of the Union; but it was hoped to influence the course of events at the Federal capital, and so preserve the old association, though under changed conditions. Nevertheless, the continued loyalty of Virginia, unless she could have her own way, was not a thing to be reckoned on. In no State was there a more haughty sense of its own importance than in that which is often designated the Old Dominion. It was the first of

* The Rebellion Record, 1864. Vol. I., p. 266, Documents.

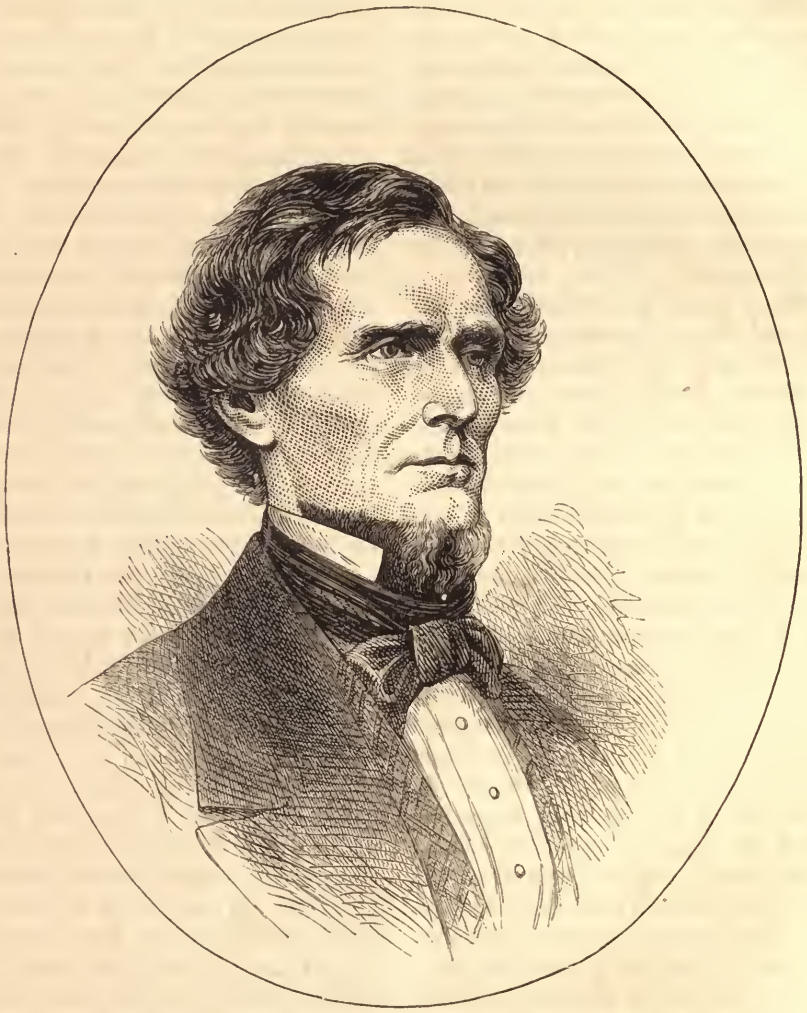
the English colonies, and had in this way acquired a certain claim to precedence and honour, which for many years had been very generally acknowledged. The aristocratical or cavalier feeling was strong among its population, which had, indeed, produced so many leading men, in politics and arms, from Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, down to more recent days, that the State might almost be excused for thinking it had a special faculty for government. The slave interest was as strong there as in regions farther south; and if that interest was thought to be really threatened, Virginia would certainly be found in the thick of the battle for its defence. The initiative of South Carolina was therefore observed with interest and sympathy, though with a cautious regard to the probable issue of events.

An extraordinary session of the Legislature was summoned for the 7th of January, 1861. The Governor, John Letcher, suggested the advisability of holding a convention of all the States, to consider whether some constitutional way out of the existing difficulties could not be found. Yet he had an eye to the forts, and declared to the Legislature that any attempt on the part of Federal troops to pass through Virginia to the South, with a view to hostile operations, would be resisted. This determination was upheld by the Legislature, which passed resolutions to that effect. It was also resolved by the two Houses (though here in opposition to the Governor) that a convention of the State, to consider the question of Secession, should be elected on the 4th of February, and assemble on the 15th. But the hope of compromise was still adhered to, and various resolutions were adopted, suggesting means by which the quarrel between North and South might be peaceably discussed, and a resort to arms be at any rate postponed until all other ways had been tried. Two commissioners were appointed, one to proceed to Washington, with a plan for a Peace Convention to be held in that city, the other to seek interviews with the Governors of the seceding States. This plan was very much approved by President Buchanan, who laid the matter before Congress in a commendatory Message. But the legislators of Virginia had not the most lively faith in its success, for, on the very day when the resolution was carried, they passed another, declaring that, if all efforts to effect a reconciliation should fail, every consideration of honour and interest demanded that Virginia should unite her destinies with the other slave-holding States. A million dollars were appropriated by the Legislature for defence, and the State Government then awaited in patience the meeting of the convention.

In the meanwhile, emissaries from the Cotton States were at work in other quarters, trying to stir up disaffection. In Maryland they had very ill success, for the Governor, Mr. Thomas H. Hicks, was a loyal man, and a majority of the people were well disposed towards the Union. Delaware also stood firm for the old connection. Even North Carolina, which ultimately joined the Southern Confederation, held back at the beginning of the movement, and was with difficulty persuaded to elect a convention, which, when elected, proved to contain a large majority of Unionists. The policy of this State in the early part of 1861 was to prepare for the worst, but not hastily to abandon the hope of reconciliation. In Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, opinion on the whole was in favour of maintaining the Union, though conventions were held, and a general determination was intimated to support the privileges of the South. In some of these States the Governors were inclined to secession, and every influence was brought to bear in favour of that result, but for the present without effect. In the New England States, the feeling of the people was of course very strongly expressed against the Southern schemers who, for the sake of maintaining and extending slavery, were ready to destroy the Union. Yet the Legislatures of Maine and Rhode Island repealed their Personal Liberty Laws (passed as a means of counteracting the Fugitive Slave Law), in the hope of propitiating the South. The attitude of New York was peculiar. The geographical position of that State is Northern. For many years it had ceased to be a slave-holding community, and its interests would seem to have been identified rather with the Free Labour States than with those which clung to the system of negro bondage. Nevertheless, there has always been a strong disposition in certain portions of the New York population to support the Southern interpretation of American politics. This is especially the case with the city of New York, where the Protectionist policy of the North has created animosity by acting in restraint of commerce, and where national feeling seems to have been in some degree quenched by the immense in-pouring of immigrants from all parts of the world.

The Mayor of New York early in 1861 was the notorious Fernando Wood, and to this official it appeared that the general disruption of the country afforded an opportunity of a peculiar kind to the city which he ruled. He proposed to the Common Council that New York should declare herself a free city, and mentioned as an inducement to such a course that a nominal duty on imports would supply

all the local expenses, without any other taxes. "When disunion has become a fixed and certain fact," said Fernando Wood, "why may not New York disrupt the bands which bind her to a venal and corrupt master—to a people and a party that have plundered her revenues, attempted to ruin her commerce, taken away the power of self-government, and destroyed the confederacy of which she was the proud Empire City?" The suggestion came to nothing; but, although the New York Legislature passed loyal resolutions denouncing the action of the Gulf States, the people of New York generally were nervously anxious to avoid a war which they foresaw would be fatal to their commercial prosperity. Memorials in favour of compromise, and of granting to the South pretty nearly all she required, were numerously signed, and sent to Washington; and on the 28th of January it was resolved, at a large public meeting, to send three Commissioners to six of the seceded States, to confer on the measures best calculated to restore the integrity of the Union. On the 31st of the same month, a convention of the Democratic party—which has always been very strong in the State of New York—assembled at Albany, and it was resolved to support the Crittenden Compromise, recently introduced into the Federal Senate, as embodying those concessions which the slave-holding States had a right to expect. A disposition to excuse the institution of slavery was very prevalent over the whole State; and an association formed in March, under the title of "The American Society for the promotion of National Union," was as Southern in its tone as the South itself could have desired. New Jersey and Pennsylvania stood on much the same ground; and, speaking in general



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

terms, it may be said that the Middle States supported the Secessionists—not, indeed, to the extent of actual secession, but in all their chief requirements—while the New England States, and those of the North-west, were heartily and unconditionally on the side of the Union, and opposed to those principles of government by which the politicians of the South, and their friends in the Democratic party at the North, had sought to make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence subservient to the practice of negro slavery.

The remaining months of Mr. Buchanan's Presidency formed a period of very great danger. Mr. Buchanan himself was not disposed to do much; his Ministers, even when loyally inclined, could do but little; and, until the early part of February, the representatives of many of the seceding States remained at Washington, plotting against the Federal Government at its very seat, supplying the disaffected at the South with important information, directing the early stages of rebellion from the spot whence it could be most easily promoted, yet at the same time hampering the action of Congress by their votes. These men formed a compact and organised phalanx, and on the 5th of January they held a secret meeting, at which they assumed to themselves the whole political power of the South, and resolved to control all political and military operations in that quarter. It was they who telegraphed directions for seizing the Federal forts, arsenals, and other public buildings in the seceding States; it was they who encouraged Secession in every possible way; it was they who suggested the assembling of a General Convention at Montgomery, Alabama. Such, at least, were the statements made by a gentleman, himself a Southerner, who published his information in a Washington newspaper; and the whole course of events confirms the truth of the allegations. The chief of these conspirators were Jefferson Davis, John Slidell, Robert Toombs, and David L. Yulee—all four bent on destroying the Union which they could no longer wrest to their own purposes. A qualm of conscience seems to have passed over the minds of some, as to whether they could in honour remain members of the Senate while they were doing their utmost to establish a rival and antagonistic Government; however, it was finally resolved to stay at their posts, in order to prevent the passage of any Bills which might be introduced for coercing the South, and strengthening the hands of the incoming Administration.* Never was a dishonourable plot more dishonourably conducted.

Under this perilous condition of affairs, President Buchanan sent a special Message to Congress on the 8th of January. He here recommended the two Houses to devote themselves exclusively to the question how the Union could be preserved in peace. He considered that the best plan would be to re-establish a line of demarcation between the territory where slavery might exist, and that where it might not. He pledged himself to preserve the public peace in the District of Columbia, warned his countrymen of the dangers by which they were surrounded, and, with a half-pathetic pleading for a favourable construction of his motives, averred that he should carry to the grave the consciousness of having at least meant well for his country. With regard to Southern designs, he spoke more unreservedly than before. Secession was plainly characterised as a crime, and Mr. Buchanan said that he should attempt to collect the public revenue everywhere, as far as was practicable in the existing state of the law. His executive powers, however, were exhausted, or were inadequate to meet the difficulties of the time. To Congress alone, he observed, belonged the right to declare war, or to authorise the Executive to employ military force; but he asked for no additional powers, and in this respect his Message was as unsatisfactory as that with which he opened the session. Mr. Buchanan, in fact, had made up his mind not to coerce the South, whose objects he in the main approved; and no amount of defiance from that quarter would have roused him to action. On the day following the delivery of this Message, Mr. Howard, of Michigan, offered a resolution for referring the President's communication to a special committee of five members of the House of Representatives, who were also to make inquiry into the conduct of executive officers of the United States with reference to the Secession movement, and into the seizure of forts, ships, and other national property. The resolution was adopted, and the committee presented several reports touching on the different subjects involved.

The Compromise Resolutions of Mr. Crittenden came on for discussion in January. The committees appointed by the two Houses to consider these resolutions had been sitting for some weeks, and on the 9th of January, Mr. Daniel Clark, of New Hampshire, submitted to the Senate two resolutions as an amendment to Mr. Crittenden's proposals. The first declared that the provisions of the Constitution were ample for the preservation of the Union, and the protection of the material

* This was frankly admitted in a letter addressed by Senator Yulee to the Florida convention on the 14th of January, and discovered, in the course of the civil war, at Fernandina.

interests of the country. The second affirmed that all attempts to dissolve the Union were dangerous, illusory, and destructive; that no reconstruction was practicable; and that consequently the energies of the Government, and the efforts of all good citizens, should be directed solely to the maintenance of the existing Constitution. This amendment was carried by 25 votes to 23, but on the 2nd of March was reconsidered and negatived. Mr. Crittenden's proposals to restore the line of the Missouri Compromise, and otherwise to recognise and protect the interests of the South, were rejected on the 16th of January, as not advisable under existing circumstances. The majority of the Senate Committee were favourable to many of Mr. Crittenden's suggestions; but they were disallowed under a rule which had been framed at the commencement of the sittings, to the effect that no resolution should be considered adopted unless it received a majority both of Republican and Democratic votes. The proposals were reconsidered on the 2nd of March, though with no better success; but early on the morning of the 3rd—the last day of Mr. Buchanan's Presidentship—a proposition, originating in the House of Representatives, to amend the Constitution so as to prohibit for ever any alteration of that instrument interfering with slavery in any State, was adopted in the Senate. Various other plans were brought forward at earlier dates; but, although they conceded much to the South, they were voted against by Southern members themselves, because they did not concede enough. It would seem, indeed, that even Mr. Crittenden's ample provisions were not held to be completely satisfactory to the Secessionists; for, on the first occasion, six Southern members refused to vote—a circumstance to which the author of the resolutions attributed the failure of his attempt. The efforts to effect a compromise were as little successful in the Lower as in the Upper Chamber. Mr. Corwin, the chairman of the Committee of Thirty-three appointed by the House of Representatives, presented a long report, which condemned legislative interference with the Fugitive Slave Law; recommended the repeal of Personal Liberty Acts, so far as they conflicted with that law; recognised slavery as existing in fifteen States of the Union; denied the existence of any power in the Federation to interfere with that institution; urged the propriety of a faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; repudiated any elements in the National Constitution or laws that could afford sufficient reason for a dissolution of the Union; enjoined upon Congress the duty of meting out exact justice to all the States; and declared that it was essential to the peace of the country for the several States faithfully to observe their constitutional obligations to each other, and that it was the duty of the National Government to maintain its authority and protect its property everywhere. It was also proposed that each State should be requested to revise its statutes, so that citizens of other States might enjoy protection against popular violence, or illegal and summary punishment for implied crimes, without trial in due course of law; and that the States should be requested to provide by law against the setting in motion, within their respective borders, of any lawless invasion of another State.

This report was submitted to the House on the 14th of January, and was accompanied by a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, whereby any further amendment, giving Congress power over slavery in the States, was forbidden. The several matters were debated with great fulness, and on the 28th of February, Mr. Corwin's report was agreed to with acclamation. The quarrel, however, was past healing; and even as early as the 7th of January, when Mr. Crittenden moved to provide by law for submitting his proposed amendments of the Constitution to a vote of the people, he was met by the most violent opposition from some of the Southern members still remaining in the Senate. The speech of Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, was especially defiant, and amounted to a plain declaration of war by the South against the rest of the Union. The Federation, he said, was dissolved, and the slave-holding States, having in vain appealed for justice, were prepared for the arbitrament of the sword. He rejoiced in being "as good a traitor and as good a rebel as ever descended from revolutionary loins." He demanded the right of going into all the Territories with slaves as property, which property was to be protected there by the National Government; and he required the most plenary enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. He would be content with nothing less than this: it was the price of his allegiance. "We are willing," he said, "to defend our rights with the halter around our necks, and to meet these Black Republicans, their myrmidons and allies, whenever they choose to come on." * Since the just rights of the Southern States were not to be restored, they asked to be suffered to depart in peace. If that was refused, the state of war was forced on them, and they would accept it.

The discussion was continued on the 11th of January by Senator Hunter, of Virginia, who

* The phrase "Black Republicans" was applied to Northern politicians, because they advocated the rights of the negro.

asserted the right of Secession, and made it still more clear that the South could be retained only by concessions which would amount to the complete subjection of the North. Following, with some modifications, a suggestion of Mr. Calhoun's, he proposed that the Northern and Southern sections of the country should elect two Presidents, to be called the First and Second President, each to serve four years in turn, and the second to be President of the Senate during the rule of the first, with a casting-vote in case of a tie. These Presidents were to divide the business of the Executive, and a similar division was also to be effected in the Supreme Court. How it could have been supposed that anything but endless contention and ultimate disruption would have proceeded from such an arrangement, is one of the marvels of perverted ingenuity. All such views were energetically opposed by Mr. Seward, of New York, on the 12th of January. Seward was one of the most distinguished men of the Republican party, and it was known that he would be the Secretary of State under Mr. Lincoln. He now avowed his adherence to the Union, "in its integrity and with all its parts; with his friends, with his party, with his State, or without any of them, as they might determine; in every event, whether of peace or of war; with every consequence of honour or dishonour, of life or death." Union, he remarked, was not less the body than liberty was the soul of the nation. Nevertheless, he counselled prudence in the adoption of whatever measures might be considered necessary to preserve the public peace, and trusted that, as far as possible, moderation, forbearance, and conciliation would be observed. The speech was able and impressive, but gave little satisfaction to either side. By the South it was interpreted as a threat of coercion, while to the North it seemed like a temporising abandonment of those principles for which Seward had previously been held in regard. Another of the speakers in the same debate was Mr. Andrew Johnson, senator from Tennessee, who in 1865 became Vice-President under Lincoln, and on the assassination of that statesman succeeded to the principal office. Though the State to which he belonged was a slave-labour State, and ultimately joined the Southern Confederation, Mr. Johnson expressed a most emphatic devotion to the Union. The debate was continued for many days, but led to no satisfactory result.

By Southern advocates it is made a great cause of complaint, that both the Senate and the House of Representatives rejected propositions acknowledging the right of property in slaves, or recommending the division of the Territories between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States by a geographical line; that, in the Senate, Mr. Crittenden's propositions were voted against by every Republican senator; that the House of Representatives, on a vote of ayes and noes, refused to consider certain propositions which were even less favourable to the South than Mr. Crittenden s; that a resolution, giving a pledge to sustain the President in the use of force against seceding States, was adopted in the House of Representatives by a large majority; and that in the Senate every Republican voted to substitute for Mr. Crittenden's propositions the resolutions offered by Mr. Clark, of New Hampshire, declaring that no new concessions, guarantees, or amendments to the Constitution were necessary, that the demands of the South were unreasonable, and that the remedy for existing dangers was simply to enforce the laws. This was regarded as nothing else than a plain intimation that coercion and war had been resolved on by the North.* But it must be evident from what has already been related that at the commencement of the rupture there was a very general disposition in the Republican party (setting aside the extreme Abolitionists) to concede a good deal to the South, and that this disposition diminished only when it was found that the South would concede nothing in return, but grew every day more exacting in its demands. As Mr. Charles Francis Adams well observed, in a separate report on Mr. Corwin's resolutions, it was plain that no form of adjustment would be satisfactory to the recusant States, which did not incorporate into the Federal Constitution a recognition of the obligation to protect and extend slavery. "On this condition, and on this alone," said Mr. Adams, "will they consent to withdraw their opposition to the Constitutional election of the Chief Magistrate. Viewing the matter in this light, it seems unadvisable to attempt to proceed a step further in the way of offering unacceptable propositions. It certainly can be of no use to propose as an adjustment that which has no prospect of being received as such by the other party." This feeling probably influenced many members of Congress belonging to the Northern Section, in voting against the conciliatory proposals that were put forth. For the same reason, the Southern members themselves voted against these futile attempts. They were determined to have everything or nothing; and long before the final proposals were put to the vote, they had retired in a body from the Senate and the House of Representatives.

* Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 1.

The withdrawal of the malcontents began on the 12th of January. The representatives of Missouri were the first to retire, which they did on the ground that their State had seceded from the Union, and that they approved the measure. On the 14th of the same month, one of the Senators from Mississippi relinquished his seat; but his colleague, the celebrated Jefferson Davis, remained until the 21st, on account of ill-health. He was not content to go without making a speech, and the intention of that speech was to justify his State in seceding, and the Southern States generally in separating themselves from the rest of the Union. He drew a great distinction between Nullification and Secession, which he described as antagonistic principles. "Nullification," he continued, "is the remedy which is to be sought and applied, within the Union, against an agent of the United States, when that agent has violated Constitutional obligations, and the State assumes action for itself, and appeals to other States to support it. But when the States themselves, and the people of the States, have so acted as to convince us that they will not regard our Constitutional rights, then, and then for the first time, arises the question of Secession in its practical application." Secession was to be justified on the basis that the States were sovereign. Mr. Davis said he remembered well when Massachusetts was arraigned before the Senate, and that he had then said that if Massachusetts took the last step which separated her from the Union, the right to do so was hers, and that he would vote neither one dollar nor one man to coerce her, but that he would say to her "God speed!" The equality spoken of in the Declaration of Independence was, in the opinion of Mr. Davis, the equality of a class in political rights, and had no reference to the question of slavery. The step recently taken by Mississippi, and by other Southern States, was not taken with any hostility, or any desire to injure other sections of the country, nor even for pecuniary benefit; but simply with a view to defending and protecting rights inherited by the people, and transmitting them unshorn to their posterity. "I therefore feel," pursued Mr. Davis, "that I but express their desire when I say they hope for those peaceful relations with you that may be mutually beneficial to us in the future. There will be peace, if so you will it; and you may bring disaster on every part of the country, if you thus will have it. And if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the paw of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate and defend the rights we claim." * With an apparently earnest disavowal of any angry feeling towards his opponents in Congress, and the tender of an apology for anything he might have done in the Senate calculated to wound the feelings of others, Mr. Jefferson Davis took his leave.

The Senators from Alabama and Florida also withdrew on the 21st. On the 28th of January, these Secessionists were followed by Senator Iverson of Georgia, who, in the course of some remarks which he made by way of farewell, expressed the unalterable resolution of the South to establish her independence. "You may possibly," he said, "overrun us, desolate our fields, burn our dwellings, lay our cities in ruins, murder our people, and reduce us to beggary; but you cannot subdue or subjugate us to your government or your will. Your conquest, if you gain one, will cost you a hundred thousand lives, and more than a hundred million dollars. Nay, more, it will take a standing army of a hundred thousand men, and millions of money annually, to keep us in subjection. We will rise again and again, to vindicate our right to liberty, and to throw off your oppressive and cursed yoke; we will never cease the mortal strife until our whole white race is extinguished, and our fair land given over to desolation. You may have ships of war, and we may have none. You may blockade our ports and lock up our commerce. We can live, if need be, without commerce. But when you shut out our cotton from the looms of Europe, we shall see whether other nations will not have something to say, and something do, on that subject. 'Cotton is king!' and it will find means to raise your blockade and disperse your ships."

It was not until the 4th of February that John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, withdrew from the Senate. Both made speeches; but, while Slidell's was defiant, Benjamin's was temperate and well-considered. In the House of Representatives there was but one farewell oration —that of Mr. Miles Taylor, of Louisiana, who warned Northern politicians of the peril of offending the cotton interest. It was a very prevalent opinion in the Southern States that England and France would break any blockade that might be instituted, for the purpose of obtaining the products of the South; and a strong disposition to do so was afterwards felt in some circles of both countries, when the stringency of the blockade interfered seriously with commerce. The other members of the House followed the more decent

* Rebellion Record, Vol. I.

plan of simply sending up to the Speaker brief notices of their withdrawal, which were read without comment. By the 5th of February they had all departed, and the friends of the Union were left undisturbed by any serious opposition to their policy. Before the termination of Mr. Buchanan's rule, Acts were passed for the organisation of three new Territories—Colorado, Nevada, and Dakotah. The question of slavery was left to the decision of the people themselves when the time had arrived for their being created into States; and the principle which the South had once advocated, but had since bitterly opposed as not sufficiently subservient to her interests, was now triumphantly asserted by a Legislature which had been purged of traitors.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Action of Southern Senators and Representatives with reference to the Attempts at Compromise in Congress—The Failure of those Attempts mainly owing to them—Opinion of Mr. Lincoln on Efforts at Conciliation and Reconstruction—Meeting of the Peace Conference at Washington—Terms of Compromise agreed to—Mr. Reverdy Johnson's Resolution—The Compromise set aside by Congress—Perfidy of Ex-President Tyler—Meeting of the General Convention of the Seceding States at Montgomery, Alabama—The Convention declared to be a Congress—Formation of the Confederate States—Points in which the Constitution differed from that of the United States—Dissatisfaction of the South Carolinian Representatives with the New Constitution—The Complaints of Mr. Barnwell Rhett—Election of Jefferson Davis to the Presidency, and of Alexander H. Stephens to the Vice-Presidency—Tergiversation of the Latter—Appointment of Committees, &c.—Discussion as to the Flag—Irritable Opposition of South Carolina to the Collective Action of the Federation—Forebodings in Georgia—Inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederate States.

That no terms of compromise were effected in Congress, was the fault of the extreme pro-slavery and the extreme anti-slavery parties, both of whom desired disunion, that each might be delivered from association with the other. Wendell Phillips publicly announced that he wished to see the Southern States out of the Union, so that the Northern half of the country might be saved from the sin and curse of helping to support slavery;* and this was probably the feeling of most Abolitionists. But the blame of failure in these Congressional attempts at reconstruction must lie mainly with the Southern members, since, had they coalesced with the more moderate men, the extreme Republicans would have been in a minority. Mr. Crittenden's resolutions would have been carried on the first occasion of their being brought forward, if the six abstaining members had elected to vote for them. Yet, as soon as they were rejected, these very members telegraphed to the South, "We cannot get any compromise." The amendment of Mr. Clark, as already stated, was carried in the place of Mr. Crittenden's propositions; but it might have been defeated by a majority of four, had the Southern senators exercised their powers, and even after the withdrawal of the Secessionists it was negatived on reconsideration. When the suggestions of the venerable senator from Kentucky were reconsidered, on the 2nd of March, they were defeated only by a bare majority of one—20 to 19—and would have been affirmed, had the senators from the seceded States remained, and given their support to the compromise. Mr. Toombs, however, characterised Crittenden and his associates as "political fossils" for talking about the Union, and asked whether his State was to lie down and submit, because of such proposals. This was the feeling of all the rebellious senators, and it is the real explanation why Congress effected nothing in the way of compromise. The disposition of the majority, even after the withdrawal of the Southerners, to leave slavery untouched as far as it was already established, is manifest from the two-thirds vote by which Congress deprived itself for ever of all power to interfere with that institution in the States.

Whether the Union was worth saving at the price of a perpetual recognition of slavery, is another question. It may be that it was far better that the mortal struggle should come at once, and the evil be violently expelled, since it could be removed no other way, than that the disease should be fostered for an indefinite period. But the main obstacles in the way of conciliation came from the South, and it was an outrage on plain facts to say, as the advocates of Secession afterwards did, that all conciliation was refused by the supporters of the Union. It is nevertheless true that some influential politicians were opposed to effecting any compromise while the South continued in a posture

* Lecture in the Music Hall, Boston, Jan. 20th, 1861.

of open and avowed rebellion. This seems to have been the feeling of Mr. Lincoln, who, according to the *New York Tribune* of January 30th, 1861, said he would suffer death before he would consent, or advise his friends to consent, to any concession or compromise which might look like buying the privilege of taking possession of the Government to which they had a constitutional right. Whatever

VIEW IN COLORADO: THE GATE OF THE "GARDEN OF THE GODS."

might be the merit of the various propositions then before Congress, the President-elect said he should regard any concession in the face of menace as the destruction of the Government itself, and a consent on all hands that the political system of the United States should be brought down to a level with the disorganised state of Mexico. If the people desired to call a convention to remove any grievances complained of, or to give new guarantees for the permanence of vested rights, he would make no opposition; but it was for the people themselves to decide.

The attempts at negotiation were not yet over when Mr. Lincoln spoke to this effect. The Peace Conference, appointed in accordance with resolutions of the Virginian Legislature on the 19th of January, assembled in the city of Washington on the 4th of February. The invitation had met with a response in various parts of the country, and delegates from twenty-one States assembled in the convention. Fourteen of them represented Free Labour States, seven Slave Labour States. Some were appointed by the State Legislatures, others were selected by the Governors; but not one owed his post to popular election. Virginia, in soliciting the other States to meet her in convention, stated that she would be satisfied with the Crittenden Compromise, so modified as to apply to all the territory of the Republic south of latitude 36° 30′, to secure efficient protection for the human property of the slave-owner, and to establish the right of slave-owners to take their negroes "between and through the non-slaveholding States and Territories." This, of course, did not bind the other States, and the

A STREET IN NEW ORLEANS ON AN ELECTION DAY.

several representatives were furnished with instructions embodying various degrees of compromise. The duty of presiding over the convention was entrusted to Mr. John Tyler, of Virginia, who filled the office of President from 1841 to 1845. Mr. Tyler had been elected to the Vice-Presidency, in 1840, on Whig principles; but, after succeeding to the chief position on the death of General Harrison, he had done the work of the Democratic party as thoroughly as one of their own candidates could have accomplished it. He was therefore regarded with confidence by Southern politicians, and, enjoying moreover a general reputation for statesmanship and extensive knowledge, he was now

chosen as the principal of this important convention.

After the formation of a committee for considering all propositions for the adjustment of the existing difficulties, Mr. Guthrie, of Kentucky, the chairman of the committee, made a report, wherein several amendments to the Constitution were suggested, of which the general effect was to secure the alleged rights of the slave-owners in their own States, in the Territories south of the Missouri Compromise line, in all States to be afterwards created (provided the people themselves desired it), and in the Free Labour States, as far as concerned the rendition of fugitive negroes. It was further provided that these amendments should not be altered or abolished without the consent of all the States; and the foreign slave-trade was to be prohibited for ever. Several other propositions were brought forward in opposition to those of Mr. Guthrie, and rejected after debate; and ultimately, on the 26th of February, the chairman's report was taken up, considered by sections, and adopted with some modifications. A proposal, originating with Mr. T. E. Franklin, of Pennsylvania, to declare that no State of the Union had any constitutional right to secede therefrom, or absolve the citizens of such State from their allegiance to the Federal Government, was indefinitely postponed by the votes of ten States against seven. Another motion, made by Mr. Seddon, of Virginia, to the effect that secession from the Union should be recognised as a legal right, was simply laid on the table. A preamble to Mr. Guthrie's propositions having been agreed to, Mr. Tyler was requested to present the plan of adjustment to Congress. Although the formal business of the convention was now at an end, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, one of the representatives of Maryland, asked and obtained leave to place on record in the proceedings of the convention a resolution deploring the action of the seceding States; expressing a hope that they might soon see cause to resume "their honoured places in the Confederacy of States;" setting forth the opinion of the convention that the Union was formed by the assent of the people of the respective States, that the Republican institutions guaranteed to each ought not to be maintained by force, and that therefore the convention deprecated any effort of the Federal Government to coerce the seceders; and lastly invoking abstinence from all counsels and measures of compulsion towards them. Mr. Reverdy Johnson may have loved the Union much; but it is evident that he loved the right of secession more.

A hundred guns were fired in the Federal capital, on the 27th of February, in honour of the compromise to be proposed to Congress in the name of the convention. People were for the moment in a glow of hope, soon to be dashed by the stern realities of the time. It was thought that some common ground had at last been discovered; but in truth the crisis was advancing with rapid strides, and the end had been pre-determined by the steps already taken. A copy of the proposed amendments to the Constitution was sent to Vice-President Breckinridge, who on the 2nd of March laid the matter before the Senate. It was referred to a committee of five, and the report of the committee was discussed in connection with the original Crittenden Compromise, when that plan came up for reconsideration. Finally, it was decided to postpone the suggestions of the convention, which put an end to the scheme elaborated by the representatives of the States sitting under the presidency of Mr. Tyler. By the motion ultimately adopted, the Legislature bound itself so to amend the Constitution as to prohibit any interference with slavery in any of the States; and it was held that this was as much as could, under the circumstances, be granted. It was a great deal less, however, than the South desired, and Mr. Tyler was not even satisfied with the proposals of the conference. He reported to the Virginian Legislature that those proposals were a delusion and a sham, an insult and an offence to the South; although, in his final speech to the convention, he had remarked that the result at which they had arrived was probably the best that, as matters then stood, could be expected, and that he would recommend its adoption as far as in him lay. The party which Mr. Tyler represented was not likely to accept any compromise whatever. It is of the very nature of a compromise to concede somewhat on both sides; to abate extreme pretensions, and strike a balance of gain and loss. But the South aimed at complete predominance, and would be content with nothing less. If the North, for the sake of peace, had been willing to give up everything—to make provision for the endless and unrestricted extension of slavery, and for the complete identification of the Federal Government with the interests of the slave-owner—the seceding States might have been very glad to return; but, short of that, they preferred a separate existence, with all the liabilities of a ruinous and sanguinary war.

Before the suggestions of the Peace Convention were laid before Congress, the final step had been taken in the independence of the rebellious States. The General Convention of those States met at Mont-

gomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February, the day on which the Peace Convention began its sittings at Washington, and some days earlier than that on which the conference was appointed to commence. The place of assembly of the Secessionists was the State House, and the States represented were South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. Mr. Howell Cobb, until recently Secretary of the Treasury in the Government of President Buchanan, was chosen presiding officer of the convention. In his opening speech, he declared that the separation of the seceded States from their former associates was fixed, irrevocable, and perpetual. But it was necessary to make provision for the government of the States there represented, and for the maintenance of friendly relations with their late sister States, and especially with the other slave States, as well as with the rest of the world. On the second day of the convention, Mr. Memminger submitted a series of resolutions declaring that it was expedient forthwith to form a Confederacy of the seceded States; that a committee be appointed to report a plan for a Provisional Government, on the basis of the Constitution of the United States; that the committee consist of thirteen members; and that all propositions with reference to the Provisional Government be referred to that body. It was afterwards agreed, on the motion of Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, that the assemblage should thenceforth be termed a Congress, instead of going by the less important title which it had previously borne. The suggested committee having been formed, with Mr. Memminger for its chairman, a plan for a new league of States was brought forward by that gentleman on the 7th of February. It proposed that the constitution of the United States, with some modifications, should be adopted by the representatives of the six States then assembled. The assemblage was declared to be a Congress, vested with all the legislative powers possessed by the Congress of the old Union. It was determined that the Provisional President should hold his office for one year, unless superseded by the establishment of a permanent Government; that each State should be a distinct judicial district, the judge having all the powers before vested in the District and Circuit Courts; that the several District judges together should compose the Supreme Bench—a majority of them constituting a quorum; that wherever the word "Union" occurred in the United States Constitution, the word "Confederacy" was to be substituted; that the President might veto any separate appropriation without vetoing the whole Bill in which it was contained; that the African slave-trade was prohibited; that Congress should be empowered to forbid the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of the Confederacy; that all appropriations must be upon the demand of the President, or of the heads of Departments; and that members of Congress were not prohibited from holding offices of honour and emolument under the Administration. No provision was made for a neutral spot wherein to establish the permanent seat of the Confederacy, or for sites for forts, arsenals, and dockyards; consequently, no reference was made to the territorial powers of the Provisional Government. The section in the old Constitution in reference to capitation and other direct taxes was set aside; also the section providing that no tax or duty should be laid on any exports. The prohibition on States keeping troops or ships of war in time of peace was omitted. The Constitution being simply temporary, no provision was made for its ratification. The Fugitive Slave clause of the old Constitution was so amended as to contain the word "slave," instead of the periphrasis formerly used, and to provide for full compensation, in cases of abduction or forcible rescue, on the part of the State in which such abduction or rescue might take place. Congress, by a two-thirds vote, might at any time alter or amend the Constitution; and, as temporary arrangements, it was agreed that the Provisional Government should take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the new Confederation and the United States in relation to the public property and the public debt,—that Montgomery should be made the seat of Government,—and that the Constitution should continue one year, unless altered by a two-thirds vote, or superseded by a permanent Government. These were the points in which the Constitution of the Confederate States differed from that of the Union.*

The Provisional Constitution, thus originating and thus fashioned, was adopted without any dissentient voices; but there were some among the representatives who disliked many of its features. In particular, Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, was greatly dissatisfied. He considered that the tariff clause was a perpetuation of the fiscal injustice which the South had long suffered at the hands of the North, and observed, in writing to his son, the editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, that Calhoun had taught to no purpose if their commerce was still to be crippled and destroyed by unfair taxation. He thought the amount of representation given to South Carolina too small

* McPherson's Political History of the Rebellion.

for the claims of that State. He denounced the three-fifths rule, with reference to the representation for slaves, as a continuation of "one of the many Yankee swindles" contained in the old Constitution. Excepting as regarded Abolition, South Carolina, in the opinion of Mr. Rhett, was about to be saddled with all the grievances she had endured at the hands of the Federal Government, and on account of which she had withdrawn from that association. In these views he was supported by his colleagues from the Palmetto State, which was almost inclined to abandon the proposed Confederacy, and to exist as a separate Republic. The tone adopted by South Carolina was so insolent as to provoke reproof from some independent quarters. It was seen by the other Cotton States that this exacting sister would be a very difficult and unpleasant companion. Her arrogance was overbearing: she evidently considered herself of more importance than the rest of the seceding States put together; and she required the same position of command in the new Federation which the South collectively had long exercised in the old. This, however, was more than her allies were willing to concede; and South Carolina was compelled to give way.

The Provisional Constitution being now sanctioned, the chairman of the Congress, and all the members, took the oath of allegiance on the 9th of February, and the assembly then proceeded to the election of a President and Vice-President of the Confederacy. It is noteworthy that neither office fell to the lot of a South Carolinian, though South Carolina had originated the Secession heresy, and had done more than any other State to fan the fires of discontent with the old Union. The circumstance of her being thus passed over may have been due to the extravagance of her views, the haughtiness of her bearing, and the little aptitude for harmonious combination which she had exhibited. At any rate, such was the fact. By an unanimous vote, Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was declared to be the President, and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, the Vice-President. The latter was the gentleman who, about a month before —namely, in the early part of January—had declared to the Georgia convention that to overthrow the Government of the United States, under which the South had been prosperous and happy, would be the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which he could lend neither his sanction nor his vote; and who had challenged his auditors to say what right the North had assailed, what interest of the South had been invaded, what justice had been denied, or what claim founded on right had been withheld. Of all the actors in the Secession drama, Stephens occupies the most ignominious place. He deserted his position almost as soon as it was taken up; and now, on this 9th of February, as Vice-President of the Confederacy which a few weeks before he had said it would be folly and wickedness to establish, he addressed the crowd in a speech which vaunted the new Government as one that would enable the people to exhibit the highest type of civilisation which it was possible for human society to reach. The appointment of the two chief executive officers of the infant Republic was followed by that of others. Committees on Foreign Relations, Postal Affairs, Finance, Commerce, Military and Naval Affairs, Judiciary, Patents and Copyrights, and Printing, were organised on the 10th. So directly was the authority of this Confederate Government recognised, that an application for a patent for improved railway switches was sent in as early as the 16th of February, just a week after the election of Jefferson Davis to the Presidency, and not more than six days after the creation of the committee which had charge of such matters. All the laws of the United States, not incompatible with the new order of things, were continued in force until specifically repealed; other arrangements were made for the carrying on of the Government, and the creation of a more permanent political condition; and the question as to what should be the national flag came on for discussion.

Mr. Memminger presented several models, one of which, originating with some young ladies of Charleston, consisted of a cross composed of seven stars, in allusion to the six States represented in the Congress, and a seventh—Texas—the representatives of which were expected shortly to appear. This device, Mr. Memminger thought, was suggested to the young ladies by the beautiful constellation of the Southern Cross, which in certain latitudes is visible in the heavens; but the speaker believed that a religious idea also was embodied in the symbol. "Although," he remarked, "we have not seen in the heavens the 'In hoc signo vinces' written upon the *labarum* of Constantine, yet the same sign has been manifested to us upon the tablets of the earth; for we all know that it has been by the aid of revealed religion that we have achieved over fanaticism the victory which we this day witness, and it is becoming, on this occasion, that the debt of the South to the Cross should be thus recognised." The facility with which both sides to every quarrel claim the special sanction of religion, is one of the saddest, yet most grotesque, spectacles of history. A committee was appointed

for considering the various devices proposed for the "national" flag and seal, which were remarkably numerous; and a great deal of fervid and flowery declamation was poured forth on a theme which naturally lends itself to oratorical display. One unlucky speaker, however—a Mr. Brooke, of Mississippi—gave great offence by moving that the design should be as similar as might be to the flag of the Union, on the associations connected with which he pronounced a glowing eulogium. For this he was sharply rebuked, and found it prudent to withdraw his suggestion. It was ultimately resolved by the committee to adopt a flag consisting of two broad red stripes, separated by a white space of the same width; the union blue, with seven white stars in the centre. The flag thus characterised was shortly afterwards manufactured, and unfurled for the first time on the 4th of March over the State House at Montgomery.*

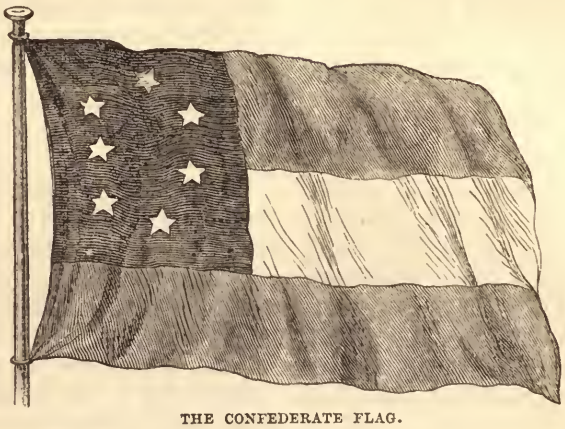
The new Confederacy did not begin its career under hopeful circumstances. Division threatened it from the first. South Carolina was indignant at the determination of the Congress to take into its own hands the arrangement of all matters in dispute between the seceding States and the Union, with respect to forts, arsenals, and other public establishments. To the *Charleston Mercury*—the journal of the younger Rhett—this seemed nothing short of downright tyranny. Fort Sumter, it was contended, must be taken by South Carolina alone, as it belonged to her alone; and her honour required that no intervention from any quarter should be tolerated. The same publication asked whether the convention had any right to elect a President and Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, and whether it might not as well elect the senators and representatives of the Congress too. The *Augusta Chronicle*, a Georgian newspaper, had feared that the Confederacy was about to be ruled by "disorganising charlatans" and "chimerical schemers;" but the appointment of Stephens to the Vice-Presidency reassured this patriotic journal. That is to say, Mr. Stephens was a Georgian, and Georgia (as represented by the *Augusta Chronicle*) was satisfied. Such was the petty, sectional interpretation of politics that was favoured among these Southern communities. Yet the same writer could see and lament the tendency to disintegration and chaos which had so naturally resulted from the exaggerated view of State rights popular at the South, and from the practice of secession. "Disguise it as we may," said the Augusta journalist, "the greatest danger to the new Confederacy arises, not from without, not from the North, but from our own people. We have only to refer to recent speeches in Congress [that of the Union] to show that the indications are growing stronger that organised, if not armed, opposition to the new order of things may arise in States, or parts of Southern States, not vitally interested in the slavery question."† This was one of the many dangers which the Federal Slave Republic had to encounter.

The President-elect, Mr. Jefferson Davis, was not a member of the assembly now called a Congress. After quitting the United States Senate on the 21st of January, he returned to his home at Vicksburg, Mississippi, where, towards the middle of February, he received the intimation of his election to the Chief Magistracy of the Confederated States. He at once started for Montgomery, and, stopping at various towns on the route, where he was received with the most passionate enthusiasm, made in all five-and-twenty speeches before he reached his place of destination on the 15th. Eight miles from Montgomery, he was met by a committee of Congress and of civic authorities, and he entered the capital of Alabama in state, surrounded by militia, and welcomed by the thunder of cannon and the shouts of the people. More speech-making followed, but the inaugural ceremony did not take place until the 18th. At noon on that day, Davis and Stephens, surrounded by officials, appeared on a platform erected in front of the State House. The proceedings having been opened by prayer, Jefferson Davis pronounced his inaugural address. He observed that their present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrated the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish them whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established. The language of Thomas Jefferson came with an ill grace from the lips of Jefferson Davis; but the Confederate States were to a considerable extent a travesty of their great prototype. The Southern President continued:—"The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the [United] States, and which has been affirmed and re-affirmed in the Bills of Rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1788, undeniably recognises in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented proceeded to form this Confederacy; and it is by the abuse of language

* Lossing's History of the Civil War.

† The Rebellion Record, Vol. I., p. 30, Documents.

that their act has been denominated revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained." Returning to the same theme in the latter part of his address, Mr. Davis said: — "We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system, of our government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning." The favourite doctrine of State Sovereignty was asserted by Mr. Davis in all its fulness, and the probability of a speedy war, caused by an attempt on the part of the Northern States to subdue them, was plainly presented to his auditors. On this account, the immediate formation of a powerful army and navy was urgently recommended. Mr. Davis contemplated the probability of the States from which they had recently separated seeking to unite their fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy. For this, he observed, the Constitution made adequate provision; but he believed that such a re-union would be neither practicable nor desirable. The address was well received, and in the evening Montgomery was brilliantly lit up. The Confederacy was inaugurated. A Slave Republic had asserted its existence in the face of the nineteenth century.

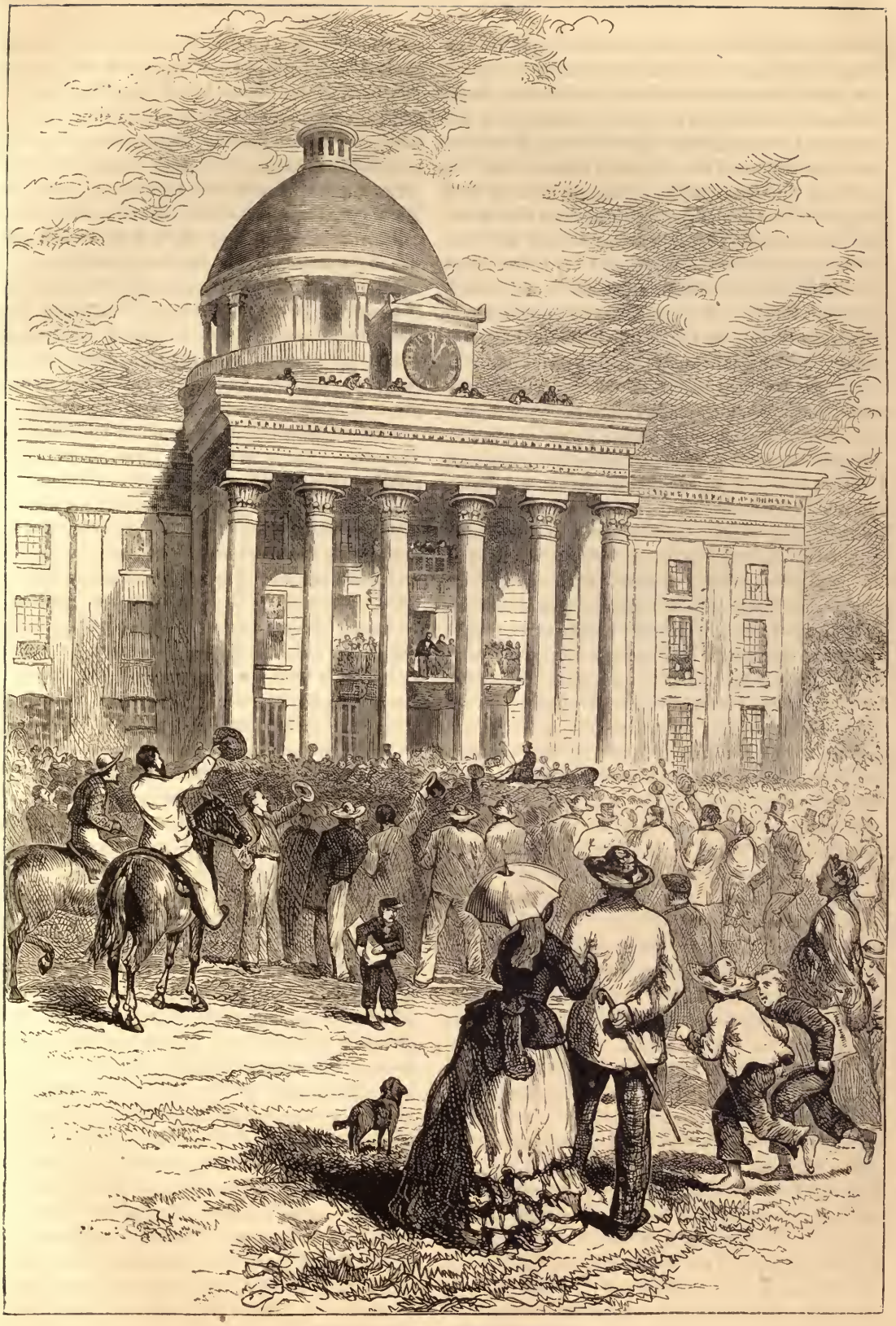


THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Principle of Secession often before asserted—Previous Threats of Secession, in the North and South—The Principle of State Sovereignty—Division of Opinion in the Two Sections of the Union on this Dogma—Position of the Fathers of the Republic with reference to the Subject—Historical Origin of the Rupture between the Northern and the Southern States—Mutual Jealousies and Hatreds—Absence of any Principle of Cohesion—Tariff Disagreements—The Question of Slavery—Argument of Mr. Jefferson Davis in favour of State Sovereignty—Argument of Mr. John Lothrop Motley against the same Doctrine—The United States a Commonwealth One and Indivisible—Difficulties of the Question—Summary of the Argument on both Sides—Opinions of Daniel Webster, General Jackson, and Thomas Jefferson—The Federal Government generally in favour of the South—Jefferson's Condemnation of Slavery—Various Acts of Southern Aggression on the Interests and Independence of the North—Attempts on the Part of Congress to stifle the Liberty of discussing Slavery, or petitioning against it—Preponderating Influence of the South—Decay of Southern Statesmanship—Career of Jefferson Davis—Cabinet of the Confederate President—Speech of Mr. Alexander H. Stephens—Slavery the "Cornerstone" of the New Republic.

Secession was now an accomplished fact in divers of the Southern States; and Mr. Buchanan was preparing to quit the Union in the midst of incipient war and general dismay. But, although no State had ever before actually separated itself from the Federation, the principle involved had often been asserted, and threats of disruption had been uttered whenever any section of the country considered itself peculiarly aggrieved. It cannot in fairness be said that the South stood alone in this respect. The New England States, in 1812, were so dissatisfied with the war then being waged against Great Britain, that separation from the rest of the Union was discussed by the famous Essex Junto which met in Massachusetts; and the same idea was again brought forward in the Hartford convention of 1814. At other times, when irritated by pro-slavery legislation, Secession had been spoken of in the North as a possible resource in the future; but it was in the South that the menace had been most frequently flung out, and that it had assumed the most for-



INAUGURATION OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

midable proportions. The reason of this is not difficult to explain. The alleged right of Secession is a logical consequence of that doctrine of State Sovereignty which was the leading principle of the South, and not at all that of the North. From the very formation of the Federal Union, the two halves of the Republic had been divided on this question. The Southern States always contended that the General Government was simply a league of Sovereign Powers, for purposes of defence, and for certain clearly-defined conveniences of internal administration; and that whatever functions it possessed, to act on behalf of individual States, were conferred by those States, and could be withdrawn at pleasure. The politicians of the North took a much more emphatic view of Federal prerogatives. They asserted that a Republic one and indivisible had been created by the settlement of 1787–8; that the jurisdiction of the several States extended over purely local matters only; and that no State had a legal right to break up the Union at its own will and caprice, or because it had been outvoted in the general councils of the nation. Of course the most ardent Federalist admitted the right of revolution as an indefeasible natural right whenever oppression had become too great to be borne. To impugn this would have been to destroy the very bases of the American Republic, and the whole series of acts by which the colonies had shaken themselves free of the mother country. But it was denied that there was any constitutional right of secession, such as the South alleged.

The question of State Rights and Federal Rights was fiercely debated, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, between the Democrats headed by Thomas Jefferson, and the Federalists under the lead of Alexander Hamilton. Washington saw the danger which lurked in such distinctions, and as long as he lived acted as a moderator between the two sets of disputants. John Adams also took up, in some degree, an intermediate position; but he inclined to the Federalist view, and was regarded with extreme dislike by the opposite faction. Questions of disputed jurisdiction are the special weaknesses of Federal combinations. It is always difficult to determine where the line of demarcation runs, between the rights of the league over the individual members, and the rights of the individual members as against the league. The same trouble has arisen in the Dutch Republic, the Germanic Confederation, and the Swiss cantons, not to speak of more ancient examples; and it is probably inseparable from Federal Governments, which nevertheless appear to be indispensable under certain political, and even under certain geographical, conditions. In America, the elements of disturbance declared themselves from an early period. The colonies were settled in a very irregular way; without any concert, with but little supervision on the part of the parent State, with no precise system of government or social rule, at different periods, and with different objects. Virginia and Massachusetts represented the two extremes of political opinion in England, at a time when party was more irreconcilable and rancorous than at any other; and these distinctions were perpetuated on the new soil with a tenacity of life which years, and even centuries, did nothing to weaken, and which the necessities of common action only disguised for a space. Puritanism and Commonwealth principles were planted in New England; aristocracy and Episcopalianism on the banks of the Potomac. The Church of Rome had found a refuge in Maryland; the followers of George Fox had colonised Pennsylvania. Dutch feudalism had laid the foundations of New York; Swedes with democratic ideas had settled Delaware. Royalists and Jacobites gave much of their early character to the Carolinas; Georgia was the creation of bankrupt traders, ruined spendthrifts, Highland clansmen, and military adventurers. Louisiana and Florida were French and Spanish, and necessarily brought into the Confederation a number of ideas very much at issue with those which prevailed in other parts. The original settlements were at vast distances from one another; great breadths of forest or of desert separated colony from colony, and rendered intercourse precarious and difficult. The natural consequences were that local divisions became exaggerated, that local prejudice was strengthened, and that sentiments of distinct nationality grew up in many centres, and produced their usual crop of unreasoning hatreds and obstinate misconceptions. Even the French invasion of English America in 1755 failed to unite the several colonies in any mutually trustful scheme of self-defence; and Franklin, in the previous year, had been unable to obtain effective support for his plan of confederation under the rule of the British Crown. In the War of Independence, the jealousies of North and South were so extreme and bitter that it required all the authority and wisdom of Washington himself to restrain them from breaking into open rupture. Gouverneur Morris declared in 1778 that reciprocal jealousies would always keep the United States in a condition of weakness, and that the Southern States were an incumbrance. In 1779, three of the Southern States, with New York, threatened to withdraw from the Federation if the war were continued

simply for the sake of securing the Northern fisheries for New England. The famous boundary line, drawn in the early part of George III.'s reign, by Mason and Dixon, between Pennsylvania and the more southern States of Maryland and Virginia, indicated a veritable separation of interests and feelings, which every year became more marked. Long before the Secession movement of 1860–61, the people of the Southern States had acquired the habit of regarding their Northern brethren as foreigners, and of referring to them as such. They classed them all under the general designation of "Yankees," and used that word as a term of reproach, signifying the utmost depth of meanness and degradation. No Englishman of the days of Trafalgar detested a Frenchman more heartily. It may even be doubted whether he detested him so much.

The earliest occasions of disagreement, after the formation of the Union, had reference to tariff measures, and to details of ordinary domestic or foreign policy. The slavery question had not then risen into prominence. The North was only just purging itself of that great offence against human rights, and was not very solicitous as to what the South might do within its own domain. But the first causes of the great rupture were already at work, and they needed only time and opportunity for their development. Samuel Adams, as early as 1779, spoke of "the two empires," and advised that they should separate. Half a century later, the South was of the same opinion. General Jackson, writing to the Rev. A. J. Crawford on the 1st of May, 1833, shortly after the South Carolinian Nullification troubles, remarked that the tariff was only the pretext, and that disunion and a Southern Confederacy were the real objects. "The next pretext," he added, "will be the negro or slavery question."* This was said by one who was himself a Southern man, and who was generally well inclined to Southern views. It was not long ere the next step was taken, and thenceforward but little was said about tariffs, or any other grounds of disagreement, except the one great question of negro bondage. But this was not only a pretext; it was an actual cause of the disruption long threatened and ultimately effected. A Southern Confederacy was desired that slavery might flourish; and slavery was frankly put forward as the occasion of Secession, and the justification of the whole plot by which the Union was to be shattered.

The alleged right to secede was based, as we have said, on the asserted sovereignty of the individual States. The question thus raised is so important that it may be well if we pause to consider the arguments on both sides, as stated by Americans of high authority. In the first place, we have the case in favour of State Sovereignty, as set forth by Mr. Jefferson Davis, in his first Message to the Southern Congress, delivered on the 29th of April. Mr. Davis began by calling attention to the original Confederation of the States, formed to resist the power of Great Britain, and to carry on the general Government when independence had been achieved. This Confederation he described, correctly enough, as a mere alliance for purposes of mutual protection against a common enemy. He remarked—again with perfect accuracy—that, in order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made explicit declaration, in a distinct article, that "each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right" which was not "expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled;" moreover, the Articles of Confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislature of each State, after being agreed to by the Congress. This, however, was the Constitution set aside in 1787–8 in favour of that which now exists; and the really important point is whether the second Constitution continued the provisions of the first, by which the full sovereignty of the States was maintained. To the mind of Mr. Jefferson Davis there was no doubt whatever on this head. Under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, he observed, the several States appointed delegates, who attended a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as should, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." This new Constitution was to be ratified by the States, and the States did in fact so ratify it. "The Constitution of 1787," pursued Mr. Davis, "having omitted the clause already recited from the Articles of Confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State retained its sovereignty and independence, some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle; and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of all their

* McPherson's Political History of the Rebellion, p. 389.

sovereign rights and powers, not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution." These things, in the estimation of Mr. Davis, evinced "the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavoured, in every possible form, to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common Government and nation, and their earnest desire to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States." This view had been opposed by Northern politicians, and attempts had been made to establish a Federal tyranny for the promotion of sectional ends.

Such was the argument of Jefferson Davis. It was answered in a letter to the London *Times*, written by Mr. John Lothrop Motley, the celebrated historian, who desired to influence opinion in England, then beginning to incline towards the South. The statements of this eminent writer are so interesting and forcible as to merit particular attention and rather full citation. The body politic known as the United States of America, he remarked, was not a Confederacy, nor a compact of sovereign States, nor a co-partnership: it was a Commonwealth, of which the Constitution of 1787, ratified by the States in 1788, was the organic, fundamental law. They had had enough of a Confederacy. The original Constitution was avowedly a league of States with each other, and it was ratified, not by the people of the States, but by the State Governments. "The Continental Congress," continued Mr. Motley, "was a diet of envoys from sovereign States. It had no power to act on individuals. It could not command the States. It could move only by requisitions and recommendations. Its functions were essentially diplomatic, like those of the States-General of the old Dutch Republic, like those of the modern Germanic Confederation. We were a league of petty sovereignties. When the war had ceased, when our independence had been acknowledged in 1783, we sank rapidly into a condition of utter impotence, imbecility, anarchy. We had achieved our independence, but we had not constructed a nation. We were not a body politic. No laws could be enforced, no insurrection suppressed, no debts collected. Neither property nor life was secure. Great Britain had made a treaty of peace with us, but she scornfully declined a treaty of commerce and amity; not because we had been rebels, but because we were not a State—because we were a mere dissolving league of jarring provinces, incapable of guaranteeing the stipulations of any commercial treaty. We were unable even to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of peace, and enforce the stipulated collection of debts due to British subjects; and Great Britain refused in consequence to give up the military posts which she held within our frontiers. For twelve years after the acknowledgment of our independence, we were mortified by the spectacle of foreign soldiers occupying a long chain of fortresses south of the great lakes, and upon our own soil. We were a Confederacy. We were sovereign States. And these were the fruits of such a Confederacy, and of such sovereignty. It was, until the immediate present, the darkest hour of our history. But there were patriotic and sagacious men in those days, and their efforts at last rescued us from the condition of a Confederacy. The 'Constitution of the United States' was an organic law, enacted by the sovereign people of that whole territory which is commonly called, in geographies and histories, the United States of America. It was empowered to act directly, by its own legislative, judicial, and executive machinery, upon every individual in the country. It could seize his property, it could take his life, for causes of which itself was the judge. The States were distinctly prohibited from opposing its decrees, or from exercising any of the great functions of sovereignty. The Union alone was supreme, 'anything in the constitution and laws of the States to the contrary notwithstanding.' Of what significance, then, was the title of 'sovereign' States, arrogated in later days by communities which had voluntarily abdicated the most vital attributes of sovereignty?"

Mr. Motley went on to deny that the Constitution of the United States was "a compact." There could be no compact where there was only a single party. It was by the people of the United States, and by them alone, that the instrument was to be executed. Throughout the whole document, the States were mentioned simply to receive commands or prohibitions. "The Constitution was not drawn up by the States, it was not promulgated in the name of the States, it was not ratified by the States." It will here be seen that Mr. Motley was at direct issue with Mr. Jefferson Davis on a most important point. Was the Federal Constitution ratified by the States individually, or was it not? According to the Northern view, the Southern President was himself misled, or knowingly misled others, by a misuse of the word "State." The Constitution was indeed confirmed by the *people* of each State meeting in convention; but the Legislatures of the States, which, it was contended, could alone be taken as expressing the will of the States in their corporate and individual capacity, were never consulted in the matter. As regarded

the ratification of the earlier Constitution, the State Legislatures were supreme; with the later Constitution they had nothing to do. The people, it is true, assembled in the several States; but, asks Judge Story—a very great authority in such Constitutional questions—"where else could they assemble?" It is difficult to deny considerable force to the argument of Mr. Motley, that if the States had a right to secede from the Union, a county might secede from a State, and a town from a county, until nothing was left but a horde of individuals, all seceding from each other. The sovereignty in any one of these cases is as clear as in any other. Mr. Davis's contention, that State sovereignty was allowed, even to the extent of secession, because the second Constitution, as well as the first, declared that each State retained its freedom and independence, together with every power, jurisdiction, and right which was not expressly delegated to the Congress of the United States, seems in advance of the facts. The rights and powers here guaranteed were surely the rights and powers of internal self-government—not the privilege of destroying the Union.

The chief question involved is perhaps impossible to be determined with absolute certainty, for, like all questions of disputed jurisdiction, it rests on inference and construction, which may be interpreted different ways, with more or less of plausibility. In express terms, the Constitution neither permits Secession nor forbids it. Yet the right must either exist or not exist. The strong points on the Northern side are, that the very object of the settlement of 1787–8 was to rescue the country from the condition of anarchy which had resulted from the almost complete independence of the States previous to that time; that the Constitution was expressly made in the name of "the people of the United States,"* and would seem therefore to be indissoluble except by a majority of the same people; and that Article VI. distinctly sets forth that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." The strong points on the Southern side are, that the Federal Constitution was not valid in any one of the States until it was ratified by the State Convention; that what a State Convention could do in one year it could undo in another; and that the individual sovereignty which was in some respects merged in the superior authority of the Union, and which in those respects was suspended as long as the Union was acknowledged, could at any time be resumed. Jefferson Davis himself admitted that a State should obey the rightful authority of the Union while it remained in it: hence, he said, Nullification was a less Constitutional proceeding than Secession. The States, in short, according to this view, renounced their sovereignty for as long a period as they chose to renounce it, and no longer.

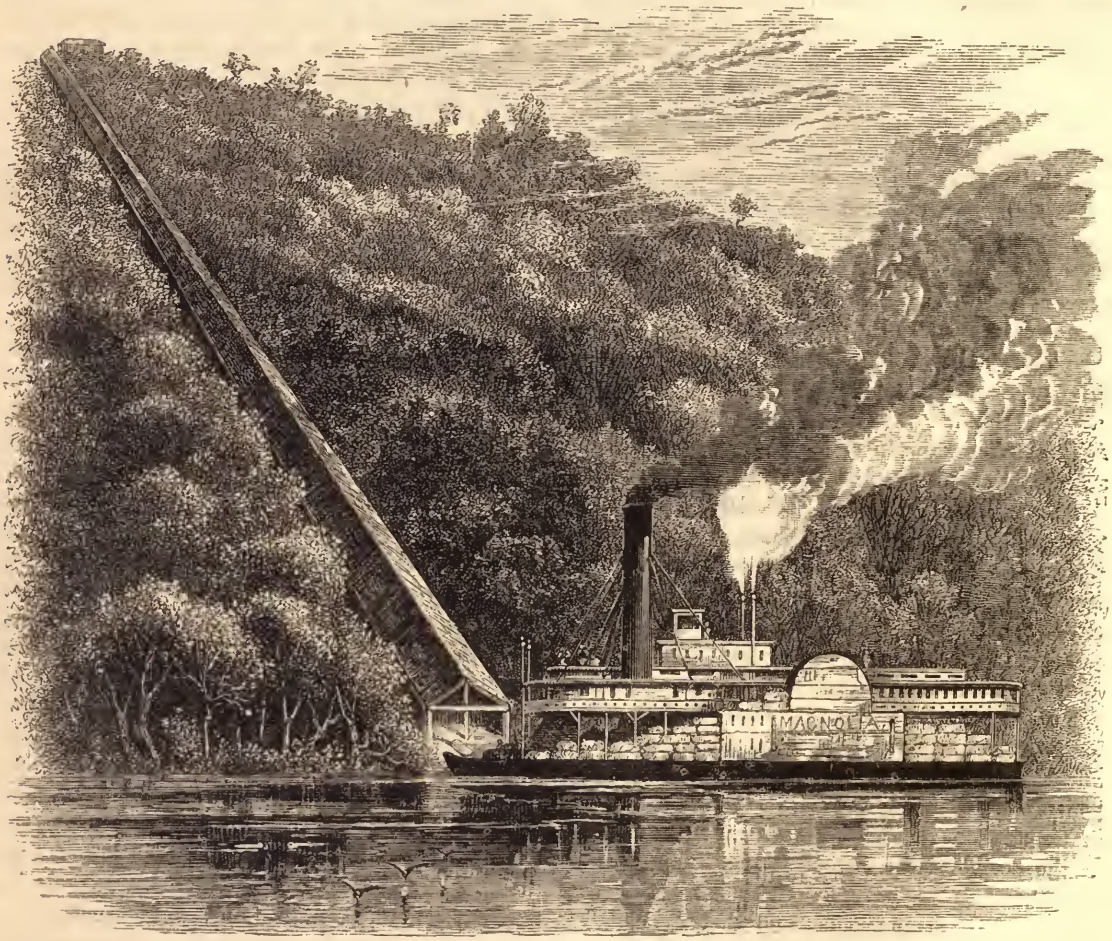
The Northern interpretation had certainly the support of some very eminent men. When the South Carolinian Nullifiers threatened Secession in 1832, Daniel Webster drew up a series of resolutions, which set forth—"1. That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact, between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities; but a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals. 2. That no State authority has power to dissolve these relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution; and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution. 3. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the Constitution of the United States, Acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties, and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of, and finally interpret, this supreme law, so often as it has occasion to pass Acts of legislation; and in cases capable of assuming, and actually assuming, the character of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final interpreter. 4. That an attempt by a State to abrogate, annul, or nullify an Act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the just powers of the general Government, and on the equal rights of other States, a plain violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency." But it may be said that this was the view of one who, though not disinclined to compromise matters with the South, was essentially a Northern politician. The like reproach cannot be uttered against General Jackson; yet, slave-owner as he was, and Southerner as he was by birth and sympathies, Jackson took a very decided stand in favour of the Union, in his Nulli-

* "We, the people of the United States, . . : . do ordain and establish this Constitution," &c.—*Preamble to the Constitution of* 1787.

fication Message of January 16th, 1833. He there said:—

"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from the most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and life of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Without adverting to the particular theories to which the Federal compact has given rise, it is sufficient that it must be admitted to be a compact, and to possess the obligations implied in a compact. To this compact, in whatever mode it may have been done, the people of South Carolina have freely and voluntarily given their assent; and to the whole and every part of it they are, upon every principle of good faith, indissolubly bound. The duty of the Government seems to be plain. It inculcates a recognition of that State as a member of the Union, and subject to its authority; a vindication of the just powers of the Constitution; the preservation of the integrity of the Union, and the execution of the Union by all Constitutional means. In all cases similar to the present, the duties of the Government become the measure of its powers; and whenever it fails to exert a power necessary and proper to the discharge of the duties prescribed by the Constitution, it violates the public trust not less than it would in transcending its proper limits." *

Still more emphatic was the language of the same President in his Proclamation against the South Carolinian malcontents, dated December 10th, 1832, where he remarked:—"To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the



VIEW OF A COTTON-SHOOT.

* The passage as here given is somewhat abridged.

extremity of oppression; but to call it a Constitutional right is confusing the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incurred the penalties consequent on a failure." Jackson afterwards somewhat moderated these views, to soothe the feelings of the party with which he always acted; and it was his opinion at a later period that the Union could not be preserved by force. But there can be no question that in 1832–3 he would have used all the force at his disposal to prevent disruption, and that he never regretted the very vigorous measures which he in fact pursued. Webster, at the same period, spoke to the same effect in the Senate, where he said:—"Secession as a revolutionary right is intelligible. As a right to be proclaimed in the midst of civil commotions, and asserted at the head of armies, I can understand it. But as a practical right, existing under the Constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it seems to be nothing but an absurdity. For it supposes resistance to Government under authority of Government itself; it supposes dismemberment without violating the principles of Union; it sup-

STATUE OF EVERETT AT BOSTON.

poses opposition to law without crime; it supposes the violation of oaths without responsibility; it supposes the total overthrow of Government without revolution." Jefferson, the leader of the Democratic or State Rights party in his day, saw in the Constitution of 1787 a necessary corrective of the incoherence previously existing in the political condition of America; and it is doubtful whether he would ever have asserted the legal right of secession. He even contended that the much more lax Constitution of 1781 contained within itself the power of coercing individual States. Writing to Colonel Carrington on the 4th of April, 1787, before the new Constitution had been formed, he observed:—"It has been so often said as to be generally believed that Congress have no power by the Confederation to enforce anything—for instance, contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly; they have it by the law of nature. When two parties make a compact, there results to each the power of compelling the other to execute it. Compulsion was never so easy as in our case, when a single frigate would soon levy on the commerce of a single State the deficiency of its contributions."* This, however, it must be admitted, touches rather on what is understood by Nullification than on Secession. But it proves at least that Jefferson, in spite of his great regard for State Rights, was deeply impressed with the obligatory nature of the Federal compact. In a letter to M. Destutt Tracy, dated January 26th, 1811, he admitted, as a danger resulting from the perfect organisation, civil and military, of the States considered as distinct units (which organisation, however, had his general approval), that "certain States, from local and occasional discontents, might attempt to secede from the Union." This he regarded as a weakness; there is not a word to show that he considered it a right.

On the whole, the argument, when regarded from a practical point of view, apart from the subtleties of Constitutional law, seems to be more in favour of the Federalists than of their opponents. For if any of the parties to a contract are at liberty to break that contract, without reference to the wishes or convenience of the others, and simply because they find it no longer profitable to themselves, it is obvious that such agreements, however advantageous in some respects, would be highly undesirable. It was, indeed, alleged by the Seceding States that the contract was first broken by the Free Soil States; but, in acting on this contention, they made themselves judges in their own cause, and of the truth of the charge there is not the slightest evidence. The Federal Government, up to the close of Mr. Buchanan's rule, had always favoured the interests of the South, except in the matter of taxation, and even in that respect had infringed no Constitutional law. The election of Mr. Lincoln was unimpeachably legal, and it was a mere assumption to say that it would have resulted in any violation of Federal obligations. Whatever quarrel the Southern States may have had with the Northern, as regarded the attempts to defeat the Fugitive Slave Law, was, as we have before pointed out, a quarrel with those States individually, and not with the Federal Government, which had done its utmost to enforce the law. Of moral justification, there was absolutely nothing. The South broke the Union from motives of transparent, and even of avowed, selfishness.

It is a noteworthy fact that Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, held opinions, and attempted to carry measures, which should place him, in the eyes of a modern Southerner, almost on a level with the Abolitionists. That great man, who, whatever his faults, had a profound belief in the principles of freedom and the claims of humanity, was certainly no admirer of negro slavery. He saw the difficulties of getting rid of it; he was opposed to violent and ill-considered changes; but he wished to facilitate its departure by timely arrangements. The original draft of the Declaration of Independence contained a passage in which the slave-trade and slavery were reckoned among the causes of offence given to the colonies by Great Britain. This was struck out by desire of the Southern States; but it shows what were the views of the author of the Declaration, though himself a slave-owner. In 1784, Jefferson proposed that after 1800 there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States into which the Territory of the United States should be thenceforward divided. The resolution was lost by the accidental absence of one member, and in 1787 an Ordinance was passed confining the prohibition of slavery to States that should be formed north-west of the river Ohio. Even this qualified prohibition was afterwards regarded by the South as one of her grievances; for the diffusion of the black shadow over the whole of the Territories, and over all the States to be made out of them, was among the strongest desires of the slave-holding oligarchy. During many years, the wishes of the Free Soil States were almost uniformly set aside in any general arrangement. From 1787 to 1819, nine States

* Quoted by Mr. Edward Everett, in an Address delivered at New York, July 4th, 1861.

were admitted to the Union, of which five were Slave, and only four Free; which gave the South a clear majority in the Senate. One of the Slave States was Louisiana, purchased out of the Federal Treasury; so that the South was reinforced partly at the expense of the North. In 1818, Missouri sought admission to the Union as a Slave State, though a large portion lay north-west of the Ohio; and its claim was ultimately admitted when the Missouri Compromise, fixing the line of demarcation between Slave and Free Territory at 36° 30′ North latitude, was sanctioned in 1821. In 1836, this slave-holding State of Missouri was increased by the addition of a triangular piece of territory, large enough to be divided into seven counties, which was taken from ground that had previously been free. Still greater was the triumph of the South, still greater the injury to those principles which the North held dear, when Texas, which, as a portion of Mexico, had been free from slavery, was over-run by American adventurers, and converted into a Slave State—a conversion afterwards confirmed by the blood and treasure of the whole Union. Furthermore, when the Oregon Territorial Government was formed in 1848, a resolution was passed to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, although the effect of this was to plant slavery where before there was none. The arrangement was upset, if not by the Compromise of 1850, by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, by which *all* the Territories were thrown open to slavery, if the people voted for it, but not otherwise.* Finally, the South, making a grievance of that which it had formerly obtained as a privilege, demanded that the freedom of the Territories to determine this matter for themselves should be taken away, and that *no* Territory should be permitted to exclude slavery, even if it would!

Perhaps the greatest wrong done to the North, however, was the endeavour, often successful, to prevent the very discussion of the question of slavery. Not to speak of mob-violence, Congress itself did its best to stifle the right of free utterance on this subject. When, in the year 1836, petitions against slavery began to be numerous, it was resolved by the House of Representatives, on the motion of Mr. H. L. Pinckney, of South Carolina, to refer to a select committee all anti-slavery memorials then before that body, and all that might afterwards be sent in, with instructions to report against the prayers of the petitioners, and the reasons for such conclusions. The committee in time made a report, concluding with a series of resolutions, the last of which was thus expressed:—"Resolved, that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." The resolutions were carried by a vote of 117 ayes to 68 noes; but a Southern controversialist makes it a serious charge against the North that a majority of the Northern members showed by their speeches and their votes that they considered the right of petition more sacred than the duty of protecting the slave-holder's property!† The matter, however, did not end here; for in December, 1837, Mr. Slade, of Vermont, in spite of what had been previously determined, moved to refer to a select committee two memorials praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He made a vehement speech against negro servitude; and at length Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina—he who afterwards figured in the Secession movement—called upon the entire delegation from the slave-holding States to retire from the hall, and assemble in one of the committee-rooms. Several having accordingly met there, it was agreed to present to the House the following resolution:—"Resolved, that all petitions, memorials, and papers, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed, read, or referred, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." This resolution was sanctioned by a vote of 122 to 74; and in January, 1840, the House adopted a rule which prohibited even the reception of Abolition petitions, memorials, and resolutions. The rule was rescinded in December, 1844, on the motion of John Quincy Adams, by a vote of 108 to 80; and several attempts which were afterwards made to restore it came to nothing. The right to petition Congress against slavery was one of the instances of so-called Northern aggression of which the South complained.‡

All this while, the Supreme Court continued to interpret the laws in favour of whatever the South desired, and the Southern States continued to elect pretty nearly all the Presidents. Mr. Alexander Stephens, in his celebrated Union speech in the Georgian convention, delivered in January, 1861, showed that in the choice of Presidents and Vice-

* These and other instances of Southern aggression are forcibly brought together in a paper by Mr. J. M. Ludlow in the London *Spectator* of Sept. 14th, 1861.

† Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*—The tone adopted in Mr. Pollard's work is that of the most cruel injury.

Presidents, of Speakers of the House of Representatives, of judges of the Supreme Court, of Attorneys-General, of Foreign Ministers, of officers in the army and navy, and of clerks in the Departments at Washington, the South had enjoyed by far the largest amount of patronage. Yet the whites of the Free States were enormously in excess of those in the Slave States; and this disproportion, already considerable when the Union was formed in 1787, had by 1861 increased to so great an extent that, supposing the affairs of the country to have been determined simply by the respective numbers of white people in each section, the South would have had no standing whatever. Not merely this, but the average intelligence and education of the North were far superior to those of the South. It was simply by the exercise of a certain aptitude and adroitness in the meaner walks of politics that the Slave States contrived for so many years to rule the Free States. Of actual genius in such matters, the South had but little when she entered on the desperate work of Secession. She had no longer a Washington, a Jefferson, a Patrick Henry, a Madison, or a Rutledge; she had not even a Jackson—much less a Calhoun. The race of Southern politicians had indeed dwindled down since the revolutionary epoch and that immediately succeeding it. Secession could count only upon such men as Jefferson Davis, Alexander Stephens, Barnwell Rhett, Robert Toombs, C. G. Memminger, and the conspirators of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet.

It would be difficult to say why Jefferson Davis attained the first position in this combination of Southern malcontents. He was a man of no greater talent than some of the others; and, while giving it his countenance, he had not been one of the leaders of the Secession movement. The initiative came from South Carolina; it was in South Carolina that Secession principles were most earnestly held; and it might have been supposed that a South Carolinian would have been President of the new Confederacy. However, the office fell to Davis, and his subsequent career showed that he had some abilities for the task. This conspicuous, if not eminent, politician was born in Kentucky on the 3rd of June, 1808. While he was yet a boy, his father, who was a planter, removed with his family to Mississippi; but the later civil studies of young Davis were conducted at Transylvania College, Kentucky. He entered the United States Military College at West Point in 1824, and in 1828 became brevet second lieutenant. In 1831 and the following year, he served on the North-west frontier in the war against the Indians under Black Hawk, and in 1833 was employed as a first lieutenant of Dragoons against the Comanches and Pawnee Indians. On retiring from the army, in 1835, he settled as a cotton-planter in Mississippi, but was again in the field during the war with Mexico, when he was elected colonel of the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, and distinguished himself by gallant conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista. He had previously attracted some notice in Congress as an energetic supporter of Democratic principles and measures, and had assisted in bringing about the election of Mr. Polk for the Presidency. As a reward for these services, Mr. Polk, in 1847, offered him the post of Brigadier-General of Volunteers; but he declined to receive it, on the ground that volunteer commands ought to be vested in the States, and did not come within the prerogatives of the Federal Government. Mr. Davis was always for stretching State rights to the utmost, and on this occasion did so even to the sacrificing of an honour which might have been his. Having been elected to the Senate, at the conclusion of the Mexican war, he was chosen president of the Military Committee in 1850—an office which he resigned in 1851, that he might stand as a candidate for the Governorship of Mississippi. His efforts in this respect were unsuccessful; but under the Presidency of Mr. Pierce he held the office of Secretary of War. During the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, he remained a private member of the Senate; yet he was gradually drawing to himself a number of followers, who now acknowledged his supremacy.

The Vice-President of the Confederacy, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, was born in Georgia in 1812, and had for some years represented his State in Congress. He was a man of some mark as a speaker and politician; but his treachery in deserting the Union a few weeks after he had said that there was no excuse for such a course, and that nothing should induce him to follow it, casts an indelible stain upon his reputation. The members of Mr. Jefferson's Cabinet were—Robert Toombs, Secretary of State; Charles G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; L. Pope Walker, Secretary of War; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy; John H. Reagan, Postmaster-General; and Judah P. Benjamin, Attorney-General. Mr. William M. Browne was appointed Assistant Secretary of State, and Mr. Philip Clayton Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Commissioners were despatched to Europe, and Mr. Stephens set himself to work to expound and defend the principles on which the new Government rested. On the 21st of March, he delivered a speech at Savannah, which contained some memo-

rable passages. He observed, with a frankness not always equalled, that the question of slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture. Jefferson had anticipated that that would be the rock on which the old Union would split. But Mr. Stephens doubted whether Jefferson fully comprehended the great truth upon which the rock stood. He and his contemporaries regarded the enslavement of the African as a wrong, and believed that somehow or other the institution would pass away in time. That was an idea fundamentally erroneous. The conception of the equality of races was a mistake. "Our new Government," said Mr. Stephens, "is founded upon exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is *not* equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical and moral truth. This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It has been so even amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors, with a zeal above knowledge, we justly denominate fanatics." With extraordinary boldness, Mr. Stephens prophesied that the principle of negro bondage would ultimately be recognised throughout the civilised and enlightened world. He was certainly not skilled in reading the signs of the times. The whole tendency of civilised nations, since the success of the American struggle for independence taught them to value man as man, has been towards a clearer recognition of the brotherhood of humanity. Bondage of any kind is an anomaly in the nineteenth century. It is shrinking every day before "the better genius of this world's estate;" yet it was ostentatiously made the corner-stone of the Southern Republic. In a few years that corner-stone was pulled out, and the whole fabric came toppling down in hideous and irremediable ruin.

CHAPTER XXX.

Early Measures of the Confederate Government—Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States—Its Points of Departure from that of the United States—Proceedings of Congress—Treachery of General Twiggs—Surrender of Federal Troops, Forts, and Stores, to the Rebel Authorities of Texas—Disloyal Conduct of Major Earle Van Dorn—The Federal Power destroyed in that Part of the Union—Position of South Carolina towards the Rebel Confederation—Journey of Mr. Lincoln to Washington—Plot to Assassinate him—Military Preparations at the Federal Capital to defeat the Designs of the Conspirators—Lincoln's Inaugural Address—His Statement of Principles—Analysis of the Address—The New Cabinet—Mr. Seward—Treasonable Speech of Mr. Wigfall in Congress—Confederate Commissioners in Washington—Their Correspondence with Mr. Seward—Failure of all Hope of an Accommodation—Charges against the Federal Government of Breach of Faith with reference to the Reinforcement of Fort Sumter—Secessionist Intrigues and Ministerial Explanations—Scheme of Mr. G. V. Fox for getting Provisions into the Fort—Despatch of Reinforcements—General Beauregard—Summons to Surrender sent to Major Anderson, and rejected—Preparations for Attacking the Fort—The Defensive Works at Sumter—The Confederate Batteries in the Vicinity of Charleston—Bombardment of Fort Sumter by General Beauregard—Incidents of the Siege—Surrender of Sumter on the 13th of April.

War between the new Slave Power and the old Union was so certain to ensue that it was considered imperative on the part of the former to make instant preparations for the worst. The Southern Congress accordingly authorised Mr. Davis to accept 100,000 volunteers for twelve months, and to borrow 15,000,000 dollars at the rate of eight per cent. per annum. Orders were given for the creation of a small naval force for coast defence; a postal system was established; several laws were passed for the due carrying on of the government; and on the 11th of March a permanent Constitution was adopted. It began with the words—"We, the people of the Confederate States, *each State acting in its sovereign and independent character*, in order to form a permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity—invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God—do order and ordain this Constitution for the Confederate States of America." The words in italics show the earnest desire of the framers of the Constitution to place the sovereignty of the States on the most indisputable footing. They also show, by fair inference, that the Secessionists, notwithstanding their assertions to the contrary, felt doubtful whether the preamble to the United States Constitution would really bear this

interpretation. In that document, the phrase "We, the people" is not followed by any qualification whatever. In the preamble to the Confederate Constitution, it was considered advisable to introduce words reserving the sovereign rights of the States. Moreover, the alteration of the expression "a more perfect Union," in the original, into "a permanent Federal Government," in the copy, indicates a great misgiving as to the true intent and purport of the settlement of 1787–8.

The Confederate Constitution was adopted with but little opposition; but a discussion arose as to the phrase, "invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God," which does not occur in the Constitution of the United States. By some, the introduction of any words of a religious character was opposed on grounds of principle; by others, it was thought that the expression should be even stronger, and should contain an allusion to the Bible, as the authoritative exponent of religion, and of right principles of government. All reference to Christianity, however, was omitted, out of deference to Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, who was a Jew by religion as well as by race. For the same reason, a clause which was proposed with a view to the observance of the Christian Sabbath was disallowed.

EMBARKING COTTON AT SAVANNAH.

On the whole, the Constitution was a reproduction of that of the old Union, with the alterations and omissions already noticed in connection with the Provisional Constitution, and others which were now introduced. The system of giving bounties from the Treasury was prohibited; also the levying of duties for the purpose of protecting any branch of industry. The Post Office was to rely solely on its own revenue to pay its expenses. In no Act of Congress was more than one subject of legislation to be introduced. The term of service of the President and Vice-President was to be of six years'

SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

duration, and the former was to be ineligible for re-election. The enactment of any law "denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves" was prohibited; and various provisions were made for the economical expenditure of money. A clause forbidding the slave-trade was carried, though not without being opposed by the delegates from South Carolina and Florida.

The jealousy of South Carolina with respect to every species of Federal authority was further shown by her reluctance to hand over to the Confederation the various forts, arsenals, dockyards, &c., within her limits. The other States cheerfully gave up these works to the general Government, so that they might be used for the common defence. South Carolina demurred, but ultimately came into the arrangement. An army was formed with great rapidity; but, that all hope of peaceful settlement might not be entirely relinquished, three Commissioners were sent to Washington to enter into negotiations. After these and some other matters had been settled, the Congress adjourned. No record of its proceedings has ever been printed; but the manuscript journals are preserved among the national archives at Washington. They were carried about from place to place during the civil commotions, to escape seizure, and were at length discovered, shortly after the conclusion of the war, stowed away in three boxes in the University of Georgia.

By this time, the military position of the Confederacy had been greatly improved by an act of treachery towards the Union committed by a Federal commander of high position. In the month of February, General Twiggs—an officer who had served with distinction in the Mexican war—was in charge of the Government troops in Texas. When the disaffected obtained the direction of affairs in that State, they sent two agents to Twiggs, to treat with him for the surrender of all the property belonging to the Federal Government which was then under his control. He had before that time been superseded in his command by Colonel C. A. Waite, in consequence of various indications of disloyalty which had already been noticed. But he refused to obey the order, and endeavoured to keep Colonel Waite in ignorance of its having been sent out. A device was then hit upon for giving to the contemplated surrender a colourable pretence of compulsion. Benjamin M'Culloch, a man noted as a daring leader of the Texan Rangers, consented to lead an armed force against the national troops at San Antonio; and on the morning of the 16th of February he rushed into the city at the head of about seven hundred men, making a great clamour and outcry. Guards having been placed over the arsenal and other public buildings, as well as over the park of artillery, Twiggs met M'Culloch in the Main Plaza, and terms of surrender were soon agreed to. By this act of treason—comparable only to that which Arnold so nearly effected—Twiggs gave up to the enemy thirty-seven companies of Federal troops (numbering about 2,500); public stores and munitions of war, valued at 1,300,000 dollars; and several forts, arsenals, and other military posts. The Government, on hearing of the fact, at once issued an order, dated "War Department, March 1st, 1861," which stated that, by direction of the President, Brigadier-General Twiggs was dismissed from the army of the United States, "for his treachery to the flag of his country, in having surrendered, on the demand of the authorities of Texas, the military posts and other property of the United States in his department and under his charge." This was among the latest acts of President Buchanan, and it was doubtless with great satisfaction that Mr. Holt, the loyal Secretary of War, who had been in office not much more than two months, put his name to the order of expulsion. Twiggs afterwards wrote to Mr. Buchanan that his use of the word "treachery" was a personal insult, and that he should call him to a personal account for it: which, however, he never did.*

The details of the surrender having been settled, Twiggs issued a general order on the 18th of February, in which he directed that the garrisons of all the posts, after they had been handed over to the State agents, should make their way as speedily as possible to the sea-coast, where they would be allowed to leave Texas with their arms, clothing, and necessary stores. It is said that, contrary to promises given by the commissioners, these men, on their road to the coast, were harassed by every kind of difficulty, in the hope that they might be induced to join the insurgents. Some of the officers suffered themselves to be so influenced; but the private soldiers remained true to the flag. Colonel Waite, who had been appointed to succeed Twiggs in his command, was at his head-quarters on the Verde Creek, a branch of the Guadaloupe, sixty miles from San Antonio. Although every effort had been made to keep back the knowledge

* The statements here made originate in the testimony of American writers, but are confirmed in the main by the Comte de Paris in his "History of the War of Secession in America." A relative of General Twiggs, however, denied, in a letter to the London *Times*, published in December, 1874, the justice of the charge. His defence amounts simply to this—that the General, wishing to avoid civil war and bloodshed, ordered his troops out of Texas.

of his appointment, the fact was conveyed to him by the skill and determination of Colonel Nichols, one of Twiggs's subordinates, who suspected his chief of treachery before his designs were fully disclosed. On the road to San Antonio, Waite was compelled to take by-paths to avoid several companies of M'Culloch's men, who had been stationed at various points to intercept him. By the time he arrived at his place of destination, which was on the 18th of February, Twiggs had effected the surrender of the post, and Colonel Waite had no alternative but to recognise what had been done. He then departed for San Pedro Springs, in the vicinity of San Antonio, where, on the 23rd of April, he was seized with all his officers. Other detachments of Federal troops were captured about the same time, and some of these were detained as prisoners, while others were released and despatched to the frontier, after taking an oath that they would not bear arms against the Texan or Confederate forces. Next to Twiggs, the chief traitor was Major Earle Van Dorn, who had formerly won distinction in the Federal army, but who now conducted active operations against the scattered companies of the national troops in Texas.

The Constitution of the Confederate States was ratified by the several conventions during the months of March and April. In Georgia the vote was unanimous; in other cases there was opposition, though not to any considerable extent. The largest minority was in South Carolina, where twenty-nine delegates voted against the Confederation, to a hundred and forty in favour of it. Mr. Barnwell Rhett was full of objection, as usual. He wished to provide for the calling of a convention in South Carolina in the event of a Free Labour State being admitted into the Confederacy; and on the 2nd of April he brought forward a resolution providing that the convention should expressly declare "that in ratifying and adopting the above Constitution they suppose that it establishes a Confederacy of slave-holding States, and that this State does not consider herself bound to enter or continue in confederation with any State not tolerating the institution within its limits by fundamental law." If the new Confederation had not in time been put down by military force, it is pretty certain that it would have broken up into jarring fragments by the mere effect of internal causes of dissension.

The rebel Government was virtually established when, on the 11th of February, Mr. Lincoln left Springfield, Illinois, for Washington, accompanied by some of his friends. At various points, speeches were delivered, according to American custom; and everywhere the President-elect expressed himself in favour of maintaining peace, unless war were forced upon him in self-defence. Advocates of the Southern cause have alleged that his conduct on the road was that of a buffoon; and it may be that, considering the dignity of his office and the gravity of the time, he was too free with his jokes and his familiarities. But on many occasions his utterances were grave and even solemn. At Philadelphia, on the anniversary of Washington's birthday (the 22nd of February), and in the old State House where the Declaration of Independence had been signed, he made use of the remarkable expression that he would "rather be assassinated" on the spot than surrender the principle of liberty on which the Union was based; that he had said nothing but what he was willing to live by, and, if it so pleased God, to die by. This might almost seem like a prophecy of his actual end; but it was in truth prompted by a knowledge of the fact that a plot to assassinate him on his journey to the Federal capital had really been formed. The details of this conspiracy have been only obscurely revealed; but it appears certain that Mr. Lincoln was warned by the detective police that a plot against his life had been hatched at Baltimore, and was to be carried out at the railway station on his arrival there. Lincoln himself always believed in the reality of this scheme, and not without reason, for, on the first day of his journey, an attempt was made to upset the railway train, and at Cincinnati a hand-grenade was discovered in the carriage in which he was to travel. The Baltimore attempt was baffled by the President-elect altering his hour of arrival; and on the 23rd of February he got safely to Washington.

To protect the new President on the day of his inauguration, General Scott collected a number of soldiers in the Federal capital, but distributed them in various parts of the city, so as not to obtrude them on general notice. They had been arriving for some days, and the conspirators, who had contemplated seizing the city and preventing the inauguration of Lincoln, thought that the military were in much greater force than they really were. Questions were asked in Congress as to why the President had assembled so many troops at Washington, and whether he had any information as to the alleged plot. No answer was returned until the 1st of March, when Mr. Buchanan declared that there were not more than six hundred and fifty-three private soldiers in the city, besides the usual number of marines at the Navy Yard, and that they were ordered to Washington to act as a *posse comitatus*, in strict subordination to the civil

authority, for the purpose of preserving peace and order, should that be necessary, before or at the period of the inauguration of the President-elect. The alleged conspiracy to prevent the induction of Mr. Lincoln into the Presidential office was investigated by a Committee of the House of Representatives, and resulted in the collection of evidence which satisfied the inquirers that such a plot really did exist. But the timely discovery of this treasonable design, and the measures that were taken against its accomplishment, prevented any attempt being made, and thus saved the capital from a sanguinary conflict, and the country from a deep disgrace.*

On the morning of the important day—Monday, March 4th, 1861—Mr. Lincoln proceeded from the White House (the President's official residence) to the Capitol. Mounted troops moved at the same time along the side streets, ready to act at a concerted signal, should their interference be needed. These troops, including two batteries of horse artillery, were under the personal direction of General Scott, who has recorded in his Autobiography that during the two months preceding the inauguration of President Lincoln he received more than fifty letters, some earnestly dissuading him from being present, and others threatening him with assassination if he dared to protect the ceremony by a military force. At half-past one o'clock, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln entered the Senate Chamber arm-in-arm. The former was pale and nervous; sighed audibly and frequently, and seemed oppressed with care. The latter was remarkably self-possessed, although somewhat flushed with emotion. In presence of the Supreme Court, the Senate and House of Representatives, the foreign Ministers, and a large number of private citizens, Mr. Lincoln delivered his inaugural address from a platform erected over the ascent to the eastern portico, under the then unfinished dome. He began by alluding to the apprehensions which had been entertained by some that the accession of a Republican Administration would endanger the property, peace, and personal security of the people of the Southern States. For this, he alleged, there had never been any reasonable ground. He had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed. Such an act would be unlawful; and the President added that he had no inclination towards the policy imputed to him. By a clause in the Constitution, every State into which a slave might escape from some other State was bound to deliver up the fugitive, on demand being made by the person to whom he belonged. This was a solemn obligation, and must be discharged; but in any law on the subject all the safeguards of liberty known in civilised and humane jurisprudence should be introduced, so that a free man might not, in any case, be surrendered as a slave. Referring to the attempted disruption of the Federal Union, Mr. Lincoln said:—

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national Governments. It is safe to assert that no Government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure for ever—it being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a Government proper, but an association of States in the nature of the contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? . . . . It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence, within any State or States, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as a declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself."

In maintaining the Union, it would not be necessary, in the opinion of the President, to resort to bloodshed or violence, and he undertook that there should be none, unless it were forced on the

* Mr. Pollard, the Southern historian of the first year of the war, ridicules the idea of any such plot existing, and heaps abundance of scorn on Mr. Lincoln and General Scott; but there seems no reasonable ground for doubting that the plan was a reality. The ultimate fate of Lincoln casts a lurid backward glow on the projects of an earlier date.

national authority. The power confided to him would be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but, beyond what was necessary for those objects, there would be no invasion, no using of force against the people anywhere. Mr. Lincoln consented to waive the right of the Government to enforce the exercise of Federal offices in places where their occupation might be resisted. He appears even then to have thought that Secession was only a momentary outbreak of irritability, and that with kindness and forbearance it might be charmed away; but he admitted that altered circumstances might compel a different course. He evidently conceived that the time had not gone by for arguing with the South, and laying before the minds of her people the manifold advantages of union, the dangers of disruption, and the absence of any sufficient motive for destroying the national existence. He gave it as his opinion that no right, plainly written in the Constitution, had been violated. But with respect to some questions there was a want of distinct and express direction in the provisions of the Constitution. It was not clearly settled by that instrument whether or not "fugitives from labour" should be surrendered by Federal or by State authority; whether or not Congress might prohibit slavery in the Territories; whether or not it was obligatory on Congress to protect slavery in those parts of the Union. All such questions—which were in truth the only sources of disagreement—were to be determined by the simple process of dividing into majorities and minorities. If the minority would not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government could not be continued at all. Secession might take place; but this would be the creation of a precedent which might divide and ruin the seceders. "Plainly," pursued Mr. Lincoln, "the central idea of Secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism, in some form, is all that is left." While admitting to the full that Constitutional questions were to be decided by the Supreme Court, as far as each particular case was concerned, whenever such case came up for adjudication, and that these decisions were entitled to very great respect even in parallel cases, he yet denied that Government was bound to shape its policy altogether by the individual decisions of that eminent tribunal. As to separation, the two sections of the country, in the opinion of the President, could not separate. They could not remove from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. Intercourse of some kind must continue, and the same old subjects of disagreement would again and again recur. But the Constitution, if need were, might be amended by the action of the American people who had made it. Mr. Lincoln did not recommend any alteration in particular; but he had no objection to one which had recently passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government should never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of "persons held to service." The people alone could finally settle all the vexed questions at issue. With an appeal to the patience and patriotism of Southern politicians, and a renewed assurance that they would not be attacked, so that if war ensued it would be by their own seeking, Mr. Lincoln brought his address to a close.

The new President's Cabinet consisted of—Mr. William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Mr. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Mr. Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; and Mr. Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General. The most eminent member of this Administration was Mr. Seward. He was then about sixty, and had been connected with political affairs for six-and-thirty years. His principles were those of the Republican party; but of late he had been a staunch Unionist, and was not regarded with favour by the supporters of Abolition views, because he objected to a violent treatment of the question of slavery, and considered that the Constitution must be upheld at any cost, though a few years earlier he had alluded to "the law of God and the interests of humanity" as being superior to any law of Congress. It is to be feared that he trimmed a little between the principles of the North and the principles of the South. He was certainly not a political prophet of the school of Lloyd Garrison or Wendell Phillips, preaching a simple gospel of mere right, and denouncing with fierce and passionate invective all who tolerated any form of wrong-doing. He was a statesman of the world, making all his moves with a careful eye to the complexity of the game, and not disposed to risk his ends by rashness or scorn of compromise. In social

matters, he was an energetic and consistent reformer, and worked successfully for the promotion of education, the amelioration of the law, the improvement of lunatic asylums, the encouragement of public works, the better treatment of immigrants, and other useful objects. In 1860 he had contemplated standing for the Presidency, but had given up in favour of Lincoln, whose chances were manifestly better than his own. His abilities and reputation, however, marked him out for the chief post in the Ministry, and his name will always be closely associated with that of Abraham Lincoln.

Treason was loud and defiant at Washington to the very last. Even after the accession of the new President, Senator Wigfall, of Texas, retained his place, and uttered the most seditious language in a style which seemed purposely contrived to give the highest degree of offence. It was easy, he said, referring to the inaugural address, to talk about enforcing the laws, and holding, occupying, and possessing the forts. When it came to that, bayonets, and not words, must settle the question. "Forts Moultrie and Johnson, and Castle Pinckney," said Senator Wigfall, "are in possession of the Confederate States; but the Confederate States will not leave Fort Sumter in possession of the Federal Government." He averred that there was no Union left,—that the seceded States would never come back under any circumstances; and his advice was, "Withdraw your troops. Make no attempt to collect tribute, and enter into a treaty with those States. Do this, and you will have peace. Send your flag of thirty-four stars thither, and it will be fired into, and war will ensue. Divide the public property; make a fair assessment of the public debt; let the remaining States reform their Governments, and, if it is acceptable, the Confederacy will enter into a treaty of commerce and amity with them. If you want peace, you shall have it; if war, you shall have that. It is useless to blind your eyes. No compromise or amendment to the Constitution, no arrangement you can enter into, will satisfy the South, unless you recognise slaves as property, and protect that property like any other." Having been reminded by Senator Douglas that, according to his own showing, he was a foreigner in the United States, and was therefore not entitled to sit in the Senate, he replied that he remained there simply because he had not then received official intimation of the secession of Texas; though even after receiving it he should speak and vote, if it suited his convenience, and should regard the Senate as "a very respectable public meeting"! Not long after, this rebellious senator departed for the South, and joined in the civil war.

Two of the three Commissioners appointed by the Confederate Government to open negotiations at Washington—Mr. John Forsyth and Mr. M. J. Crawford—arrived in that city on the 5th of March. Six days later, they applied for an unofficial interview with the Secretary of State; and this being refused, they sent a communication to Mr. Seward, asking for the appointment of an early day on which to present their credentials to the President, and claiming for the seven Confederated States the character and position of an independent nation, *de facto* and *de jure*. Mr. Seward replied in a memorandum expressed in courteous phrases, but unequivocally assuming the ground that the States in question were acting illegally and in defiance of the Constitution; consequently, he could not recognise Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford as diplomatic agents, or hold any correspondence or communication with them. The memorandum was not delivered to the two Commissioners, but lay until called for at the offices of Mr. Seward's Department, and it was not until the 8th of April that Mr. J. F. Pickett, Secretary of the Commissioners, applied for it. The Commissioners had had reasons for believing that Fort Sumter would soon be evacuated, and that there would be no change in the military position of the Federal Government towards that of the Confederated States, calculated to place the latter at a disadvantage. Conceiving (according to what they had been told) that hostile acts would not be undertaken without notice being previously given to Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, they had consented to wait, in the hope of a peaceful solution of existing difficulties. The person with whom these rumours had originated was Mr. John A. Campbell, a judge of the Supreme Court, who shortly afterwards joined the Southern Confederation. This gentleman had interpreted Mr. Seward's assurances of peaceful intentions on the part of the Government into a desire to yield everything that the conspirators required; and it was in the vain anticipation of such an arrangement that the Commissioners had tarried for so many days. Now, however, it was evident that the Government would not recognise the alleged right of seven States to break up the Union. On the 9th of April, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford addressed an angry communication to Mr. Seward, repeating the well-known assertions with regard to the right of Secession, and denying the possibility of the United States Government ever winning back the seceding States, or subduing them by force. The Commissioners left Washington on the 11th.

Charges of treachery were at the time extensively

made against the Government of Mr. Lincoln in connection with this matter. On the day following the attack on Fort Sumter (the details of which have yet to be related), Judge Campbell addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which he alleged that on the 7th of April Mr. Seward had assured him that faith would be kept with respect to Fort Sumter, and that no reinforcements or provisions would be forwarded without previous notice to Governor Pickens and General Beauregard. The judge, however, now averred that intercepted despatches disclosed the fact of an agent having been sent to Major Anderson under an assurance that his object was pacific, but in reality with a view to devising with that officer a plan for supplying the fort by force; which plan had been put in process of execution before any intimation of such an intention had been communicated to the South Carolinian authorities. Mr. Seward, according to Judge Campbell, had actually given a pledge that Sumter should be evacuated, and the Commissioners who had received those communications were of opinion that they had been abused and over-reached. The Secretary of State did not reply to this letter, which was pub-

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lished in all the papers, and produced a very damaging effect. It was not until President Lincoln's first Message to Congress, on the 4th of July, that any official explanation was given of the proceedings taken by the Government with reference to Fort Sumter. From this statement it appeared that on the 5th of March a letter from Major Anderson, written on the 28th of February, was placed in the President's hands. It conveyed the professional opinion of the writer that only by an army of 20,000 men could reinforcements be thrown into Fort Sumter in time for his relief, his supply of provisions being then very nearly exhausted. General Scott concurred with Major Anderson in the opinion thus expressed; he also stated that a sufficient force for such a purpose was not then at the control of the Government, nor could one be raised and despatched within the time that the garrison could hold out. At a first glance, it appeared that all the Administration could effect was to get the garrison out of the fort; but on reconsideration this course seemed so likely to discourage the friends of the Union, to embolden its adversaries, and to ensure for the rebellious Government a recognition abroad, that the President hesitated as to what should be done. Ultimately it was determined to reinforce Fort Pickens, in Florida, which would enable the country the better to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was sent, directing that troops should be landed from the steamship *Brooklyn*, and thrown into Fort Pickens; but this plan it was found impossible to execute, owing to the refusal of the naval officer to land the troops. The provisions in Fort Sumter had by this time nearly run out, and it was evident that a surrender must speedily take place, unless something could be done by the Government to prevent such a calamity. An expedition to relieve Sumter was therefore pushed forward. "It was resolved," continued the President in his Message, "to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that, if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given; whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition. It is thus seen that the assault upon, and reduction of, Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. . . . They assailed and reduced the fort, to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution."

The history of this painful transaction is somewhat involved: but from the statements of an American historian it would appear that President Lincoln himself was at first strongly in favour of giving up the fort; that every member of his Cabinet but one was of opinion that it could not be held; that the Minister who thought differently—Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General—concocted with Mr. Gustavus Vasa Fox, formerly a lieutenant in the Navy, a plan for sending provisions to the beleaguered men under Major Anderson; and that the plan was at length adopted. The President, however, hesitated much before coming to this determination. Being very desirous of peace, he sent for a prominent member of the Virginian convention, which was then in session, and assured him that if the convention would adjourn, and thus relinquish its implied menace of the Government, he would immediately direct Major Anderson to quit Fort Sumter. The person thus addressed replied that the United States must instantly evacuate both Fort Sumter and Fort Pickens, without any conditions whatever, and give assurances that no attempt should be made to collect revenue in Southern ports. By the authority to which we are referring, it is denied that Mr. Fox, on his first visit to Sumter, entered into any plans with Anderson for victualling that fort, as Judge Campbell had alleged. It was not until after the threatening language used by the member of the Virginian convention that Mr. Lincoln resolved to abandon his temporising policy. Mr. Fox's plan of relief was then adopted. A written order for carrying it out was given on the 4th of April, and at the same time a messenger was sent to Charleston to inform Governor Pickens that the Government was about to forward provisions, but not men, to the garrison, and that, if those supplies should be allowed to enter, no more troops would be sent.* Mr. Fox sailed on the morning of the 9th of April with two hundred recruits; and the entire relief squadron consisted of five vessels and three tugs. On their passage towards Charleston, these vessels were encountered by a heavy storm, in which some of them were lost. The others reached Charleston about the period that the insurgents were opening fire upon Fort Sumter.

The defence of Charleston was being conducted on an extensive scale. On the 5th of March,

* History of the Civil War, by B. J. Lossing. The author of that work states that his version of the facts was based on semi-official information, given to him in September, 1864.

Major-General Beauregard, until recently a major in the United States army, was ordered by the Confederate Government to proceed to the commercial capital of South Carolina, and take command of the force assembled there. Beauregard was a native of Louisiana; French in his origin, in his physiognomy, and even in his accent. His military education at West Point had well qualified him for service in the field, and he had won distinction in Mexico. He was a man of ability, and in the course of the civil war exhibited skill and courage on various occasions. Notwithstanding the attempts at negotiation that had for some time been going on, the South was evidently preparing for war. General Bragg, who was in command of a Confederate force assembled at Pensacola, had issued an order that no communication was to be held with, or supplies forwarded to, the United States fleet on the coast, or to the garrison at Fort Pickens. Large numbers of naval and military officers of Southern birth were constantly forsaking the Federal service. Steps were taken for raising and organising an army; reserves were stationed on the lines of railway leading to Charleston, and at the commencement of April these reserves were called in, and sent to man the works. A floating battery which had been prepared in the dock at Charleston was moored in a creek in Sullivan's Island, and every precaution was taken to resist the attack which it was pretty certain would speedily be made on the chief seat of the rebellion. The Washington Cabinet also was placing itself in a warlike attitude. Troops were called in from the frontiers; the Mediterranean squadron and other naval forces were ordered home; and at Washington large numbers of recruits were laboriously drilled and organised.

When it came to the knowledge of General Beauregard that provisions were to be sent into Fort Sumter, he communicated the fact to the Confederate Secretary of War, and was directed to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter without delay. Beauregard at once wrote to Major Anderson, promising that, on his giving up the fort, proper facilities would be provided for the removal of himself and his men, with their arms and property, together with all private property, to any post in the United States which he might select, and that the flag which he had upheld with so much fortitude might be saluted by him on taking it down. Major Anderson refused to surrender, and on the 11th of April, General Beauregard sent his aides-de-camp a second time to the commandant, with proposals to the effect that if he would state the time at which he would evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that in the meanwhile he would not use his guns against the Confederates, unless theirs should be employed against the fort, he (Beauregard) would abstain from opening fire. Anderson, it appears, had been foolish enough to confess to Beauregard's aides-de-camp that he would in a few days be starved out, if, indeed, the Confederate guns had not before then battered the works to pieces. His position, however, was indeed desperate, and to the second proposals of Beauregard he replied by agreeing to evacuate Fort Sumter on the 15th of April, unless he should previously receive controlling instructions from his Government, or additional supplies. It was by that time well known to the people of Charleston that a fleet with supplies and reinforcements was off the harbour. Under these circumstances, Major Anderson's reply was considered unsatisfactory, and early on the morning of April 12th, General Beauregard sent word that he would open fire on Fort Sumter in one hour. Four regiments of a thousand men each were telegraphed for from the country, and, as it was believed that an action of some gravity would be the consequence of the resolve that had been taken, ambulances for the wounded were prepared, and surgeons ordered to their posts. Seven guns having been discharged as a signal, the reserves assembled in ten minutes in a central part of the city. Charleston was agitated all night by the hasty beating of the drum, and the mingled sounds of infantry and cavalry proceeding to the points at which their services would be required. These notes of evil omen were rendered still more terrible by a thunderstorm which prevailed until an early hour of the morning; but no elemental disturbance was permitted to interrupt the preparations of the rebel forces for attacking Sumter.

The bombardment commenced at half-past four A.M. By many it was supposed that Fort Sumter was impregnable. It might of course be starved out, like any other position; but it was thought, by those who knew no better, that the defences were beyond the reach of ordinary operations. The events of April 12th and 13th show that this impression was entirely erroneous; yet the fortress was really strong. The harbour of Charleston extends about four miles from the city itself, in a south-easterly direction, and Sumter is situated at a distance of some three miles on a small island nearly mid-way in the channel. The fortification was a truncated pentagonal fort, rising abruptly out of the water, and built on an artificial island, the base of which was originally a bank of mud and sand, which had been rendered firm by refuse blocks and

chips from the granite quarries of New England. These foundations alone had occupied ten years in their construction, and had cost the Government half a million of dollars. The fort itself was not quite completed at the time of its occupation by Major Anderson; but it was so nearly finished as to present a very formidable front to an enemy. The walls were of solid brick and concrete masonry, sixty feet high, and from eight to twelve feet in thickness. These were pierced for three tiers of guns on the northern, eastern, and western sides, and were built close to the water, without any interposing works. On the other hand, the fortifications of Charleston itself, and of those positions which were in the hands of the insurgents, were such as to enable effective operations to be carried on against Sumter. General Beauregard's batteries were erected at Fort Moultrie (situated on Sullivan's Island), and at Cumming's Point, a narrow piece of land extending northward from Morris Island. The distance from these works to Fort Sumter varied from 1,600 to 2,000 yards. On Morris Island were two mortar batteries, mounted on a hastily-constructed earthwork. Lines of batteries were reared to the east and west on Sullivan's Island. Cumming's Point, the nearest land to Fort Sumter, bristled with heavy guns, protected by an iron fortification of a novel character, and rendered still more formidable by a floating battery, composed of palmetto-timber, sheathed with plate-iron, and mounting four guns of heavy calibre.

The bombardment of the rebel batteries was not answered by the besieged until after it had continued two hours and a half. It was thought advisable to let the men have their breakfast first, as a hard day's work was clearly before them, and there were not too many hands to do all that would be required. Of regular soldiers there were only seventy-nine; but these were assisted by about thirty labourers employed on the fort, who helped to work the guns. The supply of cartridges was so inadequate that the whole stock was exhausted by noonday, and extemporary substitutes were made with linen, blankets, and other materials, as the bombardment proceeded. The guns were without screws, scales, or tangents, and were unprovided with sheers on which to mount them, until these were constructed out of some timber which casually floated past the island, and was hauled on shore under the enemy's fire. In other respects also the appointments of the fortification were of the worst. Major Anderson directed his men to keep in the bomb-proof galleries, and not to attempt to work their guns on the open parapet, where the position would hardly have been tenable. The fire of the Confederates was continued without interruption for twelve hours, and very effective service was rendered by the iron battery at Cumming's Point, and by the floating battery immediately in front, which succeeded in dismounting two of the parapet guns. Shells were thrown into the fort every twenty minutes; but the guns in the casemates at Sumter replied steadily during the whole of the 12th until nightfall, when the fire of the besieged began to slacken. That of the besiegers continued throughout the night, and, as darkness closed in, the air was illuminated by the fiery interlacements of the projectiles, hurrying from the shores to the fort on their messages of ruin. During the day, the ships in the harbour, the steeples of the churches in Charleston, and all available points, were occupied by crowds of spectators, and many retained their posts even after sunset, to watch the fearful splendours of the scene. Fort Sumter resumed its fire at seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th; but its guns did not produce much effect, and the fleet which had been sent to Anderson's relief, and which was seen by the beleaguered garrison lying outside the harbour, could not get near enough to render any assistance. It was soon discovered that the officers' barracks at Sumter were on fire, and a flag at half-mast was discerned obscurely through the smoke as a signal of distress. The garrison themselves extinguished the flames for a time; but they burst out again and again. The fort was now so filled with smoke that the men could only breathe by lying on their faces, and catching the draught as it poured in under the hot and sulphurous air that hung above. The powder was hurriedly removed from the magazines, yet, despite all precautions, an explosion took place in the upper part of the fort. While the conflagration was at its height, a boat had been despatched by General Beauregard to Major Anderson, with offers of assistance in extinguishing the fire; but before it could reach the fort a flag of truce had been hoisted, and the news was announced to the city by the ringing of bells, the discharge of cannon, and the shouts of couriers dashing through the streets. The event had been precipitated by the unauthorised action of Mr. Wigfall, who until recently had sat in the Senate as the representative of Texas, and had criticised with so much insolence the inaugural speech of President Lincoln. During the morning of the second day, this person unexpectedly made his appearance at an embrasure of the fort, with a white handkerchief at the end of his sword. He had gone there in a small boat, and, on being conducted to Major Anderson, he stated that he was attached to General Beauregard's staff, and had

come with terms of surrender. Those terms were agreed to by Major Anderson, and afterwards sanctioned by General Beauregard, though Mr. Wigfall had acted entirely on his own motion. In this way it was settled that the garrison should take all their individual and corporate property; that they should march out with their weapons, and the honours of war; and that they should salute their flag, and carry it with them. By a strange fatality, the only deaths occurring at Fort Sumter were caused by the bursting of a gun during the firing of this salute; while on the side of the besiegers only three men were wounded, and those but slightly.† The fort itself, however, was battered to ruins; and, what was far worse, the sword of civil war had been fully drawn from its sheath, and the two brothers stood face to face, with hatred in their hearts, and the weapons of murder in their hands.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Sumter lost through the dilatory conduct of the Government—Removal of Major Anderson and the Garrison to New York—Honours paid to them—President Lincoln's Requisition for 75,000 men—Circular to the Several States from the Secretary of War—Insolent Replies of Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas—Equivocating Position of Maryland and Delaware—War Feeling throughout the Seceding States—Washington to be taken by the Confederates—Popular Boasting at the South and at the North—Resolution to accept no Compromise—Military Position and Capacity of the Two Combatants—State of the Federal Army, Navy, and Finances—The Morrill Tariff—Raising of a Loan—Formation of Volunteer Companies in the Federal and the Confederate States—Siege of Fort Pickens (Florida) by the Insurgents—Reinforcement of the Garrison by the Federal Government—Proclamation of Jefferson Davis, granting Letters of Marque to Privateers—Institution of a Blockade by President Lincoln—Progress of Secession Feeling in Virginia—Ordinance of Secession passed by that State—Effect of the Act—Disloyal Feeling in Slave-holding States—Addition of Virginia to the Confederacy—Secession of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—Military Preparations for an attack on Washington—Virginian Movement against Harper's Ferry—The Arsenal blown up by the Federals—Design to seize the Navy Yard at Gosport—Conflagration of the Ships and Buildings—Perilous Position of Washington—Spread of Secessionist Sentiments in Maryland—Riots in Baltimore on the Passage of Federal Troops through the City—The Governor coerced by the Mob—Interviews with the President—Concessions, and final Determination to Enforce the Law.

Fort Sumter was now in full possession of the rebels, and its capture produced a most damaging effect on the national cause. The blame of that disaster lay chiefly with President Buchanan and the disloyal members of his Cabinet, who trifled with rebellion when it might have been crushed, and left Major Anderson without succour in the face of his enemies. Had they acted with the prompt decision of General Jackson in 1832–3, not merely might Sumter have been preserved, but Secession itself might have been nipped in the bud, and the Union have been saved from the agonies of civil war. When the South Carolinian malcontents of that earlier date threatened disruption, on what Jackson himself described as the "pretext" of an oppressive tariff, the General, acting in his capacity as President, took such vigorous measures for the maintenance of Federal authority at Charleston that the Nullifiers were frightened and discouraged.* Mr. Buchanan, by abandoning Major Anderson, almost invited aggression; and even Mr. Lincoln hesitated for a long while as to rendering that officer any support. "I think," wrote Anderson to General Scott on the 1st of April, "the Government has left me too much to myself. It has given me no instructions, even when I have asked for them, and I think that responsibilities of a higher and more delicate character have devolved on me than was proper." On the 5th he again wrote imploringly for instructions; and on the 6th he declared to his principals that the sooner they were out of the harbour the better,—that the flag ran an hourly risk of being insulted, and that he had not the power to protect it. Yet the South Carolinians knew that they would have a work of some difficulty to take the fort, and in the months of January and February, 1861, they had (through the agency of their Attorney-General, Mr. Isaac W. Hayne) conducted negotiations with President Buchanan for the surrender of the position. The proposals then made were rejected; but there was a moment when Mr. Buchanan seemed inclined to order Anderson back from Sumter to Moultrie. Lincoln himself was disposed to leave the commandant to his fate, and did in fact delay sending food and reinforcements until the proper time had passed. Well might Major Anderson complain that he had been left too much to himself.

* See p. 15 of this volume.

† History of the American War, by Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher (London, 1865), Vol. I., chap. 3.—Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 2.

It was felt on all hands—even in South Carolina—that Anderson had done whatever was possible under the circumstances. The garrison, on leaving the fort, embarked in a vessel belonging to the insurgents, carrying their flag with them; and that precious relic, when the soldiers had been lowered, not given up. The distinction, as far as it goes, is just; yet the evacuation had been compelled by the military operations of the enemy, and the insurgents, from their own point of view, had occasion to rejoice. Governor Pickens, who had watched the bombardment through a telescope,

MAJOR ANDERSON.

transferred to the *Baltic*, one of the relief squadron, was raised to the mast-head, and saluted with cheers, and by the guns of the other vessels belonging to the small detachment. Shortly after the departure of Major Anderson and his comrades, a party from Charleston, consisting of Governor Pickens, the Executive Council, General Beauregard, and others, went to Fort Sumter in a steamer, and took possession of the place. By the Federals it was remarked with pride that the fort had been evacuated, not surrendered; that the flag had been made a boastful speech, on the evening of the 13th, from the balcony of the Charleston Hotel. He thanked God that the war had begun, and he promised that they would conquer or perish. The flag of the United States, he said, had been humbled for the first time; it had been lowered in humility before "the glorious little State of South Carolina." The citizens of Charleston were wild with excitement, and on Sunday, the 14th of April, thanksgiving services were performed in all the churches.

DEFENCE OF FORT SUMTER.

The relief squadron, with the garrison of Fort Sumter on board, arrived at New York on the 18th of April, and was greeted with salutes from the forts, and by the acclamations of the people. Anderson was received with many honours. The freedom of the city was presented to him in a gold box; ornamental swords and medals were also given to the hero of the day; and the President raised him to the rank of Brigadier-General. The agitation throughout the North, on the reception of the news from Sumter, was extreme. If there had previously been any doubt as to the necessity of taking serious steps against the rising rebellion, it was now evident that pacific measures were no longer possible. Until then, the shrinking from civil war had been so great that men were willing to compromise matters with the South, even at the cost of not inconsiderable sacrifices. But now a spirit of determined resistance to Southern aggression was aroused in every one of the Northern States. It was seen that a bloody struggle was inevitable, and men nerved themselves to meet the terrible demands that would be made upon their patriotism. A national fort had been seized; a body of Federal troops had been defeated; the flag of the Union had been lowered at the demand of traitors. The time for hesitation had gone by, and the Government understood its duty. Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation on the 15th of April. It declared that the laws of the Republic had been for some time, and were then, opposed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, "by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law." The President accordingly called forth the militia of the other States of the Union, to the aggregate number of 75,000 men. He appealed to all loyal citizens to favour, facilitate, and aid his efforts to maintain the honour, integrity, and existence of the national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government. The first service assigned to the forces would probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which had been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care would be observed, consistently with the objects enumerated, to avoid any devastation, destruction of property, or disturbance of peaceful citizens. The persons composing the combinations referred to were commanded to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from the date of the proclamation; and an additional paragraph summoned both Houses of Congress to assemble on the 4th of July.

Together with this proclamation, the Secretary of War issued a telegraphic despatch to the Governors of all the States of the Union, excepting those mentioned by the President as being the seat of disturbances, requesting each of them to cause to be detailed from the militia of his State a certain specified quota, to serve as infantry or riflemen for a period of three months, unless sooner discharged. The period mentioned was the utmost allowed by law, as far as the militia was concerned; and it was hoped that a quarter of a year would be sufficient for the suppression of the rebellion. It was not at that time believed that the resources of the South were equal to what they really were, or that the determination of the Secessionists was so fixed and deadly. The Federal army was to consist of none but young and vigorous men, and the oath of fidelity to the United States was to be administered to every officer and private. The responses of the several States to this requisition were of an exceedingly various character. Those from the North were all enthusiastically in favour of vigorously supporting the President in his efforts to sustain the Union. In the slave-holding States, however, a very different feeling was entertained. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, replied that the militia under his control should not be furnished for any such use or purpose as the authorities at Washington had in view. "Your object," he wrote, "is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution, or the Act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and, having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited towards the South." The Governor of North Carolina, Mr. Ellis, affected to doubt the genuineness of the circular, but at the same time observed that any such levy of troops would be a violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. "I can be no party," said Governor Ellis, "to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Kentucky would "furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." Tennessee would not supply a single man for coercion, but fifty thousand, if necessary, for the defence of her rights or of those of her Southern brethren. Governor Jackson, of Missouri, put a good deal in a few words when he wrote:—"Your requisition is illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman, diabolical; and cannot be complied with." And Governor Rector, of Arkansas, expressed much the

same view in replying that the demand had only added insult to injury.*

Maryland took a medium position. The Governor, Mr. Hicks, was loyally disposed, and so were many of the people; but Maryland was a slave-holding State, and to several of the citizens it seemed a matter of policy and honour to support the cause of negro bondage, as asserted by South Carolina and her fellow-conspirators. The Secessionists were making their power felt within the jurisdiction of Governor Hicks, and that official found it necessary to act with caution. On the 14th of May he issued a proclamation to the troops, stating that four regiments would be detailed, to serve within the limits of Maryland, or for the defence of the national capital; but he was disinclined to take any further steps. He told the Marylanders that they would soon have an opportunity, in a special election for Members of Congress, to express either their devotion to the Union, or their desire to break it up. The Governor of Delaware adopted an equally ambiguous tone. In a proclamation, issued on the 26th of April, he recommended the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the lives and property of the people of Delaware against violence of any sort. These companies, he added, could not be ordered by the Executive into the service of the United States; the law had not vested him with any such authority; but they had the option of offering their services to the General Government, for the defence of its capital, and the support of the Constitution and laws of the country. The South, therefore, had to some extent the support of the two last-mentioned States, together with every hope of assistance from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas. The war feeling throughout the seceding States was of the most furious description. The *Richmond Examiner* of April 28th said:—"There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington. From the mountain-tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city at all and every human hazard." Another Richmond paper, in its issue of April 13th (the day on which Sumter surrendered), observed that nothing was more probable than that President Davis would soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington. Volunteers were therefore advised to keep themselves and their weapons in constant readiness for such an enterprise. To the *New Orleans Picayune* of April 18th it appeared that the first-fruits of the secession of Virginia would be the removal of Lincoln and his Cabinet to the safer neighbourhood of Harrisburg or Cincinnati—perhaps even to Buffalo or Cleveland. It was not merely newspapers which expressed themselves in this wild strain. Even the rebel Secretary of War, Mr. L. Pope Walker, was rash enough to commit himself to a similar prophecy. He ventured to predict that the flag of the Confederate States would, before the 1st of May—that is to say, in about a fortnight—float over the dome of the Capitol of Washington, and that it would eventually wave over Faneuil Hall, Boston. The Secessionists had been put into outrageous spirits by the capture of Fort Sumter, and they believed they had little else to do than to march in noisy triumph from one end of the Union to the other. It was part of their political faith that all Northern men were cowards, and would not have resolution enough to fight. They were constantly talking about the Southern chivalry, and were strongly persuaded that they possessed the most extraordinary military virtues of any people in the world. The ensuing war did indeed show that they had courage and capacity; but their calculations, based on the presumed imbecility and craven spirit of the North, proved to be as mistaken as such calculations generally are.

The boasting of the South was answered in a similar spirit in many parts of the North. The *New York Tribune*, with easy confidence, undertook to promise the nations of Europe that Jefferson Davis and his colleagues would be swinging from the battlements at Washington by the 4th of July. "We spit upon a later and longer-deferred justice," said this enthusiastic journal. The *New York Times* believed that the work might be done effectually in thirty days. The *Philadelphia Press* declared that the Northern people were simply invincible; that the rebels were a mere band of ragamuffins, and would fly like chaff before the wind on the approach of the Federal armies. On both sides there was a vast amount of idle declamation; on both also, no small degree of deliberate resolve and deep-seated courage. The chief difference was, that whereas nobody at the South dared say a word against the prevalent mood, there were some at the North who had the temerity to prophesy ruin to the Federal arms. Certain of the Democratic papers denounced Mr. Lincoln's determination both on moral and prudential grounds; but these were exceptions to what must be described as the overwhelming rule. The resolution of the North to fight for the existence

* McPherson's Political History of the Rebellion, pp. 114–15.

of the Union has never been surpassed by any popular movement in any age of the world's history. It was only a few interested politicians who ventured to gainsay it. Even in New York, where, owing to the strength of the Democratic party, the South expected to obtain many allies, the Union sentiment found decided and even passionate expression at a great meeting held on the 20th of April in Union Square. "From the vaults of Wall Street," said one of the speakers at that meeting, "Jefferson Davis expected to pay his army, and riot in all the streets and in all the towns and cities of the North, to make their march a triumphant one. Fifty thousand men to-day tread on his fallacy."

In one respect it may be said that neither combatant was in a good position for war, as war is understood in European countries. There was no large standing army either at the North or at the South; no army of experienced soldiers, capable of taking the field at once, and of conducting a campaign with all the elaborate tactics of modern warfare. Of the two sides, the South was in rather the better position. The population of the slave-holding States was more naturally martial than that of the Northern. The life of comparative ease followed by a race of gentry,—the practice of field-sports,—the sense of command and of mutual reliance common to all men who are constantly engaged in keeping a subject race in subjection,—had developed in the slave-holders a fair amount of military aptitude, valour, and spirit. The Northern men, employed chiefly in manufactures, literature, and science, were foreign to the use of arms, and, except on great provocation, not disposed to physical encounters. It was a great mistake to suppose that they were cowards; but, like all persons engrossed by peaceful occupations, they were little inclined to relinquish them for the hazardous glories of the field, and somewhat awkward in the first assumption of military duties. President Lincoln had to create an army on the instant, to do the work that was urgently required. Of regular troops he had less than 20,000 men, who were principally distributed on the Western frontiers to guard the settlers against Indian depredations. It was on this account that the Federal forts in the Southern States had been so weakly manned as to fall an easy prey to the disloyal. When the new Administration came into power, no fewer than sixteen forts were already in possession of the insurgents, who had thus acquired 1,226 heavy guns, which could now be turned against the Federal authority. The national navy was not in a much better position than the national army. The financial resources of the Government were also very inadequate to the sudden demand made on them. Money was greatly needed; and, to obtain it as quickly as possible, a highly protective tariff was sanctioned by Congress on the 2nd of March, to come into operation on the 1st of April. This was the celebrated Morrill tariff, by which such heavy duties were imposed on articles of English manufacture that commerce with Great Britain was almost destroyed. The Government, indeed, defeated its own object in imposing duties of such immense magnitude; for the intention was to bring in revenue, and revenue was starved by the check placed on all commercial transactions with America's best customer. Another evil effect of the Morrill tariff was to offend English opinion, and to induce large classes in the old country to take sides against the North, out of a sense of personal wrong. In addition to the resources which it was hoped would accrue from the tariff, it was found necessary to raise a further sum by borrowing. An Act passed through Congress on the 8th of February, authorising a loan of 25,000,000 dollars, to bear six per cent. interest, and to run not less than ten, nor more than twenty years; the stock to be sold to the highest bidder. This, it will be observed, was before the accession of Mr. Lincoln. Even at that period of doubt and dismay, the loan was taken up with much eagerness. After the formation of the new Government, the spirit of reliance was even greater, because it was felt that the conduct of affairs was in none but loyal hands.

The enthusiasm of the North found vent in a profuse exhibition of Union flags, in the playing of military music, the singing of patriotic songs, the delivery of exciting addresses and sermons, the raising of subscriptions for the families of volunteers, and the embroidery, by ladies, of colours to be presented to the several regiments that were to take the field. A large sum of money to meet the expenses of the war was voted by the Legislature of New York, and the Pennsylvanian banks offered a loan. In the Southern States, a similar disposition was evinced. Subscriptions were rapidly got up; volunteers flocked to the Confederate flag, and the spirit of the people was aroused by vehement oratory. The fall of Sumter increased to an immeasurable extent the war feeling in both sections of the country, and rendered impossible any hope of a peaceful settlement. In one direction, however, the Confederates had been less fortunate. They had for some time been endeavouring to reduce Fort Pickens, in Florida; but the determined resistance of Lieutenant Slemmer and his comrades put them to great perplexity. Some reinforcements

were despatched by President Buchanan in the course of January; though immediately afterwards the order was countermanded, in consequence of a communication from Pensacola, expressing an earnest desire for peace, and an assurance that no attack would be commenced on Fort Pickens, if attempts were not made to alter the military position there. The commander of the Federal vessel, the *Brooklyn*, was instructed not to land any troops at Fort Pickens, unless it should be attacked, but to furnish the garrison with any stores they might require. In this way, a kind of irregular armistice was established, which the Confederates turned to account by bringing together a larger force in the vicinity of the fortress, while Lieutenant Slemmer was left without any assistance. The Government of President Lincoln, however, determined to put an end to this very unsatisfactory condition. When it became known that the insurgents were mounting guns in Fort McRee, and constructing new batteries to bear heavily on Fort Pickens, measures were taken for reinforcing the latter, and on the night of the 12th of April troops were thrown in by a Federal squadron which was lying in the Gulf. The relief arrived only just in time, for a plan was being concocted for taking the position by surprise, and this would probably have succeeded, but for the strengthening of the garrison. Lieutenant Worden, one of the Federal officers engaged in the operation, who had had some communication with the Confederate officer, General Bragg, was afterwards arrested by the latter, for having, as he alleged, deceived him as to his intentions, and thus obtained permission to visit the squadron. He was confined in the jail at Montgomery until released in exchange for a Confederate prisoner. Very shortly after the arrest of this officer, further reinforcements were conveyed into Pickens, and the position was made safe.

Jefferson Davis was not long in replying to President Lincoln's proclamation of April 15th. Two days later, he issued one of his own, which began by reciting that the President of the United States had declared an intention of invading the Confederacy with an armed force, for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence. For this reason, and with a view to repelling the threatened invasion, he (Jefferson Davis) invited all who were willing to aid the Government in resisting such an aggression to make application for commissions, or letters of marque and reprisal. He also specially enjoined on persons holding offices, civil or military, under the authority of the Confederate States, to be vigilant and zealous in the discharge of their duties, and to exert themselves in maintaining the authority and efficacy of the laws, and supporting and invigorating all measures which might be adopted for the common defence. Mr. Lincoln's response to this announcement was conveyed in a proclamation issued on the 19th of April, establishing a blockade of the ports belonging to the rebellious States, and intimating that if any person should, under any pretence, molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, the person so offending would be held amenable to the laws for the prevention and punishment of piracy. The blockade, as interfering with commerce, created much dissatisfaction in England, and severe pressure was brought to bear on the then Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell, and on the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, to induce them to raise the blockade, and recognise the Confederate States. It was to the credit of the country that such solicitations were resisted, for, had they been complied with, they would assuredly have involved England in a desolating war with the American Republic.

The Congress of the Confederate States met at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 29th of April, and on the 6th of May that body passed an Act recognising the existence of a condition of war between the United States and the Confederate States, and giving legislative sanction to the issuing of letters of marque and general reprisal to private armed vessels, to act against the vessels, goods, and effects of the United States. As the Confederates had not at their disposal sufficient means for creating a regular navy, a resort to privateers was unavoidable, and a number of vessels of this description were soon ranging over the ocean highways of the world. Privateers were used by the American colonists in the War of Independence, and again in the war with England in 1812–15; and, until recently, it has been the practice of most countries, whenever it has been found convenient, to aid their regular forces in this way. By the law of nations, privateers are not considered pirates, though of course they are bound to respect the rights of neutrals and allies, and to observe in all their operations the customs of civilised communities. The Confederate States were in no degree to blame for availing themselves of such marine service as they could get. The United States had previously sanctioned the practice; and when privateering was abolished by the chief Powers of Europe, at the close of the Crimean war in 1856, the American Government refused its assent, unless the right of blockade was also given up—a condition to which England would not agree. It was irritating, however, to the people of the United States to find the principle turned against

them; and throughout the war their commerce suffered severely from the cruisers of the Confederation.

Virginia, which had all along sympathised with the movement at the South, was now being drawn, not unwillingly, into the vortex of revolution. The convention of that State assembled in February, and continued its sittings for two months. Some degree of Union sentiment was shown by several of the members, but only on condition that the principles of the Constitution should always be interpreted in favour of the slave-holding States. Before it was resolved to secede, the convention unanimously adopted a resolution expressed in these terms:—"The people of Virginia recognise the American principle that Government is founded in the consent of the governed, and the right of the people of the several States of this Union, for just cause, to withdraw from their association, under the Federal Government, with the people of the other States, and to erect new Governments for their better security; and they never will consent that the Federal power, which is in part their power, shall be exerted for the purpose of subjugating the people of such States to the Federal authority." Yet as late as the 4th of April the convention had refused, by a vote of 89 against 45, to pass an Ordinance of Secession; and they sent Commissioners to Washington, to ascertain the precise intentions of the President. These gentlemen had an interview with Mr. Lincoln on the 13th, and learned from the Chief Magistrate that he should certainly carry out with rigour the policy shadowed forth in his inaugural address. This reply increased the Secessionist feeling, which was already growing stronger every day under the exhortations of those who took their opinions from the extreme South. The reduction of Fort Sumter, and the President's proclamation calling out the militia to act against the Confederate States, gave the final impulse to the disloyal tendencies of Virginia. An Ordinance of Secession was passed on the 17th of April, by a vote of 88 against 55; but it has been said that this result was secured by several Union members being induced to absent themselves by actual threats of being hanged if they acted differently.* The ordinance was to be submitted to the people for ratification, and the popular vote was to be taken on the fourth Tuesday in the ensuing May.

A private messenger was at once despatched to Montgomery, to apprise Mr. Davis of what had occurred in the Old Dominion, and to seek co-operation. The Governor also issued a proclamation ordering all armed volunteer regiments or companies, within the State, forthwith to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders. The Custom House was seized by the Virginian troops; the Confederate flag was displayed, with an additional star for Virginia; and the populace generally exhibited the utmost delight. The joy of South Carolina and the other seceding States was equally marked. Virginia was the most distinguished and important of the slave-holding communities. Its absence from the new Confederation would have been a great drawback from the moral influence and dignity of that body; its presence was an immense gain, not to be estimated simply by the addition to the physical forces of the league. In a proportionate degree, this new defection was a serious blow to the Union. The fact can hardly be said to have taken any one by surprise; yet it was felt keenly throughout the North. It brought the frontiers of the rebellious Slave Power close to the Federal capital. It showed that the struggle just commencing might indeed be a struggle for life or death. The threat of seizing Washington, which until then had sounded simply like an idle vaunt, now acquired a look of possibility, and perhaps of something more. Virginia herself perceived the matter in the same light, and, without waiting for the popular sanction which she had herself invoked, began preparations for the capture of Harper's Ferry, and of the Navy Yard near Norfolk, as the first step towards that assault on the city of Washington which by many was so urgently desired.

Troops from the Gulf States were by this time marching northwards, with a view to those operations. The *Richmond Examiner*, echoing the utterances of more Southern journals, declared that the capture of Washington was perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland. Even North Carolina, which had not yet seceded, was setting troops in motion for the Federal capital, and eagerly prophesying that it would soon be in the hands of the slave-owners. The same object was being advocated all over the South, and the Vice-President of the Confederate States, Alexander Stephens, in a speech which he made at Atlanta, in Georgia, on the 30th of April, said that, although they desired peace, and would make no attack on other people's possessions, the District of Columbia, in the case of Maryland seceding, would fall to that State by reversionary right. A week earlier, Stephens had been in Richmond urging these views, and doing his utmost to induce Virginia to annex herself to the Southern league without waiting for the popular

* A statement to this effect was made by one of the members of the convention, and is recorded in a well-known American publication,—the *Annual Cyclopædia* for 1861.

MARYLAND HEIGHTS, HARPER'S FERRY.

vote. It seemed evident to the Virginian politicians that, if they hesitated any longer about joining the Southern Confederation, they would be regarded as its enemies, and would be compelled to share whatever misfortunes might be in store for the Union. This consideration, and the natural desire of a slave-holding State to go with other slave-holders, rather than to remain with those who questioned the principle of human bondage, determined the rulers of the Old Dominion in the course they should take. A committee of the convention, the principal member of which was John Tyler, formerly President of the United States, negotiated and signed, on the 24th of April, an agreement between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederate States of America, which provided that, until the union of Virginia with the league should be perfected, the whole military force of the former, whether for offensive or defensive purposes, should be under the chief control and direction of Jefferson Davis. The full convention ratified this treaty on the following day, and likewise adopted the Constitution of the Confederate States. At the same time, it was resolved to make preparations for war, to appoint delegates to the Confederate Congress, and to invite Jefferson Davis to make Richmond the head-quarters of the new Government. In due course, the vote of the people was taken on the Ordinance of Secession; but it was conducted in such a way as to make the decision of little value. Terrorism prevailed through the greater part of the State. The voting, according to Virginian custom, was open, instead of by ballot; and many Union men were too much intimidated to use their constitutional privilege. The poll was held on the 23rd of May, when 125,950 votes appeared for Secession, and 20,373 against it. In North-western Virginia, however, the Union feeling was so strong that, as we shall presently see, a separate convention was held, and steps were taken for the formation of a distinct State, on Free Labour principles, and in association with the Union.

North Carolina could hardly have remained faithful to the old Government with seceding States on both her flanks. Governor Ellis was already exceedingly well disposed to join the Confederates, and the Militia Proclamation of President Lincoln gave him a pretext. An extraordinary session of the Legislature had been summoned for the 1st of May, and the members, when they met, authorised the holding of a convention to consider the future position of the State. The convention assembled on the 20th of May, and at once adopted an Ordinance of Secession by a unanimous vote. Military preparations on a large scale were immediately begun; the national forts on the coast, the Mint at Charlotte, and the Government Arsenal at Fayetteville, were seized; and the whole State appeared in panoply of war. Tennessee was shortly afterwards declared to be out of the Union, without any convention being summoned. The Legislature, on the 1st of May, authorised the Governor to enter into a military league with the Confederate States; and on the 7th the two Houses issued a declaration of independence, and an ordinance adopting and ratifying the Confederate Constitution. The two latter acts were to be submitted to a direct vote of the people on June 8th; and the result of the vote was announced by the Governor on the 24th of the same month, when it was stated that the votes for Secession had been 104,913, to 47,238 on the negative side. On the 9th of February, the people of Tennessee had by a large majority declared their attachment to the Union, by determining not to elect a convention; and the apparent change in their sentiments has been attributed partly to violence, partly to the falsification of the election returns by the Governor and his colleagues. The determination of Arkansas to secede from the old Union, which was taken on the 6th of May, has also been imputed to illegal and revolutionary interference with the votes of the convention. However this may have been—and such charges are not unlikely, though difficult to prove—it is probable that a genuine alteration had to some extent come over several of the Southern States, as a consequence of recent acts. Justifiable and even necessary as it was, Mr. Lincoln's call to arms, there can be little doubt, had driven many into rebellion. In Arkansas, rebel agents were particularly busy, sowing disaffection wherever there was the least prospect of its taking root. Even the frontier Indians were tampered with, and several tribes were induced to give in their adhesion to the Confederate cause, and to form auxiliary regiments for service against the Federals. These miserable savages suffered much throughout the civil war; for neither combatant had any real regard for their interests.

The Virginian attack on Harper's Ferry took place on the night of April 18th. It was just a year and a half since that little town had been the scene of John Brown's desperate enterprise—an attempt which had had much to do with subsequent events; and now the Virginians themselves were about to assault the same Federal positions which they then re-captured from the brave but ill-judging Abolitionist. A military force had been concentrated at the National Armoury and Arsenal

by the Federal Government in the early days of Secession, as it was feared that, if the feeling of disaffection spread to Virginia, every endeavour would be made to capture those important posts. Such a prize would be well worth having, for ten thousand muskets were produced there every year, and from eighty to ninety thousand stand of arms were generally stored in the buildings. It was intended that the attack should be conducted by a force of three thousand men; but, owing to a mistake, not more than two hundred and fifty were in fact engaged in the exploit. These assembled, about eight o'clock in the evening, at the appointed place—a little village half-way between Charleston Court House and Harper's Ferry. Thence they marched, a distance of four miles, towards the object of attack. A body of infantry moved first, and was followed by a few horsemen, and a single piece of artillery. It was now dark, and the little force proceeded in deep silence along the country roads which wind through the woody hills scattered about the confluence of the Potomac and the Shenandoah. Within a mile of the Ferry, the Virginians encountered some sentries, who challenged them. The column halted, and, while the men loaded their guns, the officers held a consultation. Before any resolve could be formed, two violent explosions from the direction of the Ferry broke upon the night, and the darkness was illuminated by a broad and vivid flame. Lieutenant Jones, who was in command of the Arsenal, had blown up that building, crossed the river with his men, and retreated towards Pennsylvania. His force was small; he had observed symptoms of disaffection all around; and he feared he should not be able to withstand the attack which he knew was about to be made. When, therefore, he received information that the Virginians (whose numbers were greatly exaggerated) had arrived within twenty minutes' march of the Ferry, he set fire to the trains which had previously been laid, and crossed the Potomac over the covered bridge, followed by an angry crowd, whom it was necessary to keep back by threatening to fire on them. Lieutenant Jones was commended by the Federal Government for his act, and it was perhaps a necessity under the circumstances of the time. But it entailed a severe loss upon the nation, and the explosion, having been hastily brought about, was not completely effectual. The Armoury buildings were indeed entirely destroyed; but the attempt to blow up the machine-shop failed, and a large quantity of valuable machinery remained uninjured, and of course fell into the hands of the enemy, together with some weapons. Harper's Ferry now became an important rebel post, where a large number of Confederate troops were concentrated, and whence detachments were for a while pushed forward even into Maryland.

A still further sacrifice was rendered necessary by the rebellious attitude of Virginia, and the weakness of the Federal power there. It was resolved by the Secessionists to seize the Navy Yard near Norfolk, and the Washington Government was obliged to consider how best to defeat such a design. The Virginians began their preparations on the 16th of April, when two light-boats were sunk in the channel of the Elizabeth River, below Norfolk, to prevent any of the vessels getting out. The Navy Yard is situated at Gosport, a suburb of Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk. At the time in question, it contained several war-vessels of large size, others of smaller size, and a vast quantity of arms and munitions of war. The defences of this great naval station were most inadequate, and the Government sent orders to Commodore McCauley to exercise extreme caution, to arm the *Merrimac* with as much speed as possible, to put the *Plymouth* and *Dolphin* beyond danger, to have the *Germantown* in a condition to be towed out, and to place the more valuable property on shipboard, so that it could at any moment be removed. The departure of these vessels was delayed by order of McCauley, who afterwards stated that he had been influenced by the advice of several of his junior officers, whose loyalty, though they were born in Southern States, he believed he had no reason to doubt, but who soon deserted to the enemy. When at length it became evident beyond a doubt that the Navy Yard was to be attacked by a very powerful force, and that it was not possible either to repel the assault or to save the national property, McCauley ordered the scuttling of all the vessels, with one exception. This operation had commenced when Captain Paulding, who had been despatched from Washington with instructions from the Secretary of the Navy, arrived at the Navy Yard in the *Pawnee*, which was enabled to pass the obstructions placed in the channel by the conspirators. He at once saw that merely scuttling the ships would not be sufficient to save them from the Confederates. Nothing remained but to set them on fire, together with all the public buildings and national property. Early in the morning of April 21st, a terrific conflagration, the light of which could be seen far off at sea, and for many miles into the country, burst forth at several points, destroying eleven vessels and some of the buildings, but leaving other of the buildings comparatively untouched, and a large number of heavy guns none the worse. The loss

to the Federal Government has been estimated at 7,000,000 dollars, and the gain to the insurgents, whom it supplied with a much-needed armoury of valuable weapons, was greater than could be put into the tangible form of figures. The *Merrimac* also was sufficiently uninjured to be afterwards repaired by the Confederates, and to render service to their cause.

The disastrous events at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard placed the Federal capital itself in considerable danger. Many Secessionist sympathisers were to be found in that city, and for a time the position of the President and his Ministers was extremely perilous. The call for militia, however, was promptly answered by the loyal States. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were among the earliest to move, and in a little while several regiments had been drawn around the seat of Congress. Yet in other respects the situation was most gloomy and threatening. The only place now held by the Federal Government in the State of Virginia was Fortress Monroe, situated on the point of land between the James and York Rivers, at their junction with the Potomac. Those rivers were blockaded by what remained of the fleet. The vessels were concentrated in Hampton Roads, near the fortress; and this was one of the few manifestations of Federal power which the Government was capable of making south of Maryland. Even in Maryland itself, affairs were going very ill. The Secessionists were sufficiently strong to hinder the loyal action of Governor Hicks, and most of those in authority were attached to Southern ideas and principles. Baltimore, one of the principal cities of the State, was at that period the scene of some very distressing events. All troops travelling by railway from the north and east to Washington were compelled to pass through that town; and the Secessionists vehemently resented this as an outrage on State sovereignty. Some Pennsylvanian soldiers, who arrived there on the 18th of April, were at once surrounded by an angry and excited mob. Individual acts of violence were committed on that day, especially on the persons of black men; but the Pennsylvanian troops left without encountering any serious opposition, and arrived at Washington in time to save the Federal metropolis from the contemplated attack by Virginians. A Massachusetts regiment, which reached Baltimore on the 19th, was less fortunate. A good many South Carolinians, Georgians, and other Southerners, were at that time congregated in the city. The Marshal of Police (Mr. George P. Kane), the Mayor (Mr. George W. Brown), and several other persons of influence and position, were bent on detaching Maryland from the Union, if it could be effected by any means, fair or foul. The recent secession of Virginia had created a wild desire amongst the ruling classes to act in the same manner, and several meetings were held on the evening of April 18th, at which plans were laid for attacking the New Englanders on the morrow. Great excitement was visible among the populace on the morning of the 19th. In one of the principal streets, a large quantity of paving stones had been piled up during the night, and other preparations had been made for resisting the Northern men, similar to those of Parisian mobs in times of revolution. The Massachusetts troops, who arrived a little before noon, together with ten companies of the Washington Brigade, of Philadelphia, were received with yells, imprecations, and showers of stones and bricks. As those of the Massachusetts detachment were passing through the streets in cars from one railway station to another, they were handled with so much roughness that many of the soldiers were a good deal hurt. Some anchors lying on a neighbouring wharf were dragged across the tramway, and the street was so effectually barricaded that the soldiers were compelled for a time to go back. Ultimately they were formed into column, and directed to march along the side pavements in close order. The attack of the mob was presently renewed, and matters looked so serious that the officer in command ordered his men to cap their pieces. Stones and bricks were now falling heavily upon the advancing ranks; fragments of iron were thrown on them from windows; and some serious injuries were received. At length the soldiers lost their patience, and fired into the mob, who recoiled for a moment. The Mayor now placed himself at the head of a large body of police, and endeavoured to restrain the crowd. The fight nevertheless continued until the troops had struggled to the railway station whence they were to depart for Washington. It was then found that three of their number had been killed; that one was mortally wounded; that eight were gravely, and several others slightly, hurt. The mob had suffered in a still greater degree. Nine had been killed, and more were wounded than was ever exactly known. The train, as it started, was assailed with stones and logs of wood, and was afterwards fired at by persons on the surrounding hills.

The departure of the Massachusetts men did not put an end to the disturbances. The Pennsylvanians were attacked with equal fury, but were for a long time assisted in their defence by the Baltimore Unionists. At length, however, they

were overpowered, and the soldiers, flying in all directions, sought shelter wherever they could find it. It was not until after Marshal Kane had interposed that the fugitive soldiers returned to the railway carriages, and were sent back to Philadelphia. The mob then possessed themselves of guns and pistols, and a great Secessionist meeting was held in the open air. The troops of the State and city were called out, and Governor Hicks, despite his Union sympathies, was compelled to promise that no more regiments from other States should pass through Baltimore, and to declare himself in favour of Secession. At eleven o'clock at night, the Mayor, with the concurrence of the Governor, despatched a committee to President Lincoln, with a letter stating that the citizens were determined to oppose any further passage of troops through their midst. At midnight, Marshal Kane and a former Governor of the State applied to Hicks for authority to destroy the bridges on the railways from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, by which lines other regiments were expected to arrive. The conspirators stated shortly afterwards that they had received the sanction of the Governor to this course; but the Governor subsequently denied that he had given any such authorisation. The bridges, however, were destroyed; the telegraph wires on all the lines leading out of Baltimore, with the exception of the one to Richmond, were cut; and the town was thus temporarily isolated from the control of the Federal Government. The committee sent to the President had an interview with him early on the morning of the 20th, when Mr. Lincoln, feeling his weakness, endeavoured to compromise matters by suggesting that the troops should pass round Baltimore, instead of through it; and it was ultimately agreed that they should go by Annapolis, the capital of the State. Still, the Secessionists were not satisfied. Negotiations went on for some hours, and the President even stooped to the humiliation of ordering back a certain body of troops already on its way to Washington. Governor Hicks, on the 22nd of April, urged on the President to offer a truce to the insurgents, so that further bloodshed might be avoided, and suggested that the British Minister, Lord Lyons, should be asked to act as mediator between the contending sections of the country. Mr. Seward replied to these suggestions with a distinct refusal to refer any American dissensions to foreign arbitration; but with regard to the passage of troops, the tone adopted by the Secretary of State was almost apologetic. Other attempts to arrange the dispute were made at the same time, but without any effect. The President had now advanced his utmost concessions, and to further proposals he could only reply that troops must be had for the defence of Washington, and that, as they could come by no other route than Maryland, the people of Maryland must be content to let them pass.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Defection of Colonel Robert Edmund Lee—His appointment to the Command of Rebel Troops in Virginia—Energetic Measures of General Wool for the Protection of the Union—Expedition of General Butler to Maryland—Reduction of that State to Obedience—Character of the American Professional Army—Organisation of the Southern Volunteers—Butler takes up a Position near Baltimore—His Appointment to another Command—Loyal Action of Governor Hicks—Dictatorial Powers of the President—Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Law, and Arrest of Suspected Persons—Call for more Troops—Events in Kentucky and Missouri—Collision between Union and Confederate Partisans at St. Louis—Missouri inclined to Support the Secessionists—Expedition of Federal Troops into Virginia—Death of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria—Fortifications in Front of Washington—The Federal Position at Manassas Junction—Collisions by Sea and Land—Formation of Western Virginia into a Separate State on Union Principles—Defeat of the Confederates at Philippi—General Butler at Fortress Monroe—Fugitive Slaves declared "Contraband of War"—Federal Attack on the Confederate Position at Big Bethel—Defeat of the Assailants, and Death of Captain Winthrop—Defeat of Confederates at Romney, North-west Virginia—Evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the Confederates under Johnston—Movements of the Federal General, Patterson—Panic at Washington—McClellan at the head of an Army in the West—Position of Garnett (Confederate General) to the West of the Alleghanies—His Defeat by McClellan—Battles of Rich Mountain and of Carrick's Ford—McClellan's Address to his Troops—Results of the Federal Successes—Development of the Military Spirit in America.

Difficulties and dangers crowded round the Republic at this gloomy period of its history, and not the least of these was the defection of Colonel Robert Edmund Lee, an engineer officer of much distinction, who had always enjoyed the confidence of General Scott. Lee was a Virginian, connected by marriage with the family of Washington. He was born in 1807, and was placed in 1825 at the West Point Military Academy. His father had attained the rank of a General, and had fought with distinction

in the War of Independence. The son was engineer-in-chief during the Mexican war, was wounded at the battle of Chepultepec, and rendered such eminent services as to be promoted several times. A few years later, he accompanied General McClellan to the Crimea, to report to the American Government on the military operations of the allied armies before Sebastopol; and on returning to his native land lived in honoured retirement until what he regarded as the cause of his State called him again to the field. His subsequent career in the civil war of America proved that he possessed very high abilities as a commander; but his fame would have been purer had he drawn his sword on behalf of that Government to which his allegiance was due. It must be admitted, however, that Lee was not quick to take sides against the Union. He saw seven States secede, and made no sign of any disposition to support the revolutionists. Even as late as March 16th, he accepted the rank of colonel of cavalry; but when Virginia joined the new league, he conceived himself bound in honour to place himself at her disposal, and at that of her allies. He was also tempted by an offer coming from the President of the Virginian convention, to the effect that that body would willingly appoint him, on the nomination of Governor Letcher, commander of all the military and naval forces of Virginia. He had an interview with General Scott on the 18th of April, and two days later wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, tendering his resignation. In this communication, he spoke of his reluctance to separate himself from a service to which he had devoted the best years of his life; but he considered the claims of his State paramount, and from the 20th of April he was a soldier of the Confederation ruled by Mr. Jefferson Davis.

The Federal capital continued for some days to be in imminent peril of seizure by the enemy; but the situation was in time greatly improved by the energy and promptitude of the veteran General Wool, Commander of the Eastern Department, acting in conjunction with a body sitting at New York, called the Union Defence Committee. As immediate communication with Washington was not at that time possible, and the case was urgent, General Wool took upon himself the execution of various measures which were in truth in excess of his powers. He collected and despatched a great many regiments, and a large amount of arms, not only to the capital, but to several parts of the country where assistance was sorely needed to save

FORTRESS MONROE.

NIGHT-MARCH ON HARPER'S FERRY.

them from subjugation by the Slave Power. Washington was thus protected from immediate danger, and many loyal States were placed beyond the probability of attack. Yet the Government had the ill feeling to order the General into retirement, because the course he had taken on his own responsibility had "seriously embarrassed the prompt and proper administration of the [War] Department." Officialism is as rampant in America as in the mother country, and this was an extreme instance of the spirit which prefers forms to results. The Administration, however, presently saw occasion to retrace its steps. In August, General Wool was recalled from his retirement, and placed in command of the newly-created Department of South-eastern Virginia, the head-quarters of which were at Fortress Monroe.

Maryland was reduced to something like submission before the end of April by an expedition of Massachusetts and New York troops, under General Butler and Colonel Lefferts. The latter officer immediately afterwards went on to Washington, while the former remained behind, to hold the road which they had opened. Butler was then placed in command of a district which was called the Department of Annapolis, and which embraced the country twenty miles on each side of the railway running from the capital of Maryland to Washington. His powers in this position were despotic, and he used them with a rigour which laid him open to criticism. Butler was a Massachusetts lawyer, not trained to military life, but possessed of spirit, resolution, and audacity. He was one of many who became soldiers on the spur of the occasion, and who exhibited various degrees of ability, sometimes, it must be confessed, of the very slightest. The regular American army is at all times small, and in 1861 the number of properly trained officers had been reduced by the defection of several who belonged to Southern States. Thus it became absolutely necessary to supply the pressing needs of the country by every available means; but the mass of uninstructed enthusiasm was to some extent leavened by the professional officers who had received their military education at West Point. The cadets at this academy were instructed in all branches of the profession—a system which developed much general intelligence and aptitude, but often failed in producing a thoroughly efficient officer in any single department of the service. It is part of the American system of government, as it was formerly part of the English system, to maintain only a very small standing army of mercenaries, and to trust principally to a local militia for the ordinary defence of the States, and to the patriotism of volunteers when any special occasion may arise. The War of Independence, the war of 1812, and the Mexican war, were all fought for the most part by those who did not make a business of soldiership. Less than 20,000 men of all arms formed the sum-total of the American professional army at the period of Secession. The service has never been popular with the native Americans, very few of whom enter the ranks. This is a circumstance to be regretted; for the stability as well as the self-respect of a State is prejudiced when any of its imperial functions are deputed to aliens, who discharge them from no other motive than hire. With rare exceptions, the non-commissioned officers and privates of the American army, at the date to which we are referring, were either Irish or Germans. Their duties were to occupy the Federal forts, and to repel the attacks of Indian tribes on the western frontiers. For such purposes they were well adapted; but it is obvious that they could take but a trifling part in the gigantic war now commencing.

In the spring of 1861, the populations of the Northern and of the Southern States were rushing to arms. Partisanship on each side has endeavoured to deny to the other any sentiment of patriotic devotion in thus voluntarily assuming the perils and hardships of a soldier's life, during a war that was certain to be severe, and might prove to be of indefinite duration. But it will hardly be questioned by less heated observers that on both sides of the dividing line a vast amount of earnest feeling took shape in heroic action. However bad the cause of the South may have been—however dishonourable had been the conduct of its leading men, or however immoral were the ends they had in view—it is certain that a large number of Southerners believed in the justice of their cause, and were fully persuaded that it was a sacred duty to resist what appeared to them the threatened invasion of a foreign enemy. On the other hand, the North perceived that the great American Republic would be ruined for ever if the sedition were not repressed. With these conflicting emotions, both sides armed for the conflict. The North depended at first on the militia regiments for which the President had called. The South relied on volunteer companies of spirited young men, who were ready and eager to fight the emissaries from the Free Labour States. These companies were despatched to central camps or depôts, prior to being forwarded to the frontier. The passage of the volunteers along the Southern railways elicited the utmost enthusiasm at all points. They were not permitted to pay for their provisions at the stations; gifts of clothing poured in upon them, and banners,

embroidered by ladies, were presented to the several regiments. A species of hurried organisation was carried out at the central camps, and officers, either appointed by the Governors of States, or elected by the men, were charged with the superior duties of the army. To Mr. Davis was reserved the right of commissioning the Generals and Staff of the brigades and divisions, and camps were established at Corinth, New Orleans, Montgomery, and other principal towns. The discipline observed in these regiments was extremely severe, although, in the generality of instances, officers and men belonged to the same class of life. The spirit of the men, however, was by no means subdued. An English combatant on the side of the South has related that an officer, who had struck a private over the shoulders with his sword, after being warned what the consequences would be, was immediately stabbed five or six times with a bowie-knife, and flung lifeless on the turf; and it is added that no punishment or even inquiry followed, and that the private was applauded by the whole company.* Several negroes accompanied their masters to the field, and performed the work of the camps; but, although the private soldier was thus saved from many ignominious offices, he was not permitted to neglect the military obligations which he had undertaken. Privates of good birth readily obtained commissions, if they were able to raise companies or regiments; and in this way a large and serviceable force was speedily created in the Southern States.†

Butler had not long taken up his position on the Annapolis Railway before he determined to make a descent on Baltimore, where he had been informed that a quantity of gunpowder had been stored up in a church for use by the Secessionists. On the 5th of May he took possession of the Relay House, situated on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, and at once proceeded to fortify his position. The guns of Fort McHenry were turned upon the city, and, under cover of these, and of the artillery of a gunboat anchored in the harbour, a portion of the troops marched into Baltimore itself on the 13th. These men were stationed on the high ground surrounding the Observatory, called Federal Hill, and it was evident from all their proceedings that they intended to make a long stay. They had arrived in the midst of a violent thunderstorm, and very little shelter was to be found on the hill; but measures were at once taken for establishing the soldiers on the ground they had seized. The General made his head-quarters in a refreshment-house kept by a German, and thence issued a proclamation, in which he stated that his object was to enforce respect and obedience to the laws, and to give protection to all who were loyal to the Constitution. A reaction had by this time taken place amongst the population of Baltimore. The Union men were fortified by the presence of the Federal troops, and the disaffected were proportionately discouraged. The troops, on their way to Federal Hill, were received with cheers by all who ventured to show themselves in the streets. Butler had completely subdued the fierce sedition of Baltimore, and he resolved to turn his success to account. In his proclamation he prohibited transportation of supplies to the insurgents; asked for commissary stores and clothing; forbade all threatening assemblages, and all display of Secession flags or banners; and offered aid to the corporate authorities of the city in the due administration of the law. After seizing various materials of war, and effecting some arrests, he was preparing for other measures, when a letter arrived from General Scott, implying some degree of reproof. The Commander-in-Chief said that the occupation of Baltimore was made without his knowledge, and of course without his approbation. He conceived that Butler had used too daringly the power confided to him as commander of a department. Scott was indeed so dissatisfied that he required of the Government to recall Butler from his post, and this was done, though much against the will of Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War. The President himself would seem to have been well satisfied with the operations of this active leader, for he immediately afterwards conferred on him the commission of a Major-General of Volunteers, and the command of a large military district, including Eastern Virginia and the two Carolinas, with his head-quarters at Fortress Monroe. The Maryland Legislature, which contained a majority of disloyal men, adjourned on the 14th of May, and Governor Hicks, plucking up courage from its absence, and from the presence of a Federal force, issued a proclamation, calling for the four regiments of militia demanded by the Secretary of War as the quota of that State. When frightened by the violence of the mob, he had declared that he would suffer his right arm to be torn from his body before he would raise it to strike a sister State. His later conduct is denounced by Secessionist writers as an instance of abominable treachery. It is not really open to that animadversion. Governor Hicks was far from being a man of courage, and he yielded to the menaces of an angry crowd; but that he was honestly desirous of

* Battle-fields of the South.

† Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War, Vol. I., chap. 3.

doing his duty appears a reasonable conclusion from all that is recorded of his acts.

The President was now exercising powers which were rather those of a dictator than of a constitutional magistrate, but with which the law had armed him, as the only means of encountering the dangers of the time. The right of *habeas corpus* was suspended, and frequent arrests were made when treasonable practices were believed to exist. On the 20th of April, the original despatches in the telegraph offices of all the principal cities in the Free Labour States, received during a year previously, were by order of the Government seized by the United States Marshals. It was thought that in this way evidence of complicity with the Secessionists, on the part of politicians in non-seceding States, would be obtained in a manner the most convincing. The anticipation proved far from groundless, and several persons were arrested on the warrant of the Secretary of State, and confined in various forts. Writs of *habeas corpus* were issued for their release, and some of these were at first obeyed; but it was afterwards peremptorily ordered by the Government that all such writs should be disregarded. In the course of six months, a hundred prisoners of State, to whom the privilege of *habeas corpus* was refused, were confined in Fort Lafayette alone. Such acts are justifiable only on the clearest necessity; but that necessity now existed, and no nation can be denied the right of protecting itself from assaults upon its very existence. Every day the movement in the South was becoming more formidable; every day the sympathisers with Secession in the border States were growing more dangerous and irreconcilable. It was now seen that the President's call for militia would not be sufficient to meet the attack which was evidently meditated by the South. Mr. Lincoln accordingly, in a proclamation issued on the 3rd of May, called into the service of the United States 42,000 volunteers for three years; ordered an increase of the regular army to the extent of 22,714 officers and enlisted men, for not less than one year, nor more than three years; and directed the enlistment of 18,000 seamen for the naval service. The response to these demands showed how thoroughly in earnest were the people of the loyal States in their resistance to Secession. The number of volunteers even exceeded the demands of the Government, and money was subscribed for the various purposes of the war, amounting to at least 40,000,000 dollars.

West of the Alleghanies, some events of importance were occurring. In Illinois, Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, one of the opponents of Mr. Lincoln in the election to the Presidency, died on the 3rd of June. His decease was a great loss to the Union party, for his loyalty to the Federation was undoubted, and, being a leading member of the Democratic body, he carried with him a large number of men whose sympathies were always rather with the South than with the North. Kentucky remained with the Union, although in that State there was a movement towards secession, and Captain Buckner, an officer in the Federal service, took over several of his troops to the Confederate army, in which he was promoted to the rank of Major-General. The position of Missouri was for a long time doubtful. The Governor of that State, Mr. Jackson, had refused to furnish the quota of troops demanded by the Federal Administration; but at the same time he recommended to the citizens a neutral policy between the two belligerents. Many of the people were inclined to throw in their lot with the South; but the city of St. Louis, and the whole northern part of the State, contained a large number of Germans, who were decidedly Unionist in their sentiments. At the Arsenal of St. Louis, a small detachment of United States regular troops was stationed under the command of Captain Lyon; and in this neighbourhood an armed collision occurred on the 10th of May. The Governor had called out the militia, who were encamped at a spot called Lindell's Grove. Against this encampment Captain Lyon marched a number of armed Germans, who had with them some pieces of artillery. Having secured the avenues leading to Lindell's Grove, Captain Lyon demanded the surrender of the State militia, whose loyalty he had good reason to doubt; but at the same time he offered to release all who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States. General Frost, who was in command of the militia, agreed to surrender; but, as few of the men took the required oath, the majority were conveyed to the Arsenal. As they were proceeding thither, a mob, which had in the meanwhile collected, expressed sympathy with the State troops, attacked the Germans, and so provoked the latter that some of them discharged their muskets at the people. Twenty-five civilians were killed and wounded, and the feeling of exasperation was so great that serious consequences were feared. The Secessionists, however, were numerically weak, and Captain Lyon was enabled to keep the disaffected in check. General Harney, who had been appointed to the command of the Department of the West, issued a proclamation on the 14th of May, urging the people of Missouri to remain faithful to the Federal Government, and justifying the conduct of Captain Lyon. Shortly afterwards, Harney was removed

from the command of the West, and replaced by Major-General Fremont, the celebrated explorer, under whom Captain Lyon was appointed to serve in Missouri, with the rank of Brigadier-General. Governor Jackson required, as a condition of pacification, that the loyal troops should be disbanded, and no Federal soldiers be permitted to enter the State; in return for which he undertook to disband the State Guard, to disarm the companies that had been ordered out, to repress all insurrectionary attempts, and to maintain a strict neutrality. The terms were refused by Lyon, and on the 12th of June the Governor issued a proclamation, calling into active service 50,000 of the State militia for the purpose, as he phrased it, of repelling invasion. The people, he here said, were bound to obey all the constitutional requirements of the Federal Government, but were under no obligation to carry out "the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which had enthroned itself at Washington." The result of this step was that civil commotions soon afterwards broke out in Missouri, and continued till near the end of the struggle.

The state of war was now in full operation. The city of Washington was menaced by a Confederate force stationed on the Virginian heights on the opposite side of the Potomac; and to dislodge these troops, and occupy the heights, together with the city of Alexandria, were objects of policy which could not be long overlooked. On the night of the 23rd of May, an expedition left Washington, consisting of about 13,000 men, and, while a portion marched by the Long Bridge leading over the river, others crossed a short way higher up, and a regiment of so-called Zouaves, under the command of Colonel Ellsworth, embarked on board a steamer, in order to effect a landing at Alexandria. By four o'clock on the morning of the 24th, the various divisions of the invading force had effected their junction in the streets of Alexandria, and everything seemed to be at their disposal, without any resistance on the part of the Confederates. The day, however, was not to terminate without a lamentable incident. Observing a Confederate flag at an hotel, Colonel Ellsworth rushed up-stairs, got on to the roof, and cut down the seditious standard. On descending the stairs, he was met by the proprietor of the house, who at once shot him dead, and was himself slain the next minute by a soldier accompanying the colonel. The death of Ellsworth caused such furious excitement among the Zouaves that they were kept on board a steamer in the river, having threatened to burn the town in revenge for what they characterised as a murder. As it was, a regiment was raised in New York (the native State of the deceased officer), called the Ellsworth Avengers.

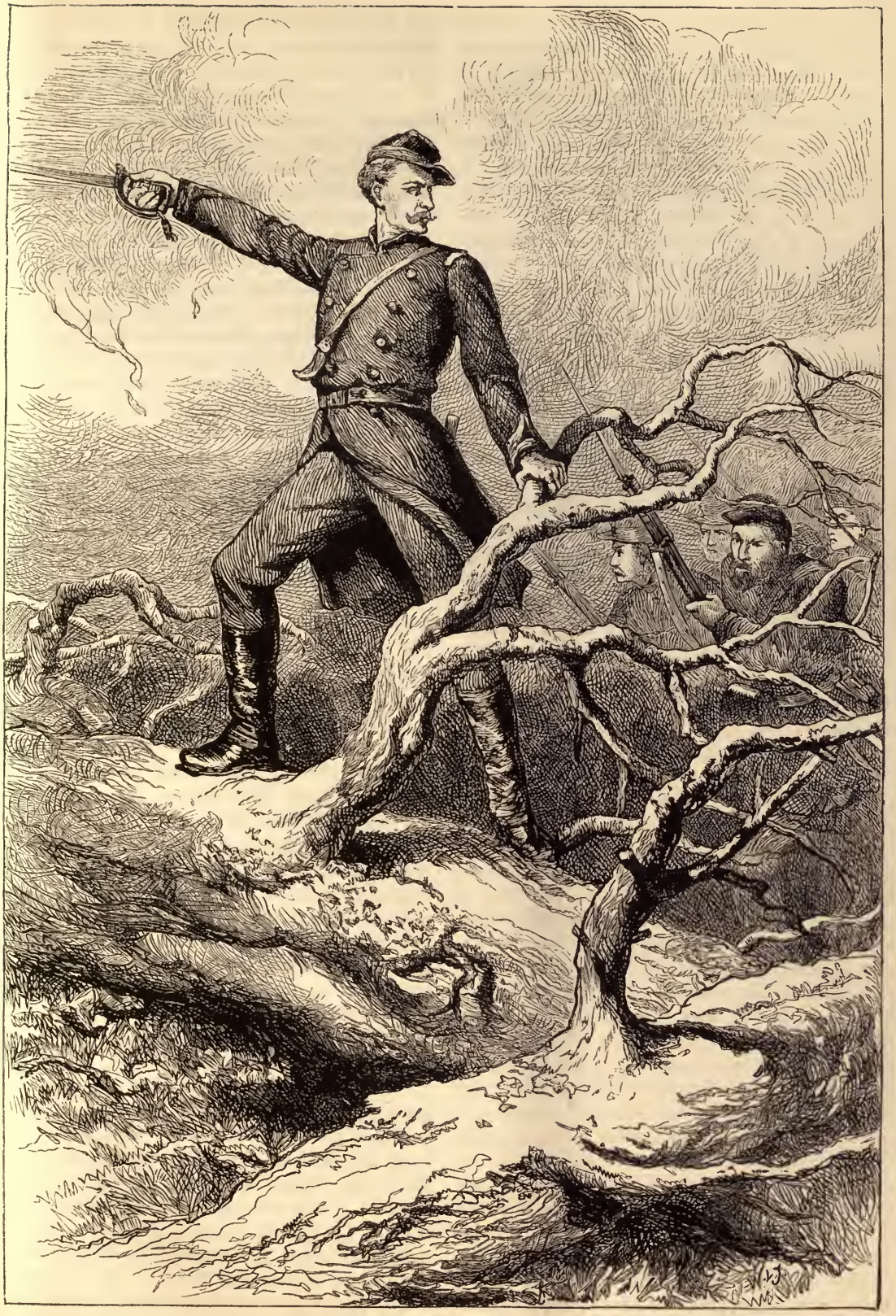
The Capitol at Washington was by this time changed into a great citadel. Troops occupied the legislative halls, the rotunda, and other chambers; the basement galleries were converted into storerooms for the army; and the vaults under the terrace on the western front of the edifice were used as ovens, where sixteen thousand loaves were baked every day. Before the summer had fairly set in, the Federal capital had been protected by a line of fortifications and entrenchments, distributed along the neighbouring heights on the Virginian side of the Potomac, and presenting a formidable front to any hostile force coming from that direction. Major-General McDowell, an officer of the regular army, was placed in command of the troops on the south side of the river, and the greater portion of the district recently under the orders of General Butler was transferred to him. The Northern forces had now reached a total of about 95,000 men, divided into eight distinct bodies, which were stationed in various parts of the country. Several of the men, however, were not yet armed, and but few of the regiments had acquired anything like efficient discipline. The chief rallying-place of the Confederate army was at Manassas Junction, situated on the Orange and Alexandria Railway, about twenty-five miles west from the city of Alexandria, and thirty in a direct line from Washington. The position was important, as commanding the great Southern railway-route which connects Washington and Richmond, and also another line leading to the valley of the Shenandoah, beyond the Blue Ridge. General Butler had at an early period recommended the occupation of that locality; but Scott, whose measures at this time were marked by the extreme caution of age, took a different view, and the result was that the Confederates, acting with greater enterprise, seized the position, which they found of service as a menace against the Federal capital.

A few unimportant collisions occurred, in the latter days of May and at the beginning of June, between Federal vessels and the Confederate batteries at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, at Acquia Creek (on the Potomac), and near the outfall of the Rappahannock. The first regular action between the forces of the two Governments took place on the 1st of June, when a small body of Federal cavalry made a dash into the village of Fairfax Court House, Virginia, and, after a brisk skirmish with a few detachments of the enemy's horse, returned with five prisoners. This, however, was a very trifling matter; but events of importance

were occurring in Western Virginia. That portion of the Old Dominion, comprising a mountain region of considerable extent, did not sympathise with those movements which had placed the native land of Washington in a position of rebellion towards the Government of which he had been the principal founder. The majority of the people were staunch Unionists, and meetings were held in several towns to express attachment to the old flag. A convention assembled on the 13th of May at Wheeling, and, the deposition of the existing State Governments having been pronounced, it was proposed that the loyal counties should be formed into an independent State. These proceedings so alarmed Governor Letcher and the leading Secessionists that Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of some State troops at Grafton, was ordered to proceed to Wheeling by rail without delay, seize the weapons that had recently been sent there by the Federal Secretary of War, and use them in arming such men as might rally to his camp. In short, he was to do his best to crush out the movement; for the Confederates, who so vehemently asserted the right of any State to secede from the Union whenever it pleased, would not admit the right of a district to secede from the State to which it had previously been attached.

A second convention of the people of Western Virginia was opened at Wheeling on the 11th of June, and it was ultimately resolved to form a Provisional Government, and to create a separate and distinct State from the rest of Virginia. Mr. Francis H. Pierpont was appointed temporary Governor, with an Executive Council of five members; two citizens were chosen to represent the State in Congress; the ordinance creating the new commonwealth was submitted to the people on the 24th of October, and confirmed by an almost unanimous vote; a constitution excluding slavery was ratified by the electors on the 3rd of May, 1862; and Western Virginia was admitted into the Union on the 3rd of June, 1863, in accordance with an Act of Congress approved by President Lincoln on the last day of the previous year. At the commencement of their opposition to the Secessionists of the eastern counties, the Western Virginians were threatened by Confederate vengeance; but the danger soon passed. Colonel Porterfield, unable to carry out the orders of the Southern Government, removed to Philippi, a small town on the Monongahela, twenty miles south of Grafton, and in the opposite direction to Wheeling. Here he was attacked, early on the morning of the 3rd of June, by a body of Federal troops, who, falling with great suddenness on their adversaries, drove them across the river. The loss on both sides was small; but Colonel Porterfield was removed from his command in consequence of this disaster, and General Garnett was appointed in his place as commander of the Confederate troops in Western Virginia. At a subsequent period, Colonel Porterfield was acquitted of all blame, and doubtless he had done the most he could with the small means at his disposal. His defeat, however, damaged the Confederate cause in that part of Virginia, and the interest of the war now turned eastwards.

The situation of Butler at Fortress Monroe was important. Monroe is the greatest military work in the United States. It is reared on a peninsula called Old Point Comfort, situated at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. The building was commenced in 1819, during the Presidentship of Mr. Monroe, after whom it was named. Its walls, which are faced with heavy blocks of granite, are thirty-five feet in thickness, with casemates below. A moat compasses the whole; but the peninsula is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus of sand, and a bridge leading in the direction of the village of Hampton. The fortress was in 1861 armed with nearly four hundred cannon, and, previous to the arrival of General Butler, was held by Colonel Dimick, of the regular army. Shortly after Butler had taken the command, some negroes, who had escaped from the Confederate lines, found refuge in the fortress. On a requisition being made for their return, Butler replied that he should retain them as "contraband of war;" and from that time forward all fugitive slaves were regarded as such by the Federal authorities. The negroes were undoubtedly used by their masters in constructing fortifications, throwing up earthworks, and other operations intended to facilitate the military action of the Confederates; but whether they could in strict law be brought within the designation now affixed to them (which has always been held to refer to the action of neutrals, not of belligerents), may be questioned. The bold step taken by General Butler, however, had some very marked results. It led to a general recognition of the black man as the possessor of rights which the Federal Government could not afford to deny; and it may be regarded as the first stage in the emancipation of the African in those Southern States where he had so long been enslaved. The principle of emancipation had not yet been proclaimed by the Federal Government; but it was impossible, considering the position of that Government towards the Confederacy, or rather the position of the Confederacy towards the Union, that escaped negroes could be returned to their exasperated masters.



CAPTAIN WINTHROP AT BIG BETHEL.

After fortifying Newport News—a point of land at the junction of the James River and Hampton Roads—Butler formed a design of attacking a Confederate force which had been stationed at Big Bethel, about fifteen miles off, on the road to Yorktown. This force was the advanced post of a rather considerable array of Southern troops under the command of Colonel Magruder, formerly an artillery officer in the United States Army. The main body was at Yorktown, whence expeditions were frequently sent out, with the object of harassing the Federal army in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe. From observations made by Captain Winthrop, Butler's military secretary, it became evident that Magruder was preparing to seize Newport News and Hampton, so that he might confine the Federal commander to the fortress which he had made his head-quarters. It was therefore resolved to take the initiative. The Confederate detachment at Big Bethel consisted of eight hundred North Carolina Volunteers, and three hundred and sixty Virginians, with a battery of five howitzers and one Parrott rifle-gun. Some slight field-works had been erected, and the position was naturally strong, owing to the surrounding forest, and the presence of some swampy ground which protected the Confederate flanks. In front, at a place called Little Bethel, was a small picket of cavalry; and the whole detachment was under the command of Colonel D. H. Hill. The attacking force sent forward by General Butler was composed of four regiments, under the direction of General Peirce. These started on the night of June 9th, and their plan of operations, which had been partly formed by Captain Winthrop, was to send two regiments directly to the front, along the Fortress Monroe and Yorktown roads, while the other two were to endeavour to outflank the enemy. An unfortunate blunder deranged the execution of this scheme. The supporting regiments, coming within sight of each other in the obscurity of the early morning, mutually mistook their forces for those of the enemy, and at once opened fire. A few men were killed, and many more wounded, by this lamentable mischance, and the mischief did not end there. Up to that point the plan had been well carried out; but one error now led to another. The advanced guard, hearing the firing, and supposing that the enemy had got into their rear, fell back upon their supports; and by the time the mistake was discovered, and the forward march resumed, all hope of surprising the enemy was at an end. The cavalry at Little Bethel had pressed on to Big Bethel, and nothing remained but to make a direct attack upon the latter position, in the hope of carrying the works at the point of the bayonet. Big Bethel was reached by ten o'clock in the morning. To take an entrenched position is a trying task even for well-seasoned troops: for raw and undisciplined volunteers it is almost an impossibility. The men were led up to the charge, but failed to make any way. Though supported by artillery, the Federal regiments flinched before the Confederate batteries. What was wanting on their part was not courage—for they remained in the field two hours and a half, making scattered and desultory attacks—but coolness, knowledge, and concentration. Their losses were severe, and during the engagement two additional regiments from Fortress Monroe arrived on the spot, while four others were held in readiness to march to the front. On the right of the attacking force, the Vermont companies distinguished themselves by great perseverance, gaining a position in the rear of the enemy, and silencing one of his batteries. One of these companies was commanded by Captain Winthrop, whose heroism elicited praise even from the Confederates, though they were not usually forward in allowing merit to their adversaries. Leaping on a log of wood, Winthrop waved his sword, and called out to his men that with one charge the day would be theirs: the next moment he was shot through the body, and his company fled in sudden dismay. He was descended from the illustrious founder of Massachusetts, and had himself obtained some celebrity as an author. About half-past twelve o'clock in the middle of the day, the Federal commander withdrew his troops. Their retreat has been described by their opponents as a rout. Doubtless it was somewhat precipitate; but statements of this nature must be received with allowance when coming from those who have a motive for depreciation. The Confederates boasted much of their own valour at Big Bethel, and were unsparing in their denunciations of the cowardice, as they described it, exhibited by the Union troops. It must always be recollected, however, that it is one thing to hold a fortified position, and quite another thing to attack it.

The popularity of Butler, which had been very great up to the time of this reverse, now rapidly declined, and he was charged with more blame than was his due. In a different direction, however, the Federal arms were attended by some success. A detachment of Indiana Zouaves, commanded by Colonel Wallace, attacked a body of insurgent troops at Romney, in the county of Hampshire, North-west Virginia, on the 11th of June. Starting from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, Colonel Wallace and his men followed

a mountain road leading to Romney, which was thirty-three miles off. They marched overnight, and did not reach their place of destination until eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th. The Confederate camp was situated on a bluff near the village, and was protected by a battery of field-pieces. The main body was alarmed by mounted pickets, who had descried the advance of the assailants; but the Federals dashed across a bridge which there spans the south branch of the Potomac, and by a rapid and vigorous movement captured the battery, the defenders of which fled into the neighbouring forest. Being unable to pursue his adversary, and fearing lest he should be cut off, Wallace at once returned to Cumberland, satisfied with the success he had achieved. The action was not much in itself, but it helped to bring about important changes. The Confederate commander, General Johnston, became alarmed for his communications, and, conceiving himself to be menaced by a large force, evacuated Harper's Ferry, and moved up the Shenandoah Valley to a point nearer Winchester.

There were other circumstances which conduced to the same end. It had been determined by the Federal authorities to send a body of troops up the valley of the Shenandoah, in conjunction with a movement of General McClellan from the neighbourhood of Grafton. Nothing was more necessary to the protection of Washington than that the Confederates should be driven from Harper's Ferry, their possession of which would at any time enable them to execute a flank attack on the capital. To effect this purpose, an army of 20,000 men, under the command of General Patterson, was pushed forward from its camp in the neighbourhood of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, to Greencastle and Gettysburg; and at the same time troops were marched up the north bank of the Potomac to Rockville. These movements alone might have rendered it prudent for General Johnston to withdraw to some safer locality; but it was the spirited raid of Colonel Wallace in the direction of Romney which finally determined him. His force was not more than 7,000 in number, and he feared being overwhelmed by the gathering hosts of the enemy. He therefore began his retreat on the 16th of June, but, before doing so, took measures to embarrass any contemplated pursuit. The railway and canal near the ferry he blocked up by blasting the overhanging rocks. He destroyed the great bridge on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway by blowing it up. Whatever guns he could not take with him he spiked; and, having burned another bridge a few miles higher up the Potomac, he marched along the valley, and encamped for a time near Charleston. General Patterson immediately afterwards crossed from Maryland into Virginia; but he had no sooner done so than his movements were embarrassed by a demand from General Scott to send him all the troops he could spare for the defence of Washington. The consequence was that Patterson was left with so small a force that he found it necessary to withdraw them at once across the Potomac. The explanation of this untoward event is, that there had been a panic at the capital. Immense Confederate forces were believed to be at Manassas. The Confederates there had in truth been placed under the vigorous control of General Beauregard, and it was feared that an attempt would be made on Washington before Congress could meet on the 4th of July. The danger was probably exaggerated, but it was not wholly imaginary. A plot for blowing up the Capitol, between the 4th and 6th of July, when both Houses would be in session, is believed to have existed; and it is at least certain that Washington swarmed with Secessionist sympathisers, who were ready to abet any treason that might be plotted from without. Still, the forward movement of General Patterson had had the effect of driving Johnston to a more remote position, and on the withdrawal of his adversary he made no attempt to re-occupy Harper's Ferry. He established his head-quarters at Winchester, and entrusted the task of watching the Potomac to Colonel Jackson (the officer afterwards known as "Stonewall" Jackson, one of the most heroic of the Southerners), in combination with the cavalry under the command of Colonel Stewart. On the 2nd of July, General Patterson's force again crossed the Potomac, and occupied Harper's Ferry. Shortly afterwards, Johnston moved his army to the relief of Beauregard at Manassas, and nothing of importance took place between himself and Patterson.

Attention was now directed to the operations of General McClellan, who had for some time been in command of the military district which included Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Western Virginia. This officer was a soldier by education, and, as we have mentioned, was joint-commissioner with Lee to report on the warlike operations in the Crimea. Retiring from the service after that date, he had been employed as manager of the Illinois Central Railway, but had resumed his original profession on the outbreak of the civil war. Having by midsummer organised a force of 15,000 soldiers, principally recruited in the Western States, he advanced against the Confederate troops in Western Virginia. These did not count more than 6,000 men, with a

small proportion of cavalry and artillery; the whole under the command of General Garnett. The country occupied by the Southern commander was well-adapted to defensive operations, being traversed by the main body of the Alleghanies, and by several minor ridges running in the same direction, which is from the north-east to the south-west. In the passes between these precipitous hills, a number of rapid streams course towards the larger rivers into which they empty themselves. The western slopes of the Alleghanies are covered with dense forests, abounding in game and in wild animals; and the whole region, though threaded by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, was in 1861 so savage and unreclaimed that for many miles no sign of human habitation was to be seen, and bears, wolves, and panthers enjoyed their freedom undisturbed.

General Garnett—an officer of experience and talent—took up his position on an eminence called Laurel Hill, situated west of the chief line of the Alleghanies, and covering the high-road leading from Philippi to Beverley. He threw forward a detachment under Colonel Pegram, which was to station itself upon an isolated and forest-clad hill named Rich Mountain, a few miles south of Laurel Hill, from which it is separated by woody country and a creek. The colonel was in possession of a force numbering from 1,600 to 2,000, and his duty was to obtain a command over the road leading in a north-westerly direction from Beverley to Weston. Against these positions General McClellan advanced from the north, and on the 11th of July halted at a short distance from Rich Mountain. Fighting, however, did not commence until the following day, when, at an early hour in the morning, four regiments, commanded by Colonel Rosecrans, were sent forward by a circuitous path through the woods, to turn the left of Colonel Pegram's position. Under a drenching rain, they climbed the steep side of the mountain, winding through the shadows of overhanging foliage, and, undeterred by a heavy fire which was opened on them as they neared the summit, but which took very little effect, except on the tops of the high trees, completely routed the defenders, and drove them down the opposite side of the acclivity. All this while, McClellan himself, with the main body, was in front of the position; but no occasion arose for his immediate services. Pushing on towards the east, Rosecrans arrived within three miles of Beverley, in which direction General Garnett, who abandoned Laurel Hill on finding his position turned, had himself proceeded, until, discovering the perilous proximity of the enemy, he struck northward through the mountains, in hope of gaining St. George, on the Cheat River. Colonel Pegram had by this time surrendered, with six hundred of his men; the remainder joined their comrades under Garnett, who was actively pursued by General Morris. The line of retreat was rendered difficult by rocks, thickly-intertangled woods, and streams swollen by the summer rains. Here and there, in narrow gorges, the fugitives had cut down large trees, and turned over great boulders of stone, with a view to baffling their pursuers; but the forces of General Morris dashed on through every obstruction, occasionally engaged with the rear-guard of the enemy, and at other times tracking their foes by the knapsacks, camp-equipages, and abandoned waggons which they had left behind them in their headlong flight. McClellan had given orders for intercepting the retreating columns; but Morris overtook the Confederate General on the 13th of July at Carrick's Ford, on the Cheat, and inflicted on him a severe reverse. While exposing himself with great courage, Garnett was shot dead, and the shattered remnants of the army were conducted by Colonel Taliaferro to Monterey, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, where they arrived in a state of the utmost destitution and fatigue.

The campaign had been a great success. With the loss of only fifty men, McClellan had routed and dispersed the forces of his opponent, had taken nearly 1,000 troops, and had captured seven guns, fifteen hundred stand of arms, twelve colours, and the greater part of the equipments and baggage of the Confederate camp. After the defeat of his adversary, the Federal commander, who affected a Napoleonic style of communicating with his troops, issued an address from Beverley, dated July 19th, in which he said:—"Soldiers of the Army of the West! I am more than satisfied with you. You have annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, entrenched in mountain fastnesses, and fortified at their leisure. . . . . You have proved that Union men, fighting for the preservation of our Government, are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. More than this, you have shown mercy to the vanquished. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely on your endurance, patriotism, and courage . . . . . Soldiers! I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage. I am proud to say that you have gained the highest reward that American troops can receive—the thanks

of Congress and the applause of your fellow-citizens." McClellan was disposed to take a very sanguine view of the existing situation. He gave it as his opinion that Secession was killed in that part of the country; but this proved not to be the case. The Confederates rallied after awhile, and, on General Lee being appointed to the post lately occupied by Garnett, a series of vigorous operations took place on the western side of the mountains. Yet the results obtained by the Federals were really important. The army of General Garnett was for the time disorganised, broken up, and crest-fallen. General Wise, who early in June had advanced as far as Charleston, on the Kanawha, and who had had a few unimportant skirmishes with General Cox, was so disconcerted on hearing of the defeat of his comrades that he retired to Lewisburg, at the foot of the Alleghanies. This allowed the Federals to extend their line from the river Ohio to the great mountain chain; and even on the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies various positions were taken up by the conquerors. The disaster which had befallen the Confederates has been described by one of their own chroniclers as an instance, often repeated, of "the improvident spirit of the South in placing small forces in isolated localities," which "the quick strategic movements and the overwhelming numbers of the North" enabled the Federal commanders to turn to good account.* The Union had certainly made a fortunate commencement of the war, and a fortunate conclusion lay before it; but between those two extremes many signal disasters were to be endured and overcome.

On the 22nd of July, General McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was succeeded in his former post by General Rosecrans. The war had not yet sufficiently advanced for the chief actors to have taken their definite places, or to have given unequivocal proofs of their ability or incompetence. A number of incapables had got into positions of command on both sides, and it was long ere they were completely weeded out; but in July, 1861, the chaff was hardly known from the corn. At that date, the most conspicuous men on the Northern side (exclusive of the Commander-in-Chief, General Scott, whose administration was not very vigorous or happy) were McClellan and Butler—the one a soldier by profession, the other an amateur. On the Southern side, Beauregard and Lee seemed to hold forth the greatest promise. Other men, as yet unknown, or scarcely known, were to acquire distinction in the coming campaigns; but the four we have mentioned acted important parts from an early period. Nothing is more remarkable than the military genius developed by the American people during the great civil war of 1861–5. The fact is sometimes obscured in the estimation of English observers by the gross blunders and disastrous mismanagement of some of the Generals first appointed by the North. It should be remembered that the North was left, at the very commencement of the struggle, with comparatively few educated officers. By far the greater number of those who graduated at the Military Academy at West Point, and continued in actual service, were Southern men; and these, with comparatively few exceptions, although trained at the expense of the nation, and bound to loyalty by the most solemn oaths, at once joined the Southern forces. But the latter days of the struggle brought out on both sides no slight degree of courage, skill and aptitude. A pacific people, mainly engaged in trade, agriculture, and manufactures, and not called on to encounter powerful enemies abroad, might seem the most unlikely in the world to display the virtues or the faculties of the soldier; yet in the long run America was not found wanting. Dr. Johnson, commenting on the lack of spirit exhibited by City merchants and shopkeepers during the riots of 1780, said that such cowardice was the result of commercial habits. But the military genius, however much held in check for a time, has never been absent, when really required, from any people who are at once free and worthy of their freedom; and this truth was plainly manifested by the events occurring in America at the period with which we are now concerned.

* Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 3.

ON THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILWAY.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Opening of the Extraordinary Session of Congress (July 4th, 1861)—Mr. Lincoln on the Position of the Republic—The Law with respect to the Suspension of *Habeas Corpus*—Proposals of Mr. Lincoln for meeting the Crisis—Reports of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy—Condition of the Army and Navy—Estimates for the Year—Additional Taxation and Loan—Legislation in the House of Representatives and Senate—Ineffectual Attempts to bring about Conciliatory Measures—Joint Resolution proposed by Mr. J. J. Crittenden—Opinion in Foreign Countries with regard to the American Civil War—Division of Sentiment in England—The Governing Classes in Favour of the South—Mr. Charles Francis Adams sent as American Minister to Great Britain—The Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality—Debates in Parliament—Action of France—Mr. Seward's Instructions to Mr. Adams—Effect of the English Policy in granting Belligerent Rights to the South—Financial Measures of the Confederation—Issue of Paper Money—Mr. Alexander H. Stephens on the Prospects of the Slave Republic—Removal of the Confederate Capital to Richmond, Virginia—Speech of Jefferson Davis, and Proclamation of General Beauregard—Proceedings of the Federal General, Banks, in Maryland—The Confederate Privateers and the Law of Piracy—Increase of the Federal Navy—The Opposing Armies on the Line of the Potomac—The Bridges leading to Washington—Popular Demand for an Immediate Advance against the Confederates—Want of Sufficient Preparation—Infirmities of General Scott—The Eve of a Disaster.

CONGRESS assembled in extraordinary session, in compliance with the summons of President Lincoln, on the 4th of July. The gathering of senators and representatives was much reduced by the defection of the seceding States; but the spirit of those who remained was equal to the task that lay before them. Mr. Lincoln, in the Message which he submitted to the two Houses, reviewed the situation with hopeful reliance, and placed clearly before the country the great issues that had been raised by the action of the South. Could a Constitutional Republic or Democracy maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes, or could it not? Was there in all Republics the inherent and fatal weakness of being unable to defend their life? "Must a Government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" Such were the points submitted to the national council by the Chief Magistrate of the United States. One of the principal topics of the Message was the suspension of the right of *habeas corpus*. The question had of late caused much discussion, and the action of the Government had been seriously impugned. Chief

Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court, had ruled that the President, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, could not suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus*, nor authorise any military officer to do so; that a military officer had no right to arrest and detain a person, or make him liable to

GENERAL ROBERT EDMUND LEE.

the rules and articles of war, for an offence against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority, and subject to its control; and that, in the case of a person arrested by the military, it was the duty of the officer to deliver him over immediately to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to law. These *dicta* of Chief Justice Taney were disputed by other legal authorities, and Mr. Lincoln justified what had recently been done by the stern necessity of the times. "Are all the laws but one," he asked, alluding to the rebellious proceedings of nearly one-third of the States, "to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?" But he contended that no law had been violated. The Constitution provides that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." The state of rebellion existed, and therefore the privilege might lawfully be suspended. Still, the question remained as to who possessed this suspensory power. It was contended by some that the right lay with Congress, and not with the Executive. But the Constitution itself is silent on the point, and to the President it seemed reasonable to suppose that, as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, the framers of the instrument could not have intended that in every

case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together, which might sometimes be prevented by the very condition which the suspension of the privilege was designed to restrain.

Respecting the war-power of the Union, Mr. Lincoln recommended that Congress should grant the legal means to make the existing contest a short and decisive one, by placing at the disposal of the Government at least 400,000 men and 400,000,000 dollars. That number of men, he remarked, was about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where all seemed willing to engage; and the sum was less than a twenty-third part of the money-value owned by men who appeared ready to devote the whole. The reports of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, sent to Congress simultaneously with the Presidential Message, gave a complete view of the military and naval forces of the country as they then were. Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, alluded to the enthusiasm of the Northern people in taking up arms for the Union, and observed that "the Government presented the striking anomaly of being embarrassed by the generous outpouring of volunteers to sustain its action." Instead of being compelled to resort to forced conscriptions, as monarchical countries often were, "one of its main difficulties was to keep down the proportions of the army, and to prevent it from swelling beyond the actual force required." The total force in the field was computed at 230,000, after subtracting 80,000 men who had only enlisted for three months, then on the eve of expiring. The regular army had been increased by a regiment of twelve companies of cavalry, numbering 1,189 officers and men; a regiment of artillery of twelve batteries, having six pieces each, numbering 1,909 officers and men; and nine regiments of infantry, each regiment containing three battalions, with a total of 2,452 officers and men. The maximum increase of the regular infantry was rather more than 22,000 men. The report recommended that the enlistment for the regular army should be limited for three years; that at its termination a bounty of one hundred dollars should be granted to each man; and that the organisation of the army should be assimilated to that of the French. Those were days in which the French military system was considered supreme in excellence—an opinion which the brilliant successes of the Imperial troops in the Crimea, Italy, and elsewhere, had done much to justify, and which had not yet been contradicted by the almost unparalleled disasters of the war with Germany, nor even by the petty failures and humiliations of the campaigns in Mexico. As regarded the selection of officers for the new regiments, it had been determined, under the advice of the General-in-Chief (Scott), to appoint one half of them from the regular army, and the other half from civil life. Those appointed to the higher ranks were to be either graduates of West Point, or men who had previously served with distinction; and deserving non-commissioned officers were also to be promoted. Mr. Cameron added several suggestions for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the army, and for the efficient conduct of its operations in the field. To ensure a due supply of arms, the number of workmen at the Government manufactory at Springfield had been doubled, and weapons had been purchased from private manufacturers and from Europe. Arrangements had likewise been made for buying rifled cannon, and for rifling the smooth-bored ordnance.

From the report of Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, it appeared that the total number of vessels forming the naval force of the United States on the 4th of March was ninety, carrying, or designed to carry, about 2,415 guns; but the majority of these were on the stocks, employed as stationary store-ships, in ordinary, dismasted, or otherwise placed out of the category of available vessels. There was only one ship of the line, and that was not in commission. The ships which could at once be turned to account were—two frigates, of 100 guns; eleven sloops, of 232 guns; three store-ships, of 7 guns; one screw-frigate, of 12 guns; five first-class steam-sloops, of 90 guns; three side-wheel steamers, of 35 guns; eight second-class steam-sloops, of 45 guns; five third-class screw-steamers, of 28 guns; three side-wheel steamers, of 5 guns; and one steam-tender, of 1 gun. This gave a total of forty-two vessels, and five hundred and fifty-five guns. The vessels had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7,600 men, nearly all of whom were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of twelve vessels carrying 187 guns, and about 2,000 men. Of the officers, 259 had either resigned, or been dismissed the service, since the inauguration of President Lincoln; and among these were Captain Buchanan, Superintendent of the Washington Navy Yard, and Lieutenant Maury, of the Observatory, whose reputation as a man of science extended far beyond America. The destruction of the Gosport Navy Yard still further reduced the number of the national vessels; but in a little while additions were made, to the extent of twelve steamers (purchased), carrying from two to three guns each, three sailing-vessels, and nine other steamers (chartered), carrying from two to nine guns each. Several small craft were also taken for a time into

the service of the Government. Ships were recalled from foreign stations, and the vessels employed in the blockade of the Southern States were divided into two squadrons, called the squadron of the Atlantic coast, and the squadron of the Gulf; the first consisting of twenty-two and the latter of twenty-one vessels. The steamers *Pawnee* and *Pocahontas*, and the flotilla of small steamboats employed on the Potomac, had rendered good service in isolating that part of Virginia which was then rebellious, in intercepting supplies, and in protecting transports in their passage up and down the river. The vessels added to the navy had been manned with remarkable celerity; and, although the fleet had never before experienced so great and rapid an increase, seamen had come forward with alacrity and zeal to fulfil the requirements of the country. Mr. Welles did not allow the subject of iron-clad steamers or floating batteries—then beginning to attract considerable attention—to escape his notice. He had very little to relate on this head; but he suggested the appointment of a competent board, to inquire into and report upon the whole subject.

The estimates for the Army and Navy, during the financial year then commencing, were 185,296,397 dollars, and 30,609,520 dollars, respectively. Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, accordingly asked Congress for 240,000,000 dollars for war purposes, and 80,000,000 for ordinary expenses; and he proposed to meet this heavy outlay by levying increased duties on various articles, by the direct taxation of real and personal property, and, as regarded the war expenditure, by a national loan of not less than 100,000,000 dollars, to be issued in the form of Treasury notes, bearing an annual interest of seven and three-tenths per cent., or one cent a day on fifty dollars, in sums varying from fifty to five thousand dollars. The Bill embodying these suggestions encountered much verbal opposition in the House of Representatives, and a warm debate took place on the 10th of July upon the subject of the loan. On that occasion, Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, made a speech against the Bill, and violently impeached the President for the various measures of coercion which he had considered it necessary to carry into effect. In spite of all opposition, however, the Loan Bill, enabling the Government to borrow 250,000,000 dollars, passed the Lower House by 150 votes to 5; and three of the minority, including Vallandigham, went over to the rebels after the close of the session. On the following day (the 11th), an Army Appropriation Bill was passed, though not without a long debate in which Mr. Vallandigham moved to add a proviso that no part of the money should be employed in subjugating, or holding as a conquered province, any sovereign State then or recently one of the United States, nor in abolishing or interfering with African slavery in any of the States. This proviso was rejected, for the slave-holding interest no longer predominated in the House, now that the Southern members had withdrawn. Two days before Mr. Vallandigham's motion, a resolution had been adopted, declaring it to be no part of the duty of United States soldiers to capture and return fugitive slaves. But the member for Ohio was not easily disconcerted. A Bill providing for the calling out of half a million of men having been introduced on the 13th of July, that gentleman submitted a proviso that the President, before he should have the right to summon any more troops to the field, should appoint seven commissioners, who should accompany the army in its marches, with authority to receive from Jefferson Davis proposals looking to an armistice, or obedience to the Federal Government. Of course the suggestions were negatived; but several other proposals were brought forward (though without effect), having for their object the negotiation of some compromise with the South, which could only have meant a concession to the rebels of pretty nearly all they had from the first demanded.

The Senate, which, very shortly after the day of assembling, expelled those rebellious members who had practically expelled themselves some time before, supported in all respects the war policy of the Government and of the House of Representatives. In the Upper as in the Lower Chamber, attempts were made to conciliate the seceding States; but all such advances were out of harmony with the feelings of the time. Motions of a contrary character were much more successful, especially one by Mr. John J. Crittenden, who was now a member of the House of Representatives, but who on the 9th of July brought forward a joint resolution of both branches of the Legislature, declaring that the existing civil war had been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, then in revolt against the Government, and in arms around the capital; that Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, would recollect only its duty to the country; that the war was not waged, on their part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor with a view to overthrowing or interfering with the rights and established institutions of the rebellious States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the

dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that, as soon as those objects were accomplished, the war ought to cease. The joint resolution, after being fully debated by both Houses, was adopted by large majorities. It offered ample satisfaction to all the legitimate demands of the South, but at the same time affirmed in the most emphatic manner the supremacy of the Union over its component parts. This it was which ensured its success, and stamped it as a true interpretation of what was felt throughout the country.

Attention was now directed in America towards the action of foreign Governments in respect to the existing state of affairs. In many of the great European capitals, an opinion adverse to the United States had been formed during the early days of Secession. The Confederate States had sent agents to the old world very shortly after their organisation, and these ministers had done their utmost to create a wide-spread conviction that the Government of the Union was irremediably shattered, and that the new political league was destined to take its place, or at any rate to confine it within very paltry limits. Unfortunately, there was a readiness in many directions to adopt this view. The United States had never been loved by the old monarchical Governments of Europe. The France of the Bourbons had certainly helped to establish the Republic of the West; but it was out of no regard for the political principles which that Republic embodied. Jealousy of American independence and power was exhibited by France even before peace had been concluded between the colonies and Great Britain; and when the real object of aiding the former—namely, the desire of injuring the latter—had been accomplished, France ceased to take any interest in the nation it had assisted into life. In 1861 there were few European Governments which cherished towards the United States anything but a feeling of dislike and suspicion. The only direct and cordial expression of sympathy with them in their troubles came from Russia, between which Power and America there has long existed, as we have previously had occasion to remark, a degree of friendliness not easy to explain. In England there was a large and growing body which looked towards America as the great example of political well-being; but the most influential classes had no faith in the permanence of American institutions, no desire that they should prosper, no belief in their exercising any but a disastrous influence on the world. The prevalence of this feeling in all the great centres of government added another to the many difficulties which the American people were now called on to encounter. The support of England, or at least the sympathy of her people, was what the Americans naturally desired more than anything else. It was one of the great disappointments of the time that they received it in somewhat stinted measure. When South Carolina seceded, it was thought in England that the difficulty would be speedily arranged, or the sedition peremptorily trampled out. When another State, and yet another, followed in the same course, political observers began to look grave. When a new union of sovereign States was formed, it was hastily concluded that the American experiment of Democratic institutions had entirely collapsed. All the Toryism in the nation, all the official Whiggism, all the half-hearted Liberalism—all the old feeling of jealousy and irritation transmitted from the days of former contest and defeat—combined in the formation of a spirit of antagonism towards America, which did little credit to England, and in the end little permanent harm to the United States, but which in the meanwhile perplexed, embarrassed, and exasperated men who were already involved in a mortal encounter with their more immediate brethren. Until the years of the American civil war, no man knew how large an amount of inveterate Toryism still lingered in the very heart of English society. The bitter animosity towards the North—the frantic eagerness with which the Southern States were cheered in their efforts to establish a Government avowedly based on the corner-stone of human bondage—have never been surpassed, and perhaps never equalled, in the manifestations of political emotion. Men were even found to excuse and palliate the institution of slavery; and those who dared not go so far, openly, worked by secret insinuation towards the same result. Had Clarkson and Wilberforce been permitted to return from their graves, they would hardly have known the England of that time, so changed were its aspirations from the England of their own. Doubtless there were many who thought differently. Politicians like Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—journals like the *Daily News* and the *Morning Star*—the working-classes, and the genuine section of the Liberal party—kept the national life from corruption, and the name of England from being profaned by active association with the worst of causes. But the aristocracy, with very few exceptions, and the middle class, save in a small minority, took the most decided stand against the United States. This feeling did not declare itself in all its fulness from the first; but it gathered strength with time, and showed in many ways that it was a feeling not superficial, but

profound. That the Confederate States were not acknowledged by the British Government, was mainly due to the better feeling of the nation, expressed against tremendous odds.

At this date, the American Minister in England was Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a son of John Quincy Adams, and a grandson of the great man who had acted so prominent a part in the creation of the Republic. Both father and grandfather had filled the same post as Minister to the Court of St. James, and the country could not have had a more dignified representative than it possessed in the immediate successor to Mr. Dallas. Among the negotiations with which he was entrusted, was a proposal to the British Government with reference to privateering, on the basis of the declarations of the Congress of Paris in 1856, with an additional agreement that should secure from seizure on the high seas, under all circumstances, private property not contraband of war. Immediately on his arrival in England, Mr. Adams found that the British Government had determined on an important step, which, although not amounting to a recognition of the Confederate States, placed them in an exceptionally favourable position. The Queen issued a Proclamation of Neutrality, by which belligerent rights were conferred on the insurgents. The preamble to this proclamation stated that "Whereas hostilities have unhappily commenced between the Government of the United States of America and certain States styling themselves the Confederate States of America, and whereas we, being at peace with the Government of the United States, have declared our Royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the said contending parties," it had been resolved, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, to publish the proclamation. The provisions of an Act passed in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of George III., to prevent the enlisting or engagement of British subjects to serve foreign Governments, and the fitting out or equipping of vessels for warlike purposes, without a licence from the Sovereign, were then quoted at great length; and the proclamation concluded with a warning against the commission of any of the acts forbidden in that statute, the general nature of which acts was to assist either belligerent in his proceedings against the other.

The position of England towards the contending States was made the subject of several debates in the British Parliament. A motion with a view to recognising the independence of the Confederate States was brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Gregory early in May, and the same honourable gentleman, on the 6th of that month, put a question to Lord John Russell, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with reference to belligerent rights. It was then officially stated that the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Queen's Advocate, and the Government collectively, had come to the opinion that the Southern Confederacy must be treated as a belligerent. The Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality, which was dated the 13th of May, appeared in the *London Gazette* on the 14th; and shortly afterwards a debate took place in Parliament on the subject of blockades and privateering, in which a great deal of Secessionist sympathy found expression. An Order in Council of the 1st of June, however, prohibited the disposal of prizes in British ports. This was a serious blow against the system of privateering which the Confederate States had established. The British Government and that of the Emperor Napoleon had come to an understanding that they were to act in concert with respect to American affairs; and this prohibition, together with the principles of the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality, was speedily adopted by France. All the great European Powers forbade privateering during the American civil war, and the Government of the United States consented to its abolition at the Treaty of Washington in 1871.

In his letter of instructions to Mr. Adams, Mr. Seward had said:—"You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromise by this Government, under foreign auspices, with its discontented citizens. If, as the President does not at all apprehend, you shall unhappily find her Majesty's Government tolerating the application of the so-called Seceding States, or wavering about it, you will not leave them to suppose for a moment that they can grant that application, and remain the friends of the United States. You may even assure them promptly in that case that if they determine to recognise, they may at the same time prepare to enter into an alliance with, the enemies of this Republic. You alone will represent your country at London, and you will represent the whole of it there. When you are asked to divide that duty with others, diplomatic relations between the Government of Great Britain and this Government will be suspended, and will remain so until it shall be seen which of the two is most strongly entrenched in the confidence of their respective nations, and of mankind." The task of Mr. Adams was one of great difficulty. He found that the agents of the Southern States had already succeeded in influencing the minds of many British statesmen. Free-trade was offered as an inducement to the recognition of the

new Government, and the impolicy of the American Congress in passing the Morrill tariff was turned to the best advantage. The position of Mr. Adams, like that of the Power he represented, was rendered all the more embarrassing by the determination of the English Government to recognise the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent; and it has always been regarded by Americans as a manifestation of unfriendliness that that determination was formed and announced before the reception of Mr. Adams by the Queen—indeed, on the very day that he arrived in London (May 13th). An important act of policy, affecting the interests of the United States, was thus settled before it could be ascertained whether the Minister of that country would be able to give reasons why such a step would be unfair or impolitic. To confer on the Confederate States the position of a belligerent, was in some degree to recognise their existence as an independent Power; and this was an immense gain to the cause of Jefferson Davis. It took the Confederacy out of the category of rebels, and placed it in that of acknowledged nations. The privilege was one which the United States would never concede, for to do so would have been to annihilate the only justification for the war. If the Confederacy was a belligerent in the technical sense of the word, it was an independent nation; and as an independent nation there was no reason for attacking it. Only as a rebel could it fairly be made amenable to the law of force.

The Confederate States were in the meanwhile progressing in the assertion of those sovereign powers which they claimed to possess. Their Congress passed an Enlistment Act without any limitation as to time, and it was estimated that arms for a hundred and fifty thousand men could be furnished by the Confederacy. On the 16th of May, an Act was approved, authorising the issue of bonds for 50,000,000 dollars, at an annual interest not to exceed eight per cent., and payable in twenty years. This Act also conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury discretionary power to issue, in lieu of such bonds, 20,000,000 dollars in Treasury notes, not bearing interest, in denominations of not less than five dollars, to be receivable in payment of all debts or taxes due to the Confederacy, except the export duty on cotton, or in exchange for the bonds then authorised to be issued. The said notes were to be payable in specie at the end of two years from the date of their emission. In the course of a few months, the terms of redemption were changed. It was then declared on the notes that the bearer was to be paid in coin six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States. Hundreds of millions of dollars in these notes, and also in the form of bonds, were issued during the war, and the country was flooded with paper of the most problematical value. The Confederate States followed the example of the colonies in their war with the mother country, and indeed it was impossible for them to act otherwise. It was directed that the operations of the Mints at New Orleans and one of the Georgian cities should be suspended; for, as the Confederacy had determined to rely on a paper issue, it was not worth while to make new dies for coin, nor were the means for a metallic currency at all abundant. The Slave Power was in truth very much pushed for money in any shape, and the Government authorised a proceeding of signal dishonesty. A special Act of Congress, approved on the 21st of May, forbade the debtors to individuals or corporations in the Free Labour States to pay the money to their respective creditors pending the existing war. What made the iniquity of this arrangement even more flagrant was the fact that the Slave Labour States still remaining in the Union (viz., Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri), and the District of Columbia, were exempted from the operation of the Act. A great wrong was thus inflicted upon a large number of States, not even because they were hostile, but because they disapproved of slavery. The debtors to those States were authorised to pay the amount which they owed into the Treasury of the Confederate States, in specie or Treasury notes, and to receive for the same the Treasurer's certificate, which would be redeemable at the close of the war in specie or its equivalent. All honourable men in the Confederate States — and there were many — refrained from complying with this discreditable law, and the Secretary of the Treasury did not derive much assistance from his scheme.*

As regarded the Treasury bonds, it was resolved to make cotton, and other agricultural products in a less degree, the basis for their credit. The planters were to subscribe for the use of the Government a certain sum of money out of the proceeds of a certain number of bales of cotton. They were to receive the amount of their subscriptions in the bonds of the Confederacy; and in this way the Southern Government obtained by the end of July subscriptions to the amount of more than 50,000,000 dollars. This mode of raising money was called the Cotton Loan, though it seems to have had very little of the character of a loan, and

* Lossing's History of the Civil War.

to have been almost compulsory. Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, in a speech to a convention of cotton-growers at Augusta, on the 11th of July, 1861, said that the object of the scheme was to avoid taxing the people, if possible; but he held forth to his auditors the prospect of heavy imposts if other means failed. The Government, he observed, did not intend to be subjugated. If the people would not contribute to the loans, taxation would be resorted to, for the money must and would be had. Every life and dollar in the country, affirmed the Confederate Vice-President with that melodramatic exaggeration which the cause of desperadoes generally inspires, would be demanded, rather than that the Confederacy should be over-run. He proceeded to exalt the value of the bonds, which bore eight per cent. interest in half-yearly payments. If the new Republic were not defeated, these securities, according to Mr. Stephens, would be the best Government bonds in the world. In that case, he said, they might command a premium of fifteen or twenty per cent., while in the event of final discomfiture they would be worth nothing.* But so great was the faith of most foreign nations in the permanence of the Confederacy that bonds based on the so-called Cotton Loan were circulated in Europe, and principally in England, to the amount of 15,000,000 dollars. This was one reason why English opinion, among the wealthy classes, was so largely enlisted in favour of Secession. The bondholders felt they had an interest in securing the triumph of the Southern aristo-

GENERAL McCLELLAN.

* Lossing's History of the Civil War.

cracy, and they brought every possible pressure to bear on the Government, to force a recognition of the Confederacy, and the raising of the blockade. When the rebellion collapsed, great was the regret of these investors that they had relied upon the ability of a Slave Empire to stand up against the might of freedom.

The Southern Congress adjourned on the 21st of May, on which day it sat for the last time at Montgomery, Alabama. It had been determined to re-assemble at Richmond, Virginia, on the 20th of July, and provision was made for removing to that city the several Executive departments and their archives, though at the same time Mr. Jefferson Davis was authorised, if it should be impolitic to meet at Richmond, to select some other place in which to transact the business of the league. In a speech at Atlanta, Georgia, delivered on the day after the adjournment, Mr. Howell Cobb professed to give the reasons why Richmond had been selected as the Confederate metropolis. The Old Dominion had shaken off what this speaker called "the bonds of Lincoln," and had joined her Southern brethren. Her soil was to be the battle-ground of armies, and her streams were to be dyed with Southern blood; therefore the representatives of the other Southern States desired to be present on her soil. This, however, was a mere flourish. The actual reason was, that Virginia was the most distinguished of the slave-holding States, and accordingly the best adapted for forming the centre of the new political system. Richmond, moreover, was within a short distance of Washington, and the presence of the Confederate Parliament at the former city was a perpetual menace to the latter. Davis left Montgomery for Richmond on the 26th of May. It has been said that at that time he intended resigning the office of President, and assuming the post of Commander-in-Chief; but this design he never carried out, and the reception he met with on his route from Alabama to Virginia was such as to convince him that he had the entire support of the people in the position he then occupied. After his arrival at Richmond, he delivered a memorable speech on the evening of the 31st of May. He accused the Northern population of having shown themselves so incapable of appreciating the blessings of their hereditary institutions that they had been stripped of the liberty to which they were born. Mr. Lincoln, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that he had been constitutionally elected to the office he held, was described as an "ignorant usurper," who had trampled upon all the prerogatives of citizenship, and exercised powers never delegated to him. "We have now," continued Mr. Davis, "reached the point where, arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. When time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base acts of the assassin and the incendiary." General Beauregard arrived at Richmond on the following day, and took command of the Confederate troops in the Department of Alexandria. A proclamation issued by him to the army contained some malignant statements with respect to the enemy. "Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints," said General Beauregard, "has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage, too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilised warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is 'Beauty and Booty!'" That such addresses were utterly unjustifiable does not need to be proved; but they had their effect in exciting the rage and fiery zeal of what, in the favourite cant of the time, was called the Southern chivalry.

The Federal Government was now taking further measures to ensure the loyalty of Maryland, and to counteract the operations of the conspirators in that State. General Banks, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, was appointed to command the Department of Annapolis, with his head-quarters at Baltimore. One of his first acts was to arrest Mr. George P. Kane, the head of the police in that city, whose complicity with the malcontents could not be doubted. This official was apprehended by a body of soldiers on the 27th of June, and confined in Fort McHenry. A provisional superintendent was put in his place, and the duties of the police were in some degree subordinated to those of the military. Colonel Kenly, the new head of the civil force, enrolled, organised, and armed a body of men composed of citizens whom he could trust, for exercising the ordinary constabulary duties of the town. At the head-quarters of the late Marshal and Police Commissioners, large quantities of arms, including four cannon, with cartridges and balls, were discovered by the incoming authorities. The insurrectionary intentions of Kane and his associates were therefore placed beyond a doubt; but the prompt action of Banks and Kenly succeeded in putting an end to the danger. The latter soon resigned his post in favour of a civilian, though not before he had arrested the whole of the former Board of Police;

and by the end of July, Banks was enabled to leave the city in full assurance that it would remain true to the Union. The Marylanders who sympathised with the Confederate cause found refuge in Virginia, and some of these, taking passage on board the steamer *St. Nicholas*, plying between Baltimore and the mouth of the Potomac, contrived, by an act of great skill and daring, to obtain command of that vessel, which afterwards went cruising in Chesapeake Bay, where she made three prizes.

The Confederate privateers were by this time very active, and, although their operations did not commence until the early part of May, they had by the end of July captured vessels and property valued at several millions of dollars. Their number at that period was upwards of twenty, the most remarkable of which were the *Savannah* and the *Petrel*. Neither of these small ships had a long career. The former was taken by the national brig *Perry* on the 3rd of June, after a sharp but brief engagement; the latter was sunk by the *St. Lawrence*, a frigate lying off the coast of South Carolina, on the 28th of July. It was at first intended by the President to deal with the prisoners in accordance with the terms of his proclamation issued on the 19th of April. In that document, all privateersmen in the service of the so-called Confederate States were, on being captured, to be treated as pirates; and the punishment of piracy is death. Jefferson Davis, however, wrote to Mr. Lincoln, threatening to hang an equal number of Federal prisoners, if the crews of privateers suffered the extreme penalty. This arrested the proposed action of the Washington authorities, and the captives were ultimately exchanged as prisoners of war. Exchanges of this nature had already been made as regarded the land forces, and it was acutely argued by a New York judge that the Government could not consistently make a distinction between the two categories of prisoners. The operations of these privateers, and the duty of blockading nearly three thousand miles of coast, so as to deprive Southern commodities of a market, necessitated a still further increase of the Federal navy. Mr. Secretary Welles accordingly purchased a large number of private vessels, and converted them into ships of war, as being the readiest and quickest way of adding to the force at his disposal. Before the close of the year, the Secretary of the Navy had purchased and put in commission a hundred and thirty-seven vessels, and had contracted for the building of a large number of steamships of a substantial class.

The military position in the early part of July was such as to create great confidence in the minds of the Northern people. The cry "On to Richmond!" was raised in many quarters, and it was believed that means had now been obtained for making the war as short and decisive as the President desired it to be. The line of the Potomac was held by the Federals from its mouth up to Cumberland, in the State of Maryland. The adjacent sea-coast was patrolled by armed vessels, and the Virginian bank of the river was carefully watched, though the Federals had not been able to prevent the erection of Confederate batteries. The cause of the Union was represented in Virginia itself by the army of General McDowell (45,000 strong), and by the large force under General Patterson. Between the latter force and the army of General McClellan was a gap in the line, indicating, of course, a weakness in that particular direction. Nevertheless, the Federal position, on the whole, was good. Kentucky, which was neutral, and to some extent friendly, secured the right of the line beyond the Alleghanies. An army had been planted at the outfall of the Ohio into the Mississippi at Cairo, and the fighting which had taken place in Missouri had been so much in favour of the loyalists as to put the malcontents in a very dangerous position. On the other hand, the Confederates had many large armies in the field, and were evidently in possession of some able and enterprising officers. Among the most conspicuous of the Southern Generals at this period was Leonidas Polk, who had been originally educated as a soldier, who afterwards became a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Louisiana, and who now had command of the valley of the Mississippi. The main Confederate army was under the orders of Beauregard, and was probably somewhat less numerous than that of McDowell, to which it was opposed. It was stationed at and near Manassas Junction, a strong and important military position between Washington and Richmond, with which it was connected by rail. All around were wooded hills and frequent streams, and, in addition to the natural defences of the position, which were great, Beauregard had thrown up several artificial fortifications. One of the most formidable of these was the naval battery, composed of heavy Dahlgren guns, taken by the insurgents from the Gosport Navy Yard, and manned by seamen. A second Confederate army was stationed in the Shenandoah Valley under General Johnston, whose head-quarters were at Winchester. This position also was strongly entrenched, and the duty of Johnston was to check the advance of Patterson, and prevent his junction

with McClellan. The immediate question now to be determined was whether the Federals were strong enough to advance on Richmond, or the Confederates strong enough to take Washington, or whether neither was strong enough to effect its manifest intention, and could only nullify the operations of the other. The great object of the contest was to be the line of the Potomac, and in the vicinity of the Federal capital that stream was crossed by three bridges, which were of great importance in a military point of view. These were the Upper or Chain Bridge, the Aqueduct Bridge, and the Long Bridge. The southern end of the first of these bridges was at that time beyond the Union lines, but was guarded by two batteries on the northern side, and further protected by a heavy gate in the middle, covered with iron plates pierced for musketry. The other two bridges were dominated by forts and block-houses; and these, taken in connection with the general fortifications of the Federal city, were sufficient guarantees against surprise.

The Federal authorities had by this time made provision for the wounded who were to be expected in large numbers when active operations should at length begin. Hospitals and ambulances were provided in considerable numbers, and Mrs. Dorothea Dix, the Florence Nightingale of America, had from an early period rendered important service by the organisation of means of relief for those who would so sorely need it. In these charitable labours, this excellent lady was largely assisted by other volunteers of both sexes, and the public generally were not behindhand in subscribing large sums of money for carrying on the works of mercy. The degree of preparation which had been attained shortly after Midsummer, rendered all the more vehement the popular demand for immediate operations against the enemy. The soldiers who had enlisted for three months would reach the expiration of their term before the end of July. Probably many of these would not enlist again, and it was thought advisable to take advantage of their services while the opportunity of doing so still existed. It is true that their discipline was not good; still, it was better than that of perfectly raw recruits. In point of fact, as the event afterwards showed, the army was very far from being in a proper condition to advance. The people, however, either could not or would not see this, and were constantly demanding of the Government that the period of inaction should be brought to an end. Such was also the feeling of the army itself, and of Congress. With the rash confidence of a nation but little accustomed to war on a large scale, difficulties were denied or attenuated, and the prospect of an immediate and brilliant success was held up from day to day. There were some who knew better; but their warnings found no listeners. To such observers it was apparent that the loose and disorderly regiments so hastily brought together had not acquired the consistence and self-reliance of an army. They knew likewise that the forces were not fully armed. Agents had been sent to Europe to purchase weapons; but none had yet arrived, excepting a battery of six Whitworth cannon, which had been presented to the Government by loyal Americans residing in England, where the guns had been manufactured. The means of transport were also very deficient. Waggons, horses, and teamsters were wanted in much greater numbers than the Government could command, and the commissariat—always one of the most difficult parts in the organisation of an army—threatened to break down under the actual strain of war. As if to make matters still worse, General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief, was suffering from the accumulated infirmities of age. He was no longer the man who, fourteen years earlier, had led the Americans to victory in Mexico. For three years he had been unable to mount a horse; and dropsy and vertigo rendered it difficult for him to transact the ordinary business of his office. It was utterly impossible that he should take the field in person; and accordingly the active direction of the troops was confided to Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell, a native of Ohio, who had graduated at the Military Academy at West Point, and had served under General Wool in the Mexican war. Since the 27th of May, he had held the command of the Department of Virginia, with his headquarters at Arlington House, and here he had worked hard at the organisation of the army. He had done much, but had not had time to do sufficient. Popular clamour, however, demanded a headlong rush against the Confederates; and in this mood of uninstructed confidence, of passionate enthusiasm, and of ill-grounded hope, the nation laid itself open to the serious reverse which was about to happen.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Advance of Union Troops on the 16th of July—Discontent in the Division of General Patterson, who retires towards the Potomac—March of the Federals—Disposal of the Confederate Forces—Position of the Federal Troops on the 17th of July—Plunder and Incendiarism—Fighting on the 18th—Interval of Two Days—The Confederates Reinforced—The Country about Bull Run—Line of Battle of Beauregard and Johnston—McDowell's Plan of Attack—Sanguinary Encounters—Successes of the Federals—Gallantry of "Stonewall" Jackson—Incidents of the Fight—Arrival of Further Reinforcements for the Confederates—Turning of the Tide of Battle—Defeat of the Federals, and Panic-stricken Flight of the Troops—The Battle watched from the surrounding Heights by Civilians and Ladies—Consternation of the On-lookers at the Receipt of Bad News—Final Military Operations on both Sides—Determination of the Federals to retire upon Washington—Effect of the Disaster in the Capital of the Union—Losses of the Federals and the Confederates—General McDowell on the Defects of his Army.

All things being, as was fondly supposed, in readiness for the grand assault upon the Confederate lines, the forward movement of the Union troops began on the afternoon of July 16th. The enterprise would have been one of grave difficulty, even had the attendant circumstances been more favourable than they really were. But there were particular facts which added largely to the perils of the campaign. Not only were the troops unacquainted with the actual operations of war, but the Federal plans were seriously disturbed by the conduct of the army under Patterson. The forces of that General were relied on for holding Johnston in check, and preventing his junction with Beauregard, whose division was about fifty miles off, but with the advantage of railway and telegraphic lines between. Patterson, however, was unable to carry out his part of the programme, owing to the determination of his men, who had been enlisted for three months, to disband at the very earliest opportunity. They were implored to re-engage, if only for ten days; but they refused, with the exception of four regiments. Their conduct was precisely that of large numbers of troops engaged in the revolutionary war; and the embarrassment from which Washington so frequently suffered was now once more experienced. Patterson had advanced towards Winchester, where Johnston was posted; but, on the very day when the rest of the Federals moved against the enemy, he was compelled to recede towards the Potomac, owing to the unpatriotic spirit of his regiments, which were mainly composed of Pennsylvanians. The force under Patterson was even originally inferior in numbers to that of his adversary, besides being ill-provided with artillery; it would now, in the course of a very few days, be reduced to the most slender proportions. It therefore seemed prudent to the commander (especially as he was left without any specific instructions from Washington) to withdraw in the direction of Maryland, where he could still assist in blocking Johnston's advance on Washington, although he was unable to fight a regular action.* It will be seen how unfortunate an effect this retrograde movement had on the operations of McDowell; yet the malcontent troops themselves afterwards revenged on their commander the fault which was chiefly due to their own want of self-sacrifice and courage. They treated him on parade, after he had arrived at Harper's Ferry on the 21st of July, with gross disrespect; as if his failure to support his colleague had been caused by personal reluctance to face the enemy. The incident put an end to General Patterson's career as a soldier. He and General Cadwallader were "honourably discharged" from the service of the United States in consequence of this affair, and the misconduct of the troops was visited on the officers who commanded them. In the farewell address to his soldiers, Patterson did indeed compliment them on having "done all that was possible, and more than could have been expected, or was demanded." But expressions of this kind are too much matters of form to be received as trustworthy evidence; and they may have been really intended rather for the troops who stayed than for the whole army. The malcontents complained of being ill-clothed and insufficiently fed, and their statements may have been true; but, if patriotism is to be anything better than a declamatory expression, something should be endured for the sake of one's country in its sorest need.

Massed into five divisions, the Army of the Potomac, to the number of about 53,000, sought the lines of the enemy in the middle of July. Only three thousand of the entire number were regulars; the rest were raw and inexperienced soldiers, and in many instances the officers were not much better instructed than the troops they commanded. Sixteen thousand men, under General Mansfield,

* See a letter from one of Patterson's officers in the *Philadelphia Press* of July 27th, reproduced in the "Rebellion Record," Vol. II., pp. 396-7.

remained at Washington, to guard that city against surprise; and the others moved forward along four roads, all converging in the vicinity of Centreville. The right column, under the orders of General Tyler, began its march at two P.M. on the 16th, and was followed, at eight A.M. on the following morning, by the remaining divisions. The Confederate force was posted along Bull Run—a small stream rising in a chain of hills to the west of Alexandria, and falling into the river Occoquan, ton. The division under Johnston, to the left of the other Confederates, gave additional strength to the Southern line of battle, and the unavoidable retreat of Johnston's opponent contributed in a serious degree to the Federal disaster which ensued.

Some obstructions on the road, in the shape of felled trees thrown across the path, delayed the progress of the Union forces, but did not prevent the van from reaching Fairfax Court House by noon on the 17th. Here there was a slight skirmish with

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about twelve miles from the Potomac. The line extended some eight miles, from Union Mill, where the Orange and Alexandria Railway crosses the stream, to the Stone Bridge on the Warrenton turnpike-road. The banks of the little river are steep and rocky; thick woods offer admirable covert for soldiers; and the surrounding country, from its irregularity and abundance of foliage, presents favourable opportunities for defence. Confederate reserves were held in readiness at Camp Pickens, near Manassas Junction; and not far off, Beauregard had his head-quarters. An outpost with fortifications, at Centreville, protected that part of the line, and strong pickets were thrown forward to Fairfax Court House, a village ten miles from the main army, in the direction of Washing- the Confederate pickets; but the place was occupied by the Second Division of the Federals, whilst the other divisions, with the exception of the Fourth, which was kept behind to guard the communications with Washington, were stationed between Germantown and Centreville, at two points on the Alexandria and Richmond Railway, and on the old Braddock Road, which approaches Centreville from the south-east. At Fairfax Court House and Centreville, acts of plunder and incendiarism were committed by the Union troops, showing a lamentable want of discipline. General McDowell was compelled to issue an order on the 18th of July, threatening marauders with imprisonment in the Alexandria jail, if not with worse penalties, should the disorders continue, and detailing a certain num-

THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

ber of men to act as a police force. By nine on the morning of the 18th, it was found that the Confederates had evacuated Centreville, which they had roughly fortified only eight hours previously. They were seen to be posted on the right or southern bank of Bull Run, and General Tyler, who had command of the First Federal Division, resolved on making an immediate attack. The country was thickly covered with wood, and the brigades of Generals Longstreet and Bonham, on the Confederate side, as well as those under the Federal colours, took advantage of the fact. The Federal point of attack was at Blackburn's Ford, situated between the Warrenton Road and the Richmond and Alexandria Railway. Tyler, however, did not attempt to cross the stream, but opened fire with his heavy guns at a distance of a mile and a half, and afterwards somewhat nearer. His adversary replied with spirit, and a brisk duel went on for some time. At length, several of the New York troops broke and fled, throwing away their arms; the other regiments retired in fairly good order. A small force of Confederates then crossed the stream at Mitchell's Ford, and, taking up a position on high ground to the east of the road to Centreville, poured a heavy fire into the retreating ranks. The object of Tyler in making his movement was to carry out a reconnaissance; and this having been accomplished, he did not consider it advisable or necessary to risk any further conflict

It being now evident that the Confederate position was too strong to be attacked in front, it was resolved to approach the enemy on his left flank. No fresh movement, however, could be made until after an interval of a couple of days, owing to the difficulty of moving inexperienced troops, with their accompanying supplies and baggage; and those two days were of the greatest value to the Confederates. Johnston, no longer having the dread of Patterson before his eyes, quitted his position in the Shenandoah Valley, and on the 20th of July arrived at the head-quarters of Beauregard with 6,000 men and twenty guns, to be followed by the rest of his force. Other regiments were moved up from Richmond, and the Confederates now believed themselves equal to any attack likely to be made by the enemy. The Federals would even have been themselves attacked, had not the remainder of the Shenandoah army been detained by a failure in the means of transport. Although this prevented the Confederates making a forward movement, they were in a most favourable position for resisting any assault. Their left was on the Centreville and Warrenton Road, a little above the bridge over which that highway crosses Bull Run; their right was at Union Mills Ford, about nine miles farther down the little river, near the railway connecting Alexandria and Richmond. In front was the stream, with its high and precipitous banks; at the rear were dense woods, capable of concealing large numbers of marksmen. The general character of the country was undulatory, and in parts extremely rugged. High hills alternated with lower elevations, and the gorges between were often so narrow that a small force could easily stand against one much larger. With no little confidence, therefore, did Generals Beauregard and Johnston draw up their legions on the morning of Sunday, July 21st. Johnston, being the senior officer, had a right to the principal command; but he was so well satisfied with the plans already elaborated and in part carried out by Beauregard, that, with an honourable forgetfulness of his own technical claims, he consented to serve under his junior's orders. At an early hour on the morning of the 21st, the Confederates were disposed in three lines, watching the several fords over the stream, which were eight in number. Beauregard, in a despatch written after the battle, stated that his entire army amounted to 27,833 men, with forty-nine guns; but a large number of the troops were armed with nothing better than shot-guns and old fowling pieces, while the artillery was insufficient and badly worked.

The plan of attack formed by General McDowell was intimated to the several divisions of the Federal army on the evening of July 20th. It was desired to turn the Confederate left, and, if possible, to destroy the railway leading from Manassas Junction to the Shenandoah Valley, so as to cut off the remainder of Johnston's army. With this view, the men were served with three days' rations, and furnished with instructions as to how they were to proceed. The army was late in starting, owing to some delay on the part of the First Division; and it was ten o'clock on the morning of the 21st when the advance crossed the river at Sudley Springs. Colonel Evans, the Confederate officer on the opposite bank, disputed the ground as doggedly as inferior numbers would permit; but the Federals made way, and were gradually reinforced by other divisions of the army. General McDowell was commanding in person, and he hurried up additional regiments, with a view to crushing his adversary by mere numbers. Matters began to look grave for the Confederates, and Generals Beauregard and Johnston rode towards the scene of contest, to give immediate direction to the movements of their troops. Some hard fighting took place on an elevated plateau, partly covered with

pine-woods, and intersected by water-courses. The Federals repeatedly drove their adversaries down the eastern slope of this eminence; and at noon the Confederates, though replying with firmness to the opposing fire, and doing considerable execution with their field-pieces, had undoubtedly lost ground. During one of these Federal charges, the Confederate officer, General Bee, observed rather excitedly to General Jackson, "They are beating us back!" "Well, sir," replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet." Bee turned to his men, and endeavoured to rally them. "Form! form!" he exclaimed. "There stands Jackson like a stone-wall." In this way, it is generally believed (though other accounts are not wanting), did the gallant Confederate leader obtain the designation which has clung to him ever since. The courage and self-possession of Jackson did wonders, but the day was still going in favour of the Union men. Towards the centre, the Federal brigade under Colonel Richardson opened fire against Generals Jones and Longstreet at Blackburn's Ford, to prevent their reinforcing the Confederate left; and, by order of Beauregard, Longstreet crossed the stream towards the Federals, and detained some of them from the more important field of conflict. The Confederate right and the Federal left were hardly engaged at all.

So unpromising did the aspect of affairs seem to Beauregard and Johnston, that, shortly after twelve o'clock, the latter hastened to Lewis House, in the rear of the Confederate line, to see whether he could hurry forward the troops which were expected to arrive by rail from the Shenandoah Valley. During his absence, the Confederates made an approach towards retrieving their position; but they were still very hard-pressed. General Jackson executed a movement by which he was enabled to seize one of the Federal batteries—a success due in some degree to the mistake of the officer in command, who, not feeling sure that the advancing troops were those of the enemy, abstained from firing. About this time, McDowell ordered Colonel Sherman, who occupied the centre of the Federal line, to charge the opposing batteries with his entire brigade. The movement was begun with a good deal of dash and energy; but the brigade ultimately fell back. Again and again the desperate attempt was renewed, and the regiments were terribly cut up; but the Confederate batteries were admirably handled, and Sherman was unable to carry out his orders. It was then that Colonel Cameron, brother of the Secretary of War, was killed at the head of a Scotch New York Regiment, and that Colonel Corcoran, of the New York Irish, was taken prisoner. Still, the Federals were on the whole having the best of the encounter. The Confederates were again driven down the wooded slopes, and the ground was thickly strewn with dead and wounded. Many of the Confederate officers had by this time fallen; the gallant Jackson was struck, but refused to quit the field; and Beauregard, placing himself at the head of his troops, led them at the charge against the foe. Shortly afterwards he was slightly wounded, but, like Jackson, remained with his regiments, and was in time rewarded by a complete change in the fortunes of the day.

Meanwhile, Johnston was at Lewis House, commonly called "the Portico," from which he could scan the country all round. He felt extremely anxious as to the issue of the struggle, for up to that time fortune seemed likely to declare itself on the side of the Federals. It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, and the reinforcements had not arrived. "Oh, for four regiments!" he is reported to have exclaimed to one of his officers; and not long afterwards a cloud of dust was seen rising into the air from the direction of the Manassas Gap Railway, to the south of where he was standing. For the moment, Johnston was under the impression that this indicated the advance of Federal reinforcements. He soon discovered his error. The strangers proved to be a body of Confederates, numbering four thousand, and commanded by General E. Kirby Smith. They had come by rail from the Shenandoah Valley, and Smith, on hearing the sound of cannon on his left, had stopped the train, and marched his men across the country in the direction of the battle which was plainly going on. At the Portico they received the commands of Johnston, who ordered them to attack the right flank of McDowell's line. He also directed Colonel Cooke's brigade to join in the action. Other bodies of Southern troops likewise dashed forward to the plateau where Beauregard was desperately contending against the Federal advance; and the Commander-in-Chief found himself so heavily reinforced that the relative position of the two armies was entirely reversed. The Confederate ranks were now far more numerous than those of their opponents, and the new arrivals were fresh and vigorous. Beauregard, who had ordered an advance of the whole line shortly before, felt victory almost in his grasp. The reinforcements took up their position to the left of the onward-sweeping hosts, and the whole accumulated mass fell like a thunderbolt upon the fatigued and astounded Federals. Very soon they were outflanked, and driven headlong down the opposite side of the plateau. Sharp-shooters appeared in

the woods at their back; from three sides a storm of shot poured into their staggering ranks; and the perils of the time were aggravated by panic. A portion of General Stewart's cavalry joined in the Confederate charge, and the Federals then gave way in hopeless and miserable flight. The victorious regiments, however, suffered severely in the final assault. General Kirby Smith fell badly wounded shortly after he had placed his troops to the left of the main body, and Generals Bee and Barton were killed a little later. But the day, after a long and sanguinary fight, had been won, and Jefferson Davis, who had left Richmond in the morning, arrived in time to see the rout and ruin of his adversaries.

The flight of the Union troops was marked by every sign of disorganisation and military incompetence. Flinging away their arms, ammunition, knapsacks, and other incumbrances, like the Confederates after the battle of Rich Mountain, the discomfited soldiers dashed pell-mell from the scene of their crushing reverse, scattering dismay far and wide by their fear-stricken faces and cries of terror. All pretence of order and method was at an end. Each man thought only of himself, and the honour of the army was entirely lost in the overwhelming consideration of personal safety. The troops were under an impression that the woods were full of masked batteries, though there appears to be no evidence that any such were really there. When, however, a notion of this kind is spread abroad, it not unfrequently destroys the equanimity even of regular soldiers. A panic once begun cannot readily be stopped. The unreasoning apprehension passes from rank to rank, and from regiment to regiment, like wild-fire; and the contagion of fear is as mysterious in its agencies and as rapid in its effects as any other epidemic. Where veterans have lost all sense of military subordination and mutual reliance, it is not surprising if inexperienced and half-disciplined troops should become totally disorganised, and even for the time unmanned. The rush from Bull Run, with all its disgraceful incidents, was in no respect surprising: it was nevertheless painful in the highest degree. Without pausing to ascertain whether they were being followed—and in point of fact they were followed only a little way—the fugitives pressed on towards Centreville, where their supports were stationed. To questions as to what had happened, they gaspingly replied that all was lost, that they were hopelessly beaten, that they had been encountered by masked batteries, that they were being pursued by cavalry. Attempts were made to stay the rush; but the resistless flood poured on. The artillerymen cut the harness, and rode off, leaving the guns behind; and at the bridge over Cub Run the greater part of the artillery was abandoned. In truth, the whole way was strewn with arms of all sorts; and when Centreville was reached, it was a mob that entered it.

During the progress of the battle, its incidents had been watched from the hills near Bull Run by crowds of Congressmen and other civilians from Washington, and even by ladies, who looked at the field of conflict through opera-glasses, and vociferously expressed their satisfaction at every successful operation. Passes were granted in large numbers by the military authorities, and the whole affair seemed to be contemplated as a gala. The strength of the Confederates had been rashly underrated, and it was believed that they would be entirely crushed as soon as the grand Army of the Potomac advanced from its lines. Colonel Miles, commanding the Fifth Division, who had his head-quarters at Centreville, entertained a large number of guests with wine and cigars, and everything looked fair and prosperous until the scared fugitives came pouring into the little village. The revellers were at once infected with as blank a fear as that of the beaten soldiery, and preparations for a hurried return to Washington were made on the instant. There was no occasion, however, for so much precipitancy. At the beginning of the rout, Colonel Radford and Lieutenant-Colonel Munford, with six companies of Virginian cavalry, were pushed forward in pursuit, and the remainder of the Confederate army was about to follow, when a report (afterwards proved to be unfounded) reached General Beauregard, to the effect that the Federal reserves were threatening the position at Union Mills. The pursuit was accordingly stopped, excepting as far as the cavalry were concerned, and even that was not hotly pressed nor greatly prolonged. General McDowell, on perceiving that his men were utterly defeated, rode off to Centreville, ordered General Blenker's German brigade to support and rally the flying troops, and directed Colonels Davies and Richardson to take up a position to cover Centreville. Johnston had ordered Ewell to cross Bull Run in force, and attack that village; but, in attempting to execute the movement, his subordinate was so warmly received that he found it necessary to retreat, his men being thrown into disorder by the heavy guns of the enemy. By sunset, most of the beaten Federals had reached the further side of the Centreville ridge, and it became a question whether an attempt should there be made to reorganise the shattered army. The panic had not spread to every one of the regiments. Blenker's

brigade, the regulars, and a portion of the reserves at Centreville, retained their military form, though nearly exhausted by thirty hours' marching and fighting. These battalions were of immense service in covering the flight of the others, and in checking the pursuit. But they could not infuse any better spirit into their demoralised comrades, and it was agreed by all the commanders that there was no choice but to fall back. The men had been fighting for hours under a blazing sun; they were tired, hungry, and disheartened; their rations, issued the day before, had been recklessly thrown away; and a large number of guns and small arms, together with stores of ammunition, had been lost. It appeared, moreover, that Blackburn's Ford was by that time in possession of the enemy, and that he was endeavouring to turn the Federal left. Orders were therefore given to continue the retreat; but they were quite superfluous, for the troops had taken the matter into their own hands, and, as night came on, were hurrying along the road to Washington.

In the fields and ways from the battle-ground to Centreville, the wounded lay in hundreds. Many dropped with fatigue, and were crushed by the artillery, or ridden over by the horses. A dull, deep roar, made up of many cries of rage, agony, and terror, surged along the paths by which the Federals were retreating, and clouds of dust, illuminated by the western sun, revealed the several lines of flight. It was not until the early morning of the 22nd that the fugitives reached the Federal capital; and even then their fears did not desert them. Some passed further on into the country; others crowded the terminus of the Northern Railway, and endeavoured to depart by the trains, until the authorities sent a strong guard to keep them back. Wounded men lay about the streets; the uninjured clamoured against the Government, or, displaying their tattered and dusty uniforms, gave exaggerated accounts of the disaster which had befallen their cause. One of the worst features of the time was a disposition to magnify the dimensions of the defeat beyond all reasonable measure. Men seemed to take a morbid delight in relating their discomfiture in the most vivid and extravagant language they could command. They succeeded in producing a general impression that Washington itself would soon be taken by the victorious Confederates, and the Administration had a difficult task in maintaining the public spirit. The reverse was all the more depressing because of the previous assurance of a brilliant triumph, such as would perhaps kill Secession at a blow. During that eventful Sunday, crowds assembled round the telegraph office, reading with eager satisfaction the despatches that came from the field of battle throughout the morning and the early part of the afternoon. Everything, it was then reported, was going well. The soldiers of the Union were successful at all points. A complete and overwhelming victory was certain. But, as the afternoon wore on, the telegrams ceased to arrive. An ominous silence supervened, and men began to ask one another what it meant. Then came placards outside the newspaper offices, announcing "Utter rout of the troops!" "Stampede to Washington!" "All our batteries captured!" and so on. The effect was dramatic. From a city of joy, the Federal capital passed at once into a city of mourning.

The losses of the Federal army were stated by McDowell at 19 officers, and 462 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; 64 officers, and 947 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. The "missing" were very numerous; many went off altogether, and never returned to the colours. The Confederate loss was estimated by General Beauregard at 269 killed, and 1,483 wounded. Of prisoners, including wounded, he had no fewer than 1,600 men, and among the captured were officers and men of forty-seven regiments of volunteers, and of nine different regiments of regular troops, detachments of which were engaged. The gains of the Confederates in artillery, small arms, ammunition, accoutrements, flags, military appliances, hospital stores, waggons, horses, &c., were very large, and Johnston and Beauregard were in a better position for pushing a vigorous campaign after the battle than before. It was subsequently made a ground of bitter complaint against Jefferson Davis and his colleagues that an advance on Washington was not immediately ordered. Under the circumstances, the attempt might possibly have succeeded, and in that case the Confederation would have been at once recognised by all the Powers of the world, and the old Union might have been re-constructed, with slavery for its corner-stone, and the predominance of the South secured in every detail of government. But the Secessionist Generals seem not to have been fully aware of the utter disorganisation of the Northern army, and they were doubtful as to the ability of their own forces to undertake so serious an enterprise as the reduction of a fortified city. So Washington was not attacked, and the North had time to rally.*

* Colonel Fletcher's and B. J. Lossing's Histories of the War; Tenney's Military and Naval History of the Rebellion; Pollard's First Year of the War; Dr. William Howard Russell's Diary North and South; Reports of the Federal and Confederate Generals.

In his report on the battle, General McDowell was compelled to make many complaints of his own men, and to point out many defects in the American military system. The regiments had shown very bad marching qualities; were soon fatigued, prone to dawdle, and unable to carry even slight weights any great distance. Hence a fatal delay in their operations against the enemy. The unsteadiness of several of the troops, especially of the Zouaves, was lamentable, and the "Ellsworth Avengers" avenged nothing. Perhaps the worst conduct, however, was that of the Fourth Pennsylvanian Volunteers, and of the battery of volunteer artillery of the New York Eighth Militia. Their term of service expired on the eve of the battle, and they insisted on their immediate discharge. After vain attempts to persuade them to remain a few days longer, their demand was granted; "and," says General McDowell, "the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear, to the sound of the enemy's cannon." Such men have no right to call themselves soldiers at all; they have hardly a right to claim kinship with the nation they disgrace. But it should always be recollected, in considering the events of that unhappy day, that the Federals, for the most part, fought well for some hours, drove their adversaries before them again and again, and at one time came very near obtaining a decisive victory. It was only when they were out-numbered and out-flanked that they fled in uncontrollable dismay. Many well-trained armies have done the same. Discreditable as their flight undoubtedly was, it was no worse than that of Braddock's regiments from the ambushed French and Indians, or that of Gage's men from Concord. Such panics are known to every service, and should not be alleged as a special reproach against any one in particular.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Progress of Hostilities in Missouri—Position and Plans of the Confederates—Their March towards Arkansas, followed by the Federals—Encounter near Carthage—Pause in the Military Operations—The State Government of Missouri placed in Loyal Hands—Advance of the Confederate Forces—Bad Military Organisation—Battle at Wilson's Creek—Death of General Lyon—Operations of Sigel—Fatal Error of his Men—Rout of the Federals—Legislation of the Confederate Congress—Heavy Taxation of the Southern People—Sequestration of the Estates of Aliens—Resolution on the Subject of Maritime Law—Military Preparations, and Changes in the Confederate Government—Condition of Washington—Measures for the Protection of the Capital—State of the Federal Army—Resignation and Dismissal of Inefficient Officers—Excitement in the Country—The Government and the Press—Resort to Arbitrary Power—Feeling of the Country with Reference to the Necessity of conquering the South—Mr. Wendell Phillips on Slavery and the Union.

EVENTS of importance were occurring in Missouri about the same time that the Federals and Confederates were confronting each other in the neighbourhood of Washington. After the removal of General Harney, whose temporising policy with the Missouri malcontents was not approved by the Federal Government, General Lyon, in whose hands was the chief direction of military affairs in that western State, took very decided measures against the Secessionists. Governor Jackson, finding himself unable to resist these proceedings at the seat of government, withdrew on the 14th of June to Booneville, a town on the south bank of the Missouri River, taking with him the small force of State militia under General Sterling Price. To counteract this movement, Lyon directed Colonel Sigel, a German who in 1848–9 had commanded the insurrectionary troops of the Grand Duchy of Baden, to advance with some regiments of his countrymen as far as the Gasconade River. An expedition under the command of Lyon himself proceeded simultaneously up the Missouri, and threatened Booneville with so much effect that Jackson, after a slight skirmish on the 18th, evacuated it. The future conduct of the campaign now became a subject for grave deliberation. If the Union men could be lured into the more distant parts of the State, where the country was little better than a desert, where the few inhabitants were strongly opposed to the Federals, and where the latter would be far removed from their base of operations, the State troops might have a fair chance of success. In the contrary case, the odds would be much against the Governor and his forces, as the Federals had command of St. Louis, of the Mississippi and Missouri through the greater part of their courses, of the lines of rail, and of the frontiers, excepting to the south, where Arkansas formed the boundary. Another reason which determined Jackson to retire in a southerly direction was that

General McCulloch, the Texan Ranger, and now commander of the Confederate army in Arkansas, was making preparations in that State to assist the Missouri insurgents. It was settled, therefore, that the campaign should be fought out as far from the two great rivers as might be.

The Missourians marched in two columns: one proceeding from Booneville towards Warsaw, south-west of the starting-point; the other due south from Lexington, where the men had been hastily collected by Sterling Price. The first column was commanded by Governor Jackson; the second, by Generals Rains and Stark, Price himself being unable to take the field in person, owing to illness. A junction of the two bodies was presently effected in Cedar County, and the total force now amounted to 3,600 men, all of whom were badly armed, excepting those who were not armed at all. These troops had but little discipline, and their prospects of success were slight. McCulloch's men, to the number of eight hundred, were, however, marching to their assistance, and this would tend to create something like an equilibrium between the contending forces. The Federals were by this time moving rapidly, with a view to cutting off the Secessionists from their succours. Sigel arrived at Springfield on the 23rd of June, and Lyon prepared to march from Booneville in the same direction. On the 1st of July, Sigel—who was now considerably to the south of the Missourians, and therefore between them and the borders of Arkansas, which they desired to gain—entered the town of Neosho, and there heard that the Confederate columns had coalesced. He nevertheless received instructions to attack the united force, and accordingly moved northwards to Carthage. The encounter took place on the 5th of July, a few miles beyond that town; and, after some rather unimportant fighting, the Federals withdrew across a stream called Dry Ford Creek, as the enemy was threatening their flanks and rear. As soon as they were over, they destroyed the bridge by which the creek is spanned; but the Confederates threw masses of timber into the channel, and so crossed to the opposite bank. There the fighting was resumed, though to no great extent, and Sigel, with but little loss, made his way to Sarcoxia. The battle altogether was of a trifling description, for each combatant was nervously apprehensive of the other. The Confederates, though shortly afterwards joined by General Price, with 2,000 men from

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Arkansas, retreated in a westerly direction to Cowskin Prairie, on the Indian frontier; and Sigel, retiring in the opposite direction, effected a junction with Generals Lyon and Sweeny at Springfield. Nothing more of importance occurred until the beginning of August, by which date both sides had been further strengthened. McCulloch, with several organised regiments from Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, in the pay of the Confederate Government, had joined Sterling Price, and the Federals were now under the orders of General Fremont, who had arrived at St. Louis, invested with the command of the new military District of the West. This command embraced a wide extent of territory, and Fremont had, for his lieutenants, General Pope in the northern parts of Missouri, and General Lyon in the southern. The whole country was placed under martial law, and great precautions were taken to guard the railways against seizure by the Confederates. The Government of the State had already passed into loyal hands. On the 17th of July, Colonel Boernstein, who had military command of the capital, issued a proclamation to the people, assuring them of protection in the enjoyment of all their rights, and promising that slave-property should not be interfered with, nor the slaves encouraged to revolt, but at the same time threatening the disloyal with severe treatment if they continued to plot against the Union. The proclamation produced an excellent effect, and the State convention was summoned to reassemble at Jefferson city on the 22nd of July. When that body met, it deposed Governor Jackson, and elected a Mr. Gamble, a known supporter of the Union, in his place. Jackson, of course, did not admit the legality of this proceeding. On the 5th of August he put forth a proclamation declaring the dissolution of the political connection between Missouri and the United States; and hostile operations at once re-commenced.

The Confederate forces advanced towards their adversaries in the first week of August. They were divided into three columns, under Generals McCulloch, Peirce, and Price, and their total strength has been stated at 3,500 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and fifteen pieces of artillery. The army was thus of very respectable dimensions, but its composition was not at all good. The greater number of the men were entirely ignorant of warfare; their military equipment was bad, and their clothing so worn-out that many were half naked. Moreover, a good deal of jealousy existed between those of the officers and soldiers who had received a professional training and those who were mere guerillas. The latter were more numerous than the others, and did not readily brook the supercilious manner of their comrades. On the march, all suffered much from want of food and water; and, the baggage-train having been left behind, many inconveniences were endured, which with better management might have been avoided. When the columns were approaching Springfield, General Lyon, hearing of their advance, determined not to wait for the contemplated attack, but to take the initiative himself. The Federals numbered less than 7,000 men; but they had with them sixteen pieces of artillery, and with this array they started from Springfield, on the evening of the 9th of August, disposed in two columns, one of which was commanded by General Lyon himself, while the other was under the direction of Colonel Sigel. The Confederates, whose march had been checked by a violent storm, were bivouacking by their picket-fires, at a place called Wilson's Creek, when, at about one A.M. on the morning of the 10th, the advanced guard of the first Federal column came within sight. The battle which ensued was little more than a disorderly collision, almost entirely devoid of military skill and strategy. The ground was hilly, and thickly covered with wood—a fact which may perhaps account for the Confederates being so completely taken by surprise, but which also embarrassed the operations of the Federals. The former were attacked simultaneously from two directions, and a hot, though scattered, engagement was the result.

General Lyon was wounded early in the action, but, putting himself at the head of his men, he led them forward, when two slugs entered his breast, and killed him instantaneously. Nevertheless, his division of the army maintained its ground, and even repulsed a vigorous attack made by General Price. In the meanwhile, Sigel's column was proceeding favourably, and might finally have prevailed, but for a singular and most unfortunate error. At half-past eight in the morning, the skirmishers reported that General Lyon's troops were approaching by an adjacent road. Sigel therefore directed his men not to fire, but to wave the Union flag as a signal to the advancing troops. A strong body was indeed coming upon them, but it was the division of General McCulloch, moving up to attack the right of Sigel's position. When their batteries opened fire, the most dire consternation prevailed among the Federal ranks. It was still believed that the men were comrades, who had committed an error such as had happened during the operations against Big and Little Bethel—such as may often occur where uniforms are similar, and there is an absolute identity of language and of

personal appearance. "Lyon's troops are firing upon us!" was the piteous exclamation of the unfortunate sufferers; and although Sigel by this time understood the fact, and directed his artillerymen to fire, they could hardly be got forward to serve the guns, while the infantry would not level their arms until it was too late. "The enemy," says Sigel in his official report, "arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to fly. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and by-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry. In this retreat we lost five cannon (of which three were spiked), and the colours of the Third, the colour-bearer having been wounded, and his substitute killed. The total loss of the two regiments and the artillery, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounts to 892 men." The Federals could not recover from the crushing blow thus inflicted on them. They held their ground with much courage for another hour, but on the arrival of the Confederate reserves were driven back towards Springfield, which shortly afterwards they found it prudent to evacuate, although the Confederates did not attempt any pursuit. Destroying a portion of their stores, the beaten regiments retreated to Rolla, north-east of Springfield, and on the further side of the Gasconade River. Here they were at the termination of a line of rail, by means of which they could easily gain their base of operations at St. Louis. General McCulloch retired to the frontier of Arkansas, and General Price, at the head of the State forces, was left to maintain Confederate interests in Missouri. The Southern Congress passed a resolution to aid that State in repelling invasion, and to authorise its admission as a member of the Confederate States of America. Jackson and his colleagues were recognised as the legally-elected and regularly-constituted Government of the people; but very little was done to help the rebellious Missourians in their struggle against the Washington Administration.

Thus, both in Virginia and Missouri, the cause of the Confederates seemed winning. Great elation was felt at Richmond, and the Congress sitting at that town addressed itself with renewed vigour to conducting the necessary business of the war. Authority was given to the President to raise volunteers in the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, upon condition that the officers holding such commissions should not receive rank or pay until the regiments or battalions had been raised and mustered into the service. Large sums were appropriated for the construction and maintenance of a navy, and also to provide gunboats and other floating defences on the Mississippi. Many of the provisions of the Act passed for securing these objects were never carried out, and others were postponed until they came too late. The Confederate States were not rich, and want of money was a constant embarrassment to them in all the operations of the field. Mr. Stephens's threat, uttered on the 11th of July, that the people would be heavily taxed if all other resources failed, was more speedily realised than might have been expected. In the very next month, a war-tax for the redemption of the Treasury notes was sanctioned by the Confederate Congress. This tax was imposed on real estate of all kinds; slaves, merchandise, bank stock; railroad and other corporation stocks; money at interest, or invested by individuals in the purchase of bills, rates, and other securities for money, except the bonds of the Confederate States; cash on hand, or in deposit in banks or elsewhere; cattle, horses, mules, gold watches, gold and silver plate, pianos, and pleasure-carriages. The impost was at the rate of fifty cents upon each hundred dollars of value; and, from the immense range of its operation, it constituted a serious demand on the pockets of the people. Another Act, passed on August 30th, enjoined the sequestration of the estates, property, and effects of alien enemies, and provided for the indemnity of Confederate citizens, and persons aiding them in the existing war. But here, as in a previous Act of a similar nature, the slave-holding States not in the Confederacy, together with the District of Columbia, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, were excepted from the operations of the law, in the manifest hope of inducing those States and Territories to join the Southern league. This Sequestration Act was in retaliation for one of a similar character which on the 6th of the month had received the sanction of President Lincoln, and which was entitled "An Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes." The Federal law was of a very important character, for it provided that whenever any person held to labour or service under the law of any State should be required or permitted by his master to take up arms against the Government of the United States, or to perform any hostile work against that Government, the master should forfeit all claim to his service. Slavery was struck at (though indirectly) by this statute, and the Confederacy could not but regard it as an approach to abolition.

At about the same time, a resolution was passed

by the Confederate Congress, expressing the views of Mr. Davis's Government on the involved question of maritime law. It ran thus:—"Be it resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States —1st, That we maintain the right of privateering as it has long been established by the practice and recognised by the law of nations; 2nd, That the neutral flag covers enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war; 3rd, That neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemies' flag; 4th, That blockades, in order to be binding, must be effectual —that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." With the exception of the first, these resolutions were the same in effect, and almost the same in words, as those which had been sanctioned by the great European Powers in the Treaty of Paris in 1856. The maintenance of the right of privateering was in direct opposition to what had then been agreed to; but the Confederate States had a very obvious interest in maintaining on the ocean a number of marauding vessels, and at the same time in demanding for the neutral flag and for neutral goods every privilege with which they had recently been invested, and also in requiring that blockades, unless extremely stringent, should be disregarded by external nations. This resolution was shortly followed by an Act to empower President Davis to appoint two Commissioners to such foreign nations as he might deem expedient, in order to represent the Confederate States either separately or conjointly. To provide the necessary supply of arms and equipments for the troops, the Tradegar works at Richmond were increased in size, and the machinery for the manufacture of arms, captured at Harper's Ferry, was transferred to Fayetteville, North Carolina. The blockade being at this period very lax, large supplies of stores were imported into the country from foreign lands, and some even from the Federal States, where merchants were found base enough to sell the means of carrying on civil war to those who were compassing the destruction of the Union. Guns on the old flint-lock principle were rapidly changed into modern percussion arms, and cannon, shot, and shell were manufactured every week in considerable numbers. For the present, there was a pause in military operations; but the more far-seeing members of the Confederacy knew well that that pause did not mean peace. In the summer, Mr. Toombs, the Southern Secretary of State, resigned his office, and was appointed Brigadier-General in the Confederate army. He was followed in his former post by Mr. Hunter; and General Braxton Bragg succeeded Mr. L. P. Walker as Secretary of War. Bragg had not distinguished himself in the field, and Toombs had not distinguished himself in the Cabinet. It was hoped that the changes thus effected would strengthen the whole Administration; but the weakness of the Union a few weeks back was the weakness of the Confederacy now. The "Southern chivalry" were beginning to underrate their enemies.

At Washington, the effects of Bull Run continued to be felt for some weeks. During the early days succeeding the disaster, the aspect of the city was far from dignified. Disorderly soldiers crowded the open places; officers were to be seen drinking at the bars of hotels, and indulging in a mild despondency or an exaggerated confidence. Confederate prisoners, while being conveyed through the streets, were insulted and menaced by the lower ranks of the populace. All was confusion, excitement, and dismay. But this condition of the public mind wore itself out after awhile, and a spirit of reliance and calm determination once more prevailed. The Government and the military authorities understood their duties from the first, and lost no time in taking such measures as the gravity of the crisis demanded. President Lincoln at once directed the Secretary of War to summon General McClellan by telegraph to Washington. Messages were sent to the Governors of the Northern States, requiring them to forward reinforcements as speedily as possible. The Governor of Fort McHenry, Maryland, was warned to be on his guard against any disturbances at Baltimore. General McDowell, with the assistance of General Mansfield, did his utmost to restore order in the camps and in the Federal capital, and to give a new formation to the scattered and crest-fallen companies. The former of these officers took up a position on Arlington Heights, to the south of the Potomac, and the defences of Washington were strengthened. At the same time, the Confederates advanced as far as Munson's Hill, a few miles from Alexandria, and their pickets approached the adversary's lines so near as to be within sight of the Chain Bridge, four miles above Washington. But for several weeks nothing was undertaken on either side.

McClellan, on assuming command at Washington, adopted rigorous means for controlling the insubordination of the army. Both officers and men were forbidden to leave their camps and regiments for the purpose of visiting Washington, unless provided with passes. A special Act of Congress rendered illegal the sale of intoxicating drinks to military men in the District of Columbia. The exaggerated tone adopted by the press—now en-

couraging undue confidence, and then representing everything in the most depressing light—was felt to be a serious evil, and General McClellan found it necessary to take a step of an unusual character in free countries. He summoned a meeting of the conductors of Washington newspapers, and requested them to abstain from publishing any descriptions which might afford aid and comfort to the enemy. The request was in fact an injunction, disguised in the forms of courtesy. If a newspaper made itself unpleasant to the authorities by the facts it published or the views it favoured, transmission through the post was immediately withheld. Military reform, however, was more important than press supervision. The former was indeed so urgent that Congress passed a Bill authorising the President to dispense with the services of inefficient officers, and requiring a qualifying examination before any one was appointed to a post of command. Many of the so-called officers were men possessing not the slightest rudimentary knowledge of the profession they had adopted on the spur of the moment. If they had courage, it was not trained courage; if they had intelligence, it was not instructed intelligence. In some instances, both qualities were wanting, as much as those technical acquirements to which there was not even a pretence. The effect of the reform now introduced was that in eight months no fewer than three hundred and ten officers were dismissed the service, or sent in their resignations. To the other difficulties of the time, a mutinous spirit in the army was to be added. On one occasion, the men of the 79th New York Regiment refused, when ordered, to cross the Potomac, and carried their insubordination so far that it was found necessary to surround them by regular troops, who were ordered to fire into their ranks unless they immediately submitted. The Pennsylvanian soldiers—at all periods amongst the most unruly—indulged in frequent riots on the score of unsatisfied claims. The great body of the army, however, behaved well, or was at any rate blamable only on account of insufficient discipline and untutored enthusiasm, which often led to impolitic and unauthorised skirmishes along the banks of the Upper Potomac.*

Excitement prevailed throughout the country, and the temporary cessation of military proceedings intensified the feeling of nervous agitation that was now experienced in all sections of the community. Violent measures were demanded; very little tolerance was shown towards those who were in favour of compromise; and in many places mobs assailed the offices of those journals which were suspected of friendly feelings towards the South. What with the rabble on the one hand and the Government on the other, the managers of the press had a difficult duty to discharge. General McClellan's suggestions to the editors of Washington newspapers appear to have had very little permanent effect; for on the 26th of August an order was issued from the War Department, setting forth that the public safety required the strict enforcement of that portion of an Act of Congress, passed in April, 1806, by which the holding of correspondence with, or the giving of intelligence to, the enemy, either directly or indirectly, was made punishable by death, or by such other penalty as should be ordered by the sentence of a court-martial. It was therefore decided that all correspondence and communications respecting the operations of the army or navy, or in any way touching the conduct of military affairs, by which intelligence might be conveyed to the enemy, should be absolutely prohibited during the war. In many respects, the Administration was imitating the arbitrary ways of military monarchies in Europe; but the necessities of the epoch justified the resort to exceptional measures, and no Government has a greater right to assume dictatorial powers, when the public interest requires it, than one which has a popular basis, and is nothing else than the popular will embodied.

That Mr. Lincoln had the sanction of the great majority of his countrymen is certain. For awhile, the sad reverse at Bull Run induced a mood of despondency; but it was only for awhile. The reaction upon that momentary feeling carried the nation to yet prouder heights of stern resolve. From New England, from the Middle States, and from the West, came a unanimous demand that the war should be prosecuted with renewed vigour, and pushed to a successful issue at any cost in blood or money. A remarkable change had passed over the opinions of the extreme Abolitionists, as represented by their great leader, Mr. Wendell Phillips. When first the Southern States seceded, Mr. Phillips counselled a recognition of their independence, in order that slavery might thus be eliminated from the Union. But, as he afterwards explained in a letter to the *New York Tribune* (written on the 16th of August, 1862), "Sumter changed the whole question;" and from that time he believed three things: viz., that the destruction of slavery was inevitable, whichever section conquered in the struggle; that there never could be peace or union till slavery was destroyed; and that there never could be peace till one Government ruled from the Gulf to the Lakes. Having wronged

* Colonel Fletcher's American War.

GUARDING A BRIDGE OVER THE POTOMAC.

the negro for two centuries, they owed him the preservation of the Union to guard his transition from slavery to freedom, and make it short, easy, and perfect.

"Believing these things," continued this vigorous thinker, "I accept Webster's sentiment, 'Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable.' Gladly would I serve that Union; giving it musket, sword, voice, pen,—the best I have. But the Union, which has for twenty-five years barred me from its highest privileges, by demanding an oath to a pro-slavery Constitution, still shuts that door in my face, and the Administration still clings to a policy which I think makes every life now lost in Virginia, and every dollar now spent there, utter waste."* The views thus expressed by Mr. Phillips in August, 1862, were equally entertained by him in August, 1861. He was for preserving the Union, but only as a means of destroying slavery. He saw that the Federal cause tended with ever-increasing force to that end; and therefore he supported it. He doubted whether Mr. Lincoln was at all friendly to such an issue; and therefore he opposed the Administration. But the end was almost in sight; and to accomplishing the freedom of the black, the Abolitionists now sought to bend all the fierce and loosened energies of the time.

DESTRUCTION OF FORT OCRACOKE.

* Speeches, Lectures, and Letters, of Wendell Phillips. Boston, 1863.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Butler at Fortress Monroe—Evacuation of Hampton by the Federals—Burning of the Village by the Confederates—Expedition against the Coast of North Carolina—Capture of Forts at Hatteras Inlet—Operations in the Valley of the Kanawha—Retreat of the Confederates—Prince Napoleon and the Orleans Princes at Washington—The Confederates on the Potomac contract their Lines—Federal Advance—Battle of Ball's Bluff, and Defeat of the Federals—A Southerner's Strictures on Southern Affairs—Resignation of General Scott, and Appointment of McClellan to the Chief Command—Progress of Affairs in Missouri—Fremont's Proclamation and Abolitionist Views—Martial Law and Retaliation—Expedition of General Price (Confederate)—Siege of Lexington by the Missourians—Surrender of the City—Movements of the Two Armies—Missouri in a State of Anarchy—Inquiry into the Conduct of Fremont, and his Removal from the Command of the Western Department—Action of General Pope in Missouri—The Neutrality of Kentucky—Proceedings of Federals and Confederates in that State—Message of Governor Magruder to the Kentucky Legislature—Division of Opinion with respect to Secession—Federal and Confederate Troops in Kentucky—Scattered Actions in various Parts of the State—Movements of General Zollicoffer (Confederate)—Expedition of General Grant (Federal) against Columbus—Battle of Belmont—Temporary Success of the Federals, followed by their Retreat—General Nelson in Eastern Kentucky—Progress of Secessionist Feeling—Disturbed Condition of the West.

During the pause in active operations before Washington, some warlike events occurred in other quarters. We left General Butler at Fortress Monroe, where he was in a position to guard the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and to keep some check upon the surrounding country. But his power of holding that work was greatly impaired, after the battle of Bull Run, by the necessity of sending off various regiments to the Federal capital, for its defence against the threatened attack. The military lines in front of Monroe were therefore much contracted; and when it was feared that General Magruder was about to advance, the village of Hampton, on the mainland, was evacuated by General Butler's forces. On the night of August 7th, a body of Virginians approached the place, and set it on fire, without in all instances giving notice to the inhabitants of the houses, who were asleep at the time, that the hamlet was about to be burned. One out of the four churches then destroyed was a building which, in the scarcity of antiquities in Northern America, could not well be spared. It had been erected by the early settlers with bricks brought from England. Hampton altogether was an interesting relic of earlier times. The houses, which were about five hundred in number, were for the most part constructed of timber, and were dry with age and with the heat of many summers. This facilitated the progress of the flames, and on the following morning not more than seven or eight dwellings remained, to show where Hampton stood.

A naval expedition against the coast of North Carolina was undertaken shortly afterwards by General Wool, who on the 13th of August succeeded Butler as commandant at Fortress Monroe. It was thought desirable either to destroy the forts commanding the inlets to Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, or to occupy them, and in either case to block up the narrow and sinuous channels through which the Confederate privateers sallied forth, and other vessels ran the blockade. The expedition left Fortress Monroe on the 26th of August, and next day arrived off Hatteras Inlet, an opening in the sandy barrier which runs along the coast of North Carolina. This and Ocracoke Inlet are the principal entrances to Pamlico Sound; but, when once passed, the Sound itself presents a wide body of water, capable of being navigated by large ships. Here it was, in 1584, that Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists, under Amadas and Barlow, first landed on American earth. Hatteras Inlet will admit vessels drawing seven feet of water; but the winding channels between the sand-banks had now been rendered difficult by the removal of the buoys, and were commanded by two forts which the Confederates had erected during the summer. Being built simply of sand, turfed over, these forts were of course not very strong; yet together they mounted fifteen guns. The operations against the position began on the morning of the 28th of August, when some troops were landed under cover of a heavy fire from the ships; but the disembarkation was interrupted by a high wind and violent sea, which stove in the boats. After the forts had been shelled by the vessels lying off-shore, the garrison of the smaller work escaped to Fort Hatteras, and the contest continued in a rather irregular way until the morning of the 29th, when, on failing to obtain better terms, the Confederates unconditionally surrendered to Commodore Stringham, commander of the squadron, and General Butler, who had direction of the land forces. The capture of these forts was important, as it gave the Federal authorities a hold on North Carolina.

The Confederate Government resolved to attempt the re-conquest of Western Virginia, and accordingly directed the former Secretary of War in the Cabinet

of Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Floyd—now a General in the Southern armies—to reinforce General Wise, at Lewisburg, on the Greenbriar River. General Robert E. Lee was at the same time appointed to the command of the remnants of Garnett's army, utterly disorganised at the battles of Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford, and since collected at Monterey. The object of Floyd's movement was to obtain possession of the valley of the Kanawha, and of the country farther north; and towards the latter end of August the army advanced by the Lewisburg and Charleston roads. The main body of the Federals, under General Cox, was drawn up about six miles east of the river Gauly, near its junction with the Kanawha. Floyd, as the senior officer, had the superior position to Wise; and, leaving that commander to keep a watch on Cox, he pushed on to attack Colonel Tyler, who from his post at Carnifex Ferry was threatening the right of the Confederate forces. Tyler retreated across the stream as his adversary advanced, and Floyd was delayed in his progress for a day by the absence of boats in which to gain the opposite bank. The difficulty having been overcome, the Confederate leader entrenched himself on the right bank of the Gauly, at Carnifex Ferry, and formed a plan for getting to the rear of General Cox, so as to cut him off from his base of operations on the Ohio. Rosecrans, however, speedily marched to the relief of Cox, and on the evening of the 9th of September encamped near Sutton, at a distance of eighteen miles from Carnifex Ferry. Next day the march was resumed, and by the afternoon the troops had arrived opposite the entrenchments of General Floyd. At first intending nothing more than a reconnaissance, Rosecrans soon found himself involved in a general engagement, which lasted until nightfall. It was determined by the Federal commander to resume the conflict on the following morning, and he directed his men to form in order of battle, and rest on their arms until daybreak. With the early light, however, intelligence was brought in that the enemy had vanished. Floyd had in truth retreated across the Gauly, fearing that he should be overwhelmed by the united forces of Rosecrans and Cox. He seems to have been ill-supported by his colleague, General Wise, between whom and himself there was but little cordiality. The Confederates continued to retreat before the advancing Federals; and ultimately Wise established an entrenched camp on Sewell's Mountain, while Floyd fell back still farther to Meadow Bluff, on the road to Lewisburg. Lee, who in the meanwhile had been engaged in a series of trifling encounters with the Federal commander, General Reynolds, now united his own forces with those of Floyd and Wise, and by a display of superior force compelled Rosecrans to retreat to the Gauly, which he did unmolested. The two armies, indeed, appear to have been alternately afraid of one another; and, on the removal of Generals Lee and Wise, Floyd, after a temporary advance, considered it advisable to retire once more to the neighbourhood of Lewisburg.

Some distinguished Frenchmen were at this time in America, watching the movements of the contending hosts. Shortly after the battle of Bull Run, Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor, was at Washington, and, having inspected the Federal camp, was permitted to visit that of the Confederates also. At about the same period, the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, and his two nephews, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, sons of the Duc d'Orléans, were visiting the Federal capital, and exhibited so much sympathy with the Northern cause that General McClellan proposed to the younger princes to serve on his staff. The offer was accepted, and the Comte de Paris has since published a French history of the campaigns he witnessed. Garibaldi at the same time tendered his sword to the Federal Government, but on condition that the war should have the freedom of the slaves for its object—a condition which the Government of Mr. Lincoln did not then see its way to granting. The young Orleans princes had not very long to wait before they were enabled to see active service. Near the end of October, General McClellan made preparations for sending out a strong reconnaissance towards Leesburg, to ascertain the movements and intentions of the enemy. About a month before, the Confederates had somewhat mysteriously disappeared from their positions close to the Potomac, the navigation of which they had partially blockaded; and it had been discovered that an apparently formidable battery which they were supposed to have erected on Munson's Hill was nothing more than a slight mound of earth, crowned with two large stove-pipes. Beauregard had in fact withdrawn his army to Centreville, and the story of the stove-pipes led to a great deal of laughter and derision. McClellan is said to have been perfectly aware of the nature of these sham works and guns, although the army generally was deceived; but, if so, it is strange that he did not order an advance. It may be, however, that he was doubtful of the fighting qualities of his army, and feared to risk the chances of another Bull Run until his battalions were a little better organised and trained. Pre-eminently a careful General, McClellan preferred to

wait and watch, rather than indulge in brilliant hazards. During the days of his popularity, he used to be called the Napoleon of America; but, without underrating his abilities, it must be said that his genius was not Napoleonic. Nevertheless, he now thought it fitting to make a cautious advance.

Orders were given to General McCall, on October 19th, to occupy Drainesville, eighteen miles north-west of Washington. Brigadier-General Stone was at the same time to keep a watch on Leesburg, and with this view he proceeded to Edwards's Ferry on the Potomac. On the night of the 20th, some patrols fancied (but erroneously) that they had discovered a small Confederate camp near Leesburg, and it was decided to make an advance in force. The enemy, however, was prepared to meet this movement. The Southern commander in that locality was General Evans, who had already distinguished himself at Bull Run. Hearing of the Federal advance almost as soon as it had commenced, he concentrated his forces, during the night of the 19th, on the road from Leesburg to Washington, and on the morning of the 21st was in a good position for resisting attack. The Federals had crossed the Potomac in considerable numbers on the previous day, and in the course of the 21st a collision took place in the woods covering the banks of the river. Being devoid of artillery, the Confederates charged with fixed bayonets, and the opposing line gave way. Colonel Baker, who had command of one of the Federal brigades, tried to rally his men, and for awhile succeeded. A hot musketry engagement ensued, in which the Federals were much galled by the raking fire which came from out the forest. Baker was at length mortally wounded, and fell; and his men then rushed towards the steep banks of the Potomac without the slightest restraint, pursued by their adversaries, who slaughtered as many as they could reach by bayonet or musket-shot. The discreditable incidents of the 21st of July were thus repeated three months later, and it became distressingly manifest that a quarter of a year had made little difference in the military character of the Union army. Some of the fugitives swam across the river; others attempted to get away in boats, which were swamped by the numbers who crowded into them. Several were drowned; still more perished at the hands of the foe; many were captured in their efforts to escape. Of the whole force, half were killed, wounded, or taken: the Federals themselves admitted that they lost nearly 1,100 men. Telegrams were despatched during the action to General Banks, who sent forward fresh troops; but the day was by that time irretrievably ruined. This unfortunate affair has been called the battle of Ball's Bluff, from the place near which it occurred. The disastrous result of the movement appears to have been attributable partly to misapprehension of orders, by which McClellan's design of a reconnaissance was changed into a general action without proper means for supporting it; and partly to want of firmness in the men. That the Confederates were really far superior in number to the Federals, as the latter alleged to cover their defeat, is extremely doubtful; but they were unquestionably better disciplined and better handled. While the battle was going on, General Stone remained at Edwards's Ferry, doing nothing at all: indeed, he seems to have been completely ignorant of the reverse which had befallen Colonel Baker's brigade until it was too late to amend it. He was considered by the Government to be mainly answerable for the defeat of the army, and was accordingly sent a prisoner to Fort Lafayette, in the harbour of New York. Immediately after the encounter, three brigades of General Banks's division reinforced the others, and the united army entrenched themselves on the right (or southern) bank of the Potomac, near Edwards's Ferry; but McClellan, who personally examined the field of action on the 22nd, saw that there was nothing to be done but to withdraw his forces to the Maryland side of the river.

An upholder of the Confederate cause has remarked that the victory at Ball's Bluff, like that at Bull Run, "bore no fruits but those of a confidence on the part of the South which was pernicious, because it was overweening and inactive, and a contempt for its enemy which was injurious, in proportion as it exceeded the limits of truth and justice, and reflected the self-conceits of fortune." So much was said in England, during the war, of the faults and absurdities of the North, and so little of those committed by the South, that it is as well to hear what Southern advocates themselves have to say on the subject. The same authority observes that "the Southern people were complacently entertained with the parades, reviews, and pompous idleness of an army, the common soldiery of which wore white gloves on particular occasions of holiday display." The plain speaking of this writer did not at all please the persons in authority at Richmond, nor perhaps the Southern population generally. In the Preface to the second edition of his work describing the first year of civil war, he complains that there were persons who had decried his book because it had exposed abuses in the administration, and faults in the people, which might afford gratifi-

cation and comfort to the enemy. To such ignoramuses it appeared necessary that all the books and newspapers in the country should give a rosy colour to whatever had occurred at the South. "Drunken patriots, cowards in epaulets, crippled toadies, and men living on the charity of Jefferson Davis," had been "trained to damn all newspapers and publications in the South for pointing out abuses in places of authority," lest the Northern cause should be strengthened by a knowledge of them. "These creatures," continued the indignant patriot, "would have a history written which would conceal all the shortcomings of our administration, and represent that our army was perfect in discipline and immaculate in morals; that our people were feeding on milk and honey; that our generalship was without fault, and that Jefferson Davis was the most perfect and admirable man since the days of Moses: all for the purpose of wearing a false mask to the enemy." The date of this writing is September, 1862—a time when the Confederate prospects were looking bright and hopeful. But it is certain that from the first the "Southern chivalry" had some very dissatisfied members in their midst. To the same critic it appeared that Mr. Davis was an autocrat, with the faults of irresponsible power. He had absorbed in himself all the offices of government. The Cabinet had never once interposed any views of their own, addressed any counsels to the head of the State, or shown themselves to be anything more than a collection of dummies. They were either speechless or absolutely servile; and the voice of the President alone decided the conduct of the war, distributed the patronage of the Government, and forced into practice the constitutional fiction of being himself the actual Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate armies.* Such were the views of a Southern writer, expressed in the full tide of civil war.

The advancing autumn rendered further movements impossible, and the two armies before Washington were content to watch one another, without undertaking any active operations. On the Upper Potomac, the adversaries occasionally crossed swords, but without any results worthy of particular detail. General McClellan continued to be the popular favourite—a circumstance attributable not merely to his clever organising powers, and to the feeling of security which he had created at Washington, but to his good looks and agreeable manners. He had for some months been practically at the head of the whole military force of the Republic: he was now to be nominally so as well. General Scott was seventy-five years of age. He had long been failing in health, and his conduct of the war was certainly wanting in the old energy. People began to forget his former services, and some had the bad taste to speak openly with coarse disrespect of a man who was in every way an honour to his country. The veteran felt that it would be worse than superfluous to lag any further on the stage. He had fought with the British in the war of 1812; he had subdued Mexico in 1847. Successes and honours had been his in ample measure: to remain at his post any longer would have been to compromise and perhaps endanger his fame, and to risk the ultimate success of the Federal arms. On the 31st of October, therefore, he sent in his resignation to Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War; and on the following day it was resolved by the Cabinet to place the General on the retired list of the army, with the full pay and allowances of his rank. McClellan was at the same time appointed to the chief command of all the Federal armies. He was directed to make his head-quarters at Washington, and to give his attention to the more complete discipline of the forces immediately under his sway. The entire military establishment of the country now consisted of more than 640,000 volunteers and 20,000 regulars. Numerically, such an army was very formidable; but it still required education to make it a trustworthy weapon.

The narrative must again revert to Missouri, where Fremont held the northern and eastern districts, while Price, the Confederate General, was predominant in the south-west. The former officer issued a proclamation on the 31st of August, declaring martial law, and condemning all persons, taken in arms within the lines of the army of occupation, to trial by courts-martial, and to the punishment of death, if found guilty. It was further notified that the property, real and personal, of those who either had taken or should take up arms against the United States, would be confiscated to the public use, and that their slaves would be declared free men. Fremont, in issuing this proclamation, was striking at the guerilla bands which infested the country, and was also seeking to advance his Abolitionist views with respect to slavery. In the Presidential election of 1856, he had been the Abolitionist candidate, and had failed mainly because the country was not then ripe for the manumission of the slaves. But his detestation of negro bondage was one of the strongest feelings in his nature, and he took every available means of advancing the cause of emancipation. He soon found, however, that he had not the support of

* Pollard's First Year of the War. Preface to the second edition, 1862.

Government. President Lincoln disallowed that portion of the proclamation which had reference to the freeing of the blacks, and ordered that it should be made to conform with the Act of Congress, already mentioned, which confiscated the human property of those who should use their slaves against the Government, but which said nothing as to the liberation of the persons thus removed from their former masters. Mr. Lincoln was afraid that so extreme a measure as that contemplated by Fremont would alarm their "Southern Union friends," and perhaps ruin their "rather fair prospect for Kentucky." The President also thought that it would be imprudent to shoot the offenders mentioned in the proclamation, as the Confederates would certainly shoot others in revenge. No one, therefore, was to be shot without the approbation and consent of the Chief Magistrate. Fremont had certainly been rash in his action. He had not sufficiently taken into account the powers of retaliation possessed by his opponent; but he was soon reminded of them. On the 2nd of September, Brigadier-General Thompson, of the Confederate army, who alleged that he was exercising certain police functions granted to him by his superiors, issued a counter-proclamation, stating that for every member of the Missouri State Guard, or soldier of the Confederate armies, who should be put to death in pursuance of the orders of General Fremont, he would hang, draw, and quarter a "minion" of Abraham Lincoln. "While," he continued, "I am anxious that this unfortunate war should be conducted, if possible, upon the most liberal principles of civilised warfare, yet, if this rule is to be adopted (and it must first be done by our enemies), I intend to exceed General Fremont in his excesses, and will make all Tories that come within my reach rue the day that a different policy was adopted by their leaders. Already, mills, barns, warehouses, and other private property, have been wastefully and wantonly destroyed by the enemy in this district, while we have taken nothing except articles strictly contraband or absolutely necessary. Should these things be repeated, I will retaliate tenfold, so help me God!" It appears certain that the Federal troops had really committed some excesses; for Fremont himself had already found it necessary to issue a special military order against the irregularities and licence of those who had reflected discredit on their comrades, and strictly to forbid "all vexatious proceedings calculated unnecessarily to harass the citizens, and also unauthorised searches, seizures, and destruction of property, except in cases of military necessity."

Although Fremont held nominal rule in the northern parts of Missouri, his army was much troubled by the irregular action of guerilla bands; and, to assist these bands, General Price resolved, towards the latter end of August, to make a demonstration near the quarters of his enemy. He took with him between four and five thousand men, together with seven pieces of artillery, and, having sent a detachment to protect his left flank, and to seize Fort Scott, near the frontier of Kansas, approached Warrensburg on the 10th of September. Here he heard that Federal troops were marching from Lexington, with the intention of making arrests, and seizing the money in the Warrensburg Bank. Price accordingly hurried forward with the utmost despatch, and, on the Federals retreating, pursued them to Lexington. The Union men, collected in that town under the command of Colonel Mulligan, hastily entrenched themselves, and threw up some rapid fortifications with which to oppose the enemy's advance. Though the inhabitants of the town were for the most part anti-Federal in their sympathies, Price did not like to attack the position until he had been strengthened by reinforcements. These were presently obtained from the small town called Liberty, situated on the left bank of the Missouri, and from other localities. The auxiliaries, after a skirmish with the Federals at Blue Mills Landing, arrived at Lexington, and united their regiments with those already under the command of General Price. Mulligan's entrenchments were by this time invested on all sides, except that towards the river, which was on the north. The suburbs of the town were entered by the Missourians on the 18th; a steamer and other boats on the river were destroyed; and the bluffs on the river-bank were occupied by two divisions of the attacking force. On these bluffs, batteries were subsequently erected; and the town was so much at the mercy of its assailants that the Federals found they had no alternative but to surrender. At a cost of not more than twenty-five killed, and seventy-five wounded, during several days' fighting, General Price had taken 3,500 prisoners, seven pieces of artillery, a large quantity of arms, clothing, ammunition, and stores, the great seal of the State, the public records, and 900,000 dollars in money, which had been taken from the bank, and were now returned.

This was a serious blow for the Federals, and Fremont, in his despatch to Washington, attributed Mulligan's defeat to the fact of his supply of water having been cut off by Price. Reinforcements, 4,000 strong, were on their way to Lexington, but,

owing to the capture of the ferry-boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Other forces from the south-west and south-east, amounting in all to upwards of 11,000, were likewise approaching, but could not reach the besieged city before the surrender had taken place. General Fremont determined to take the field in person, and hoped to destroy the enemy either before or after the junction of Price's army with that of McCulloch. Price had now more than 20,000 men under his command, but they were ill-provided with arms and military stores, and were for the most part hardly entitled to the designation of soldiers. The General therefore felt far from easy in the position he had acquired, and speedily relinquished it, in order that he might obtain the co-operation of McCulloch's more experienced legions. Disbanding the least valuable portion of his army, he retreated to Neosho, where McCulloch joined him with about 5,000 troops. Lexington was reoccupied by a Federal detachment, and Fremont entered Springfield. The State, however, continued for a long while to be the seat of irregular warfare. Missouri regiments were to be found in the armies of both combatants, and much blood was shed without any definite result. The Missouri Legislature, sitting at Neosho, passed an Order of Secession, and elected delegates to the Southern Congress; yet the greater part of the State remained in possession of the Federal Government. The confusion was made still worse by the growing unpopularity of General Fremont, who was disliked not merely by the populace, but by his own troops, with the exception of the Germans, who formed rather a considerable element in his army. He had certainly achieved no success, and the arbitrary measures that he had adopted would have been tolerable only with one whose name had become synonymous with triumph. He had placed a certain Colonel Blair under arrest, but with so little reason that the sufferer was afterwards released by a special order from General Scott, shortly before the resignation of that commander. In October, the Secretary of War proceeded personally to St. Louis, with a view to investigating the conduct of Fremont, and on the 2nd of November the Department of the West was transferred to Major-General Hunter. The day before, Fremont had entered

CUMBERLAND GAP.

into an agreement with General Price that a joint proclamation should be signed by both, promising the cessation of arrests on account of political opinions, advising peaceably-disposed citizens to return to their homes, and enjoining the dispersal of all bodies of armed men acting without the authority or recognition of the Major-Generals, and not legitimately connected with the armies in the field. General Hunter, on assuming the command, intimated to his opponent that he could in no wise recognise this understanding, nor suffer its terms to be published. It was objected by the new commander that the proclamation would render the enforcement of martial law impossible, and that it would practically annul the Confiscation Act of Congress. Affairs in Missouri, therefore, returned to their accustomed state of violence and disruption. The Federal forces were by this time so disorganised that it was found necessary to abandon Springfield and retreat to Rolla; and the latter place was re-occupied by General Price.

Among the charges brought against Fremont was the imputation that he had sanctioned or permitted an undue expenditure of money. The matter was investigated by Government commissioners, to whom it was apparent that the subordinates of Fremont had acted with marked corruption, and that the General himself had exercised very little supervision. Fremont was great as an explorer; but he had evidently no military genius. He was rash, impulsive, and boastful, and, though his patriotism cannot be doubted, his unfitness for the post he held was but too clearly seen. He had erected a number of forts, with a view to protecting the city of St. Louis; but they were found to be useless for any such purpose, although they had entailed an immense expenditure. The agreement with Price was in excess of the Federal commander's powers; and it cannot excite surprise that Mr. Lincoln should have determined on removing him from his post. The appointment of General Hunter was intended to be but temporary, and he was soon transferred to Kansas, while the Department of the West passed into the hands of Major-General Halleck, an officer professionally educated at West Point, and subsequently acquainted with active service in Mexico. The greater part of Fremont's force was now under the command of General Pope, also an officer of the regular army, to whom the north-western portion of Missouri was assigned as his field of operations, though under the supervision of General Halleck. Pope distinguished himself, towards the end of the year, by surprising a large body of recruits, organised in North-western Missouri, and then marching to the assistance of Price. The Federal officer appears to have been almost as much surprised as the troops whom he encountered, and his success, though unquestionable, was rather a happy accident than a stroke of generalship. The Confederates, being outnumbered, surrendered as prisoners of war, and Pope drew up a sonorous despatch, in which he took to himself somewhat more credit than he had a right to claim. At the close of 1861, the condition of Missouri was that of universal anarchy and spasmodic civil war. The Federals were in a better position than their rivals; but neither side could claim the State as absolutely its own.

"He who is not for us is against us," was the motto of the Federal Government, as it is of all Governments when engaged in mortal conflict. The principle of neutrality was not recognised at Washington. Some of the States had endeavoured to occupy that doubtful position, and to hold themselves aloof from all co-operation with either combatant. Such, for a time, had been the endeavour of Missouri; such also was the endeavour of Kentucky. In the latter State there was a majority in favour of upholding the Union; but even here the feeling was strong against Abolition. A minority, respectable in point of numbers, and influential as regarded many of its leading men, took up the cause of the Confederacy, and endeavoured to carry the State over to the Southern league. Bands of armed men were soon formed by both parties, and, in the latter part of August, Governor Magoffin, wishing to preserve the peace, addressed both the Federal and Confederate Presidents in letters asserting the neutrality of the State, and demanding that that neutrality should be respected. Of Mr. Lincoln he required that all Federal troops should be withdrawn from Kentucky. To Mr. Davis he preferred a request that no steps should be taken to compromise the independence of the State. Mr. Lincoln, in his reply, dated August 24th, said he did not believe that the people of Kentucky generally desired the Union forces to be removed beyond their limits; and for that reason he declined to remove them. He cordially sympathised with Governor Magoffin in his wish to preserve the peace of Kentucky; but it was with regret he found himself unable to discover in the letter of that functionary any intimation that he entertained a desire for the preservation of the Federal Union. Mr. Davis, writing on the 28th of August, observed that the Government of the Confederate States would continue to respect the neutrality of Kentucky so long as her people maintained it themselves. "But," he said, "neu-

trality, to be entitled to respect, must be strictly maintained between both parties; or, if the door be opened on the one side for the aggressions of one of the belligerent parties upon the other, it ought not to be shut to the assailed when they seek to enter it for purposes of self-defence." Kentucky was certainly in a very unfortunate position. The blockade of the South was rendered partly inoperative by the transit of supplies through that State, by the route of the Louisville and Nashville Railway; but, although greatly benefited by this traffic, the authorities of Tennessee, situated to the south of Kentucky, and then one of the Confederate States, placed an embargo on their end of the railway, and, in the hope of compelling their northern neighbour to join the Confederacy, forbade the exportation into Kentucky of cotton, tobacco, rice, and turpentine. This led to an enforcement of the Federal blockade, which the Kentucky Secessionists tried to break through by legal proceedings. They sent to the Louisville freight-stations immense quantities of merchandise consigned to Nashville, and sued the railway company as common carriers for refusing to forward it. The decision of the court justified the company in its obedience to the Federal Government, but only led to further attempts to effect the same object, and to an immense amount of litigation and trouble. The result was that the Federals, finding themselves supported by law, but unable, as a matter of fact, to obtain their wishes, began to appear in arms. A small camp was formed in Garrard County; and when this was objected to as an infringement of the neutrality asserted by Kentucky, it was replied that the troops assembled were called together with no hostile or aggressive intention, but simply to defend Kentucky, in case they were needed for such a purpose. The State had already been invaded by Tennessee forces, and the Confederate Congress, on the 7th of August, had passed an Act authorising enlistments in Kentucky. It was under these circumstances that Governor Magoffin wrote to the rival Presidents; and matters had become worse rather than better when the two Houses of the Kentucky Legislature met in the early days of September.

In his Message, the Governor asserted that Kentucky had no agency in fostering a sectional party in the Free States, and had not approved of separate action, or of the secession of the Southern States. Lawless raids, however, had been made on both sides; private property had been seized, commerce interrupted, and trade destroyed. These wrongs had been borne with patience; but a Federal force had been organised, equipped, and encamped in a central portion of Kentucky, without consultation with the State authorities. Mr. Magoffin recommended the enacting of a law to enable the Military Board to borrow a sufficient sum to purchase arms and munitions for the defence of the State. He also suggested that resolutions should be passed, requesting the disbandment or removal from the State of all military bodies not under local authority. President Lincoln's proclamation of April 15th, calling out the militia of the several States, was denounced as illegal, and the Governor justified his refusal to furnish the troops demanded. "I have never understood," he said, "that the people of Kentucky will tamely submit to the unconstitutional aggression of the North; that they renounce their sympathy with their aggrieved Sister States, nor that they will approve of a war to subjugate the South." Notwithstanding the necessary reserves of a man in office, it was evident that the sympathies of Governor Magoffin were much more with the Confederacy than with the Union. This, however, was not the case with the Legislature. In the Senate there were twenty-seven Union to eleven Secessionist members, while in the House of Representatives the numbers were respectively seventy-six and twenty-four. The Legislature passed a resolution requesting Governor Magoffin to call out the State troops, for repelling invasion, and even to ask assistance from the United States. The Governor vetoed the resolution; but the two Houses passed it again over his veto, and on the 30th of September he was compelled to issue a proclamation calling out 41,500 men. A considerable body of Confederate troops had by this time entered Kentucky. They were under the command of General Polk, who had so much influence with the Confederate Government that, upon his representing to the War Department the necessity of occupying the town of Columbus, an order previously issued, to the effect that he should quit the State, was at once rescinded. The neutrality of Kentucky was now at an end; for, on the appearance of a Confederate army, a Federal force under General Grant was despatched from Cairo. This officer was at that time but little known in America, and not at all in Europe; but he was destined to achieve a great name in the later stages of the civil war, and ultimately to attain the position of President of the United States, which he occupied from March, 1869, to March, 1877.

War had now fairly begun in Kentucky. A body of Federal soldiers, under General Robert Anderson (the former commandant at Sumter), crossed the Ohio, and took possession of Louisville,

whilst the State troops, under General Crittenden, assembled in various places, and prepared to co-operate with the forces of the Union. A small fleet, commanded by Captain Foote, was sent to act on the western rivers, and the Confederates speedily found themselves confronted by a formidable organisation. To meet these demonstrations, Mr. Jefferson Davis despatched General Albert Sydney Johnston to command the Western Department of the Confederate army, which included the forces of General Polk and those of General Zollicoffer. These armies had the assistance of several Kentuckians disaffected towards the Washington Government, who were being organised by General Buckner, a very earnest advocate of Secession. The State forces were divided into two main bodies—one called the State Guards, the other the Home Guards. The former were inclined to Southern, the latter to Northern, views; and it was not long ere the Home Guards were attacked by the Confederate troops under General Zollicoffer. A skirmish took place on September 18th at Barboursville, near Cumberland Gap. The encounter was of slight proportions; but it was soon followed by others of a more serious character. The Confederate cavalry scoured a wide range of country, arrested prominent Union men, and destroyed their property. Several small towns were occupied, and preparations were made for seizing a position on the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad—one of the main lines for the transportation of supplies to the troops in Virginia, the occupation of which by the Federals would have been extremely inconvenient. The Union troops were by this time stationed at a camp near Danville, about the centre of Kentucky, from which they watched the movements of their adversaries, and held themselves in readiness to oppose General Zollicoffer's advance from Cumberland Gap, in one direction, and that of General Buckner from Bowling Green, in another. Detachments from the main body were pushed forward along two roads, and occupied a position called Camp Wild Cat, in a mountainous and woody country. Their object was to confront the forces of Zollicoffer, coming from Cumberland Gap, and to compel his retreat. A skirmish took place on October 21st between the vanguard of the Confederate General and the forces at Wild Cat under General Schœpf. The latter had the best of the action, and remained in his camp until the middle of November, when he retreated, in consequence of a report, which afterwards proved to be incorrect, that the enemy was advancing from Bowling Green with the intention of cutting him off. The retreat was of a most disastrous character, owing to the wild and difficult nature of the roads, the swollen condition of the streams, and the prevalence of violent storms. All military form was lost in this dismal flight, for to such it really amounted. Commissariat and ammunition waggons were abandoned; knapsacks and accoutrements were cast away; and numbers of the men fell to the earth, exhausted by fatigue and exposure. The forces on both sides appear to have been very badly ordered. Schœpf lost a portion of his army in a disorderly flight from an enemy who was not really threatening him, while Zollicoffer, imagining himself in a position of danger when he was in reality in a position of command, retreated from Cumberland Ford to Cumberland Gap, and hid himself in the defiles of the mountains.

In the meantime, an expedition was being conducted by General Grant, one of whose chief objects was to obtain command of the Mississippi. To effect this purpose, it was necessary to force a passage with gunboats, and also to clear both banks of the Confederate detachments which occupied them. The chief Federal positions at this time were at Cairo, where the Ohio enters the Mississippi; at Cape Girardeau, about thirty miles higher up the Mississippi, on the Missouri shore; at Pilot Knob, seventy miles to the north-west, close to the termination of the rail from St. Louis; and at Paducah, fifty miles east of Cairo, on the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers. The Confederates occupied Columbus, at a distance of rather more than thirty miles from Cairo. They had also a detached column of troops in South-western Missouri, which threatened the Federal garrison at Pilot Knob. To relieve that garrison, and to operate generally against the scattered bodies of the Confederates, General Grant sent forward a column under Colonel Plummer, who was to march from Cape Girardeau to Fredericks-town. The Southern forces were defeated on the 21st of October, and Pilot Knob was relieved from the fear of attack. Grant now proceeded in person at the head of 3,000 men on an expedition against Columbus. He sailed down the river in transports on the 6th of November, and on the following morning had attained a point about two miles above the Confederate batteries. The troops having been landed, and formed in as good military order as the thickness of the forest would allow, an immediate advance was made on Belmont, where the Confederates were stationed under the command of General Pillow and Colonel Tappan. Belmont is situated on the Missouri side of the river, and General Polk, who was commanding in the neighbourhood, was uncertain whether Grant's movement, of which he had information, was

directed against that town, or against Columbus, on the Kentucky shore. He finally determined that the latter was the more probable objective, as being the key of the whole position. The main body of his troops consequently occupied Columbus, and it was only a few detachments which held Belmont. The position had been strengthened by a breastwork of felled trees; but, conscious of their superiority, the Federals steadily advanced, extending their right so as almost to surround the camp on the land side. A sharp contest, lasting some hours, resulted in the discomfiture of the Confederates, who fell back in confusion to the banks of the river. Here, however, they were reinforced by General Polk, who saw by this time that Columbus was in no danger; and a flank movement up the stream seriously threatened Grant's position. Colonel Tappan's camp had fallen into the possession of the Federals, who planted batteries to attack the steamers which were bringing up reinforcements; but the flank movement looked so grave that Grant, apprehending an attack in his rear, retreated to his transports, and hastily embarked, leaving many dead and wounded behind. The retreat was somewhat disorderly; but the men nevertheless kept firing into the wood on both sides, and so got down to the river-bank, when the gunboats opened fire, and covered the re-embarkation. They had captured two guns, but had lost a baggage-wagon and some caissons. Grant's army was so completely outnumbered, after the arrival of Polk himself, that it was impossible to do anything else than retire. On the side of the Federals there was a loss of about 400 men, and the Confederates had probably suffered in still greater measure. While the main action was proceeding, a diversion was being made, on the Kentucky side of the river, by General Smith, stationed at Paducah; but his detachment took no active part in the operations of the day, nor does his demonstration appear to have rendered any service to the chief commander. No further operations on the Upper Mississippi took place before the close of 1861; but some comparatively unimportant actions occurred in other quarters. In Eastern Kentucky, General Nelson, formerly a lieutenant in the navy, attacked an irregular force of Confederates near Piketon, in the early part of November, when, after a slight skirmish, the Southerners, who were ill-provided with arms and ammunition, retreated to Pound Gap, on the Virginian frontier. Later in the month, General Thomas, of the Federal army in the vicinity of Danville, made an advance towards Bowling Green; and at the close of the year the Confederate cause in Kentucky seemed far from prosperous.*

The advocates of Secession, however, continued to work with the utmost energy in the promotion of their views. The next election for Governor resulted in the choice of Mr. G. W. Johnson, whose sentiments were completely in harmony with those of the malcontents. Delegates were sent to Richmond, and two gentlemen were sworn in as senators for Kentucky in the Confederate Congress. The Kentucky Legislature itself, while upholding the Union, dissented widely from several acts of Mr. Lincoln's Government, especially as regarded some arbitrary arrests made at Louisville. Fremont's proclamation, threatening to set free the slaves of disloyal proprietors, was warmly condemned by the two Houses, the fears of which were also excited by a prevalent belief that Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, intended to arm the negro population. Thus, although the Federal Government, at the end of 1861, held a fairly good position in Kentucky, a large amount of insubordination, and a still wider feeling of distrust and apprehension, existed in that State; while in the neighbouring State of Tennessee, now lost to the old Union, numbers of Federal sympathisers were acting on a petty scale against the Confederate troops, destroying railway bridges, and otherwise harassing the communications. The West altogether was in a state of anarchy, in which neither side can be said to have had any decided predominance; and the strength of both parties, as before, lay in the neighbourhoods of Washington and of Richmond.

* Colonel Fletcher's "History of the American War;" Tenney's "History of the Rebellion;" the "Rebellion Record."

FORT PENSACOLA.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Affairs at Fort Pickens—Confederate Descent on the Island of Santa Rosa—The Federal Fleet at the Mouths of the Mississippi—Action of the Confederate Steam Ram, *Manassas*—Dispersal of the Fleet—Expedition against Port Royal—Defeat of the Confederates at Forts Walker and Beauregard—The Negroes at Beaufort—Plan for the Destruction of the Harbour of Charleston—Sinking of Vessels laden with Stone, and Failure of the Attempt—Despatch of Agents of the Confederation to Europe—The *Trent* Affair—Seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board the English Mail Steamer—Exultation in the Northern States at the Act of Captain Wilkes—Opinion as expressed in the Newspapers and at Public Meetings—Attitude of the Government—Prospect of a War with England—Unfriendly Feeling towards England entertained by the North, and its Causes—Agitation in Great Britain at receipt of the News—The Law of the Case—Proceedings of the British Government for obtaining Redress—Mr. Seward's Letter to Lord Lyons—The Question of the Right of Search—Opinion in France and in Canada—Release of the Confederate Commissioners—Failure of their Mission—Effect in England of the Seizure of the Agents.

Pensacola Bay, and the neighbourhood of Fort Pickens, became the scene of some movements in the course of October, when the Confederates made an attempt to dislodge the Federals from the position which they held. In addition to the Union troops in the fort itself, a body of New York volunteers, called Wilson's Zouaves, had encamped about a mile off, near the shore of the little island, Santa Rosa, on which Fort Pickens is erected. To establish themselves on this island would be a clear advantage to the Confederates in any future operations against the fort; and at two A.M., on the morning of October 9th, some 1,200 Southern troops, under Brigadier-General Anderson, landed about four miles from the fort, and surprised the Zouave camp by a sudden irruption while it was yet dark. So unexpected was this attack that the regiment was speedily dispersed, and in a little while the tents and huts of the men were set on fire. Reinforcements were despatched from the fort; but several of these lost their way among the bushes and sandhills of the island, and were captured. The Confederates had been completely successful; but they suddenly gave up everything they had won, and, fearing that their retreat would be cut

off by the Federal steamers, determined on hastily retiring. They were followed to their boats, and fell into the utmost confusion on the road. Regiments got mobbed and scattered; companies fired into one another; and the re-embarkation was effected in great disorder. Nothing further was attempted on either side until the 22nd of November, when Colonel Browne, who was in command at the fort, resolved to take his revenge for what had happened six weeks before, and to bombard the enemy's works. In this exploit the garrison were aided by the Federal vessels of war, *Niagara* and *Richmond*, and a heavy fire was opened on the opposing forts and batteries, to which the latter replied with spirit. The operations were renewed on the 10th, but with little damage to any of the fortifications. The small towns of Warrington and Wolcott, however, together with the adjacent navy-yard, were set on fire. The adversaries had heard the sound of each other's guns, but had in no respect altered their mutual position.

MR. MASON.

MR. SLIDELL.

A much more important event occurred in the vicinity of New Orleans shortly after the attack on the island of Santa Rosa. The Federal blockade, though not very stringent, was inconvenient to the Confederates in many ways; and they determined if possible, to break it up. Their fleet lay at Algiers, the naval station of New Orleans, and was under the direction of Commodore Hollins, formerly of the United States Navy, and an officer of vigour and resolution. Together with his other vessels, he had one belonging to a class called "rams," since well-known, but at that time entirely untried.*

The Federal commanders had received intimations of the proximity of this new species of war-ship; but weeks passed away without anything being seen of the rumoured peril. The chief business of the Federal squadron was to watch the numerous mouths of the Mississippi, as they empty themselves into the Gulf of Mexico; and this duty was performed by five vessels, under the general control of Captain Pope, of the steamer *Richmond*. On the night following October 11th—a night dark and cloudy, and therefore not favourable to a good watch—the squadron was anchored near the south-western outlet of the great river, a little way up the stream. At a quarter to four A.M., while the *Richmond* was engaged in coaling, an alarm was given that a steamer was close at hand. Almost immediately afterwards, the strange vessel struck the *Richmond* abreast of the port fore-channels, detaching the coaling schooner from her fastenings, and tearing a hole in the side of the chief ship. The ram then instantly withdrew, and, passing aft, endeavoured to effect a breach in the stern of her adversary, but failed to do so. Upon examination, it was found that three planks in the ship's side were stove in, about two feet below the water-line. The shock was staggering for the moment; but the crew of the *Richmond* promptly repaired to their quarters, and, as the ram passed abreast of them, delivered a broadside from the entire port battery. The assailant, however, being thickly plated with iron, received little or no damage from the cannonade. The *Manassas*, as the

* A "ram" is an iron-plated steam-ship, invented by Mr. James Nasmyth, the celebrated British engineer, in 1836. The idea was taken up by the Admiralty in 1845, but nothing of the kind was in practical operation until used by the Confederates in 1861. The vessel is provided with a massive projecting horn, and this, being propelled by powerful engines, is capable of inflicting terrific damage.

ram was called, had left the forts on the Mississippi about midnight, together with five river-steamers, five barges, and a tow-boat, with orders to steam towards the Federal fleet, run down the first vessel she could get at, and then send up a rocket, as an intimation to those on shore that her part of the work had been accomplished.

As the ram steamed off, her rocket rose into the air, and the next minute three bright lights were seen descending the river, at a distance of two or three miles. These were fire-ships, and it was perceived that several steamers and a bark-rigged propeller were astern of them. Directed by one of the Confederate vessels and the tow-boat, the flaming barges drifted down the tide, and it became a question of urgent importance what should be done with the blockading squadron. Immediately after the collision, a red light had been shown by the *Richmond* as a signal of danger; and the other vessels at once slipped their cables, and got under way in a very few minutes. Orders were given that the whole should move out into the open waters of the gulf as soon as possible; but to accomplish this was no easy task. In attempting to pass the sandy bar at the south-west mouth of the river, while hotly pursued by the enemy, the *Richmond* and the *Vincennes* ran aground; but the former swung to, and was thus enabled to bring her guns to bear on the Confederates. The *Vincennes* was abandoned by her captain and crew, owing, it was said, to an error in the signal from the *Richmond*, though Captain Pope denied that any such error had been committed. Before leaving his ship, Captain Handy, of the *Vincennes*, had placed a lighted fuse near the magazine, with the intention of blowing her up. When, however, a reasonable time had elapsed, and no explosion followed, Captain Pope directed his subordinate to return to the abandoned ship with his crew, and endeavour to get her off the bar. It was then discovered that the fuse had burnt out within an inch of the powder, and the *Vincennes* was ultimately saved, together with her companion in misfortune. The fire-ships stranded on the western shore of the river, and the other Confederate vessels were unable to get beyond the mouth of the pass. In returning up the Mississippi, the commander of the steam-ram found that his machinery was much damaged, and after the encounter she went into dock for repairs.* Her success had not been very great; but the incident of October 12th inaugurated a new era in naval warfare, of which we have not yet seen the full development.

* Official and unofficial reports in the "Rebellion Record," Vol. III.

It was necessary to the success of the Federal schemes that the Government should hold a number of naval stations along the Southern coasts. Several such were already in their hands; but more were yet required. In October it was determined to seize the small town of Beaufort, situated midway between Savannah and Charleston, amongst low, marshy islands and lagunes, the possession of which would enable the Washington Administration to maintain a fleet in the harbour of Port Royal. An expedition, partly military and partly naval, was accordingly despatched against this place. The troops were conveyed in transports under the command of Major-General Thomas W. Sherman (not the officer who afterwards so greatly distinguished himself), while the naval arm was directed by Commodore Dupont; and the two divisions of the attacking force were united in Hampton Roads on the 22nd of October. The fleet was extremely formidable. It consisted of fifty ships of various sizes, to which were added a number of coal-vessels; and the armament was of the most powerful description then known. Among the guns on board were Dahlgren and Parrott guns. The former were the largest in the American service: they were of cast-iron, smooth-bored, and in shape resembled a soda-water bottle. The latter were also of cast-iron, but were rifled: they had a wrought-iron band or reinforce at the breech, and were muzzle-loaders. Sherman's land forces amounted to 15,000 men, belonging principally to New York and the New England States; and in every respect both army and navy were thoroughly equipped for an elaborate series of operations. The coal-vessels sailed under convoy on the 28th of October, with orders to rendezvous off Savannah, as a blind to the enemy. On the following day, the fleet and transports left Hampton Roads, but at the beginning of November encountered a gale by which they were dispersed. Nevertheless, the ships were all gathered off the bar at Port Royal on the 4th of November. The first thing to be done was to sound the channel between the bar and the shore, and to lay down buoys in place of those which had been removed by the Confederates. This occupied three days; but on the 7th of November the lighter transports and gunboats crossed the bar, and anchored in the roadstead. Not far off was a small Confederate fleet under Commodore Tatnall, the officer who had so gallantly assisted the English at the attack on the Peiho forts in 1859, but who, in making war against his country, seems to have forgotten his own motto that "blood is thicker than water." The vessels at the disposal of this commander were too small to be of any service

against their powerful opponent, and Tatnall retired under the protection of the forts.

General Ripley was the Confederate officer in command at Port Royal, and he had done much to make the position an awkward one to attack. At the entrance to the channel, on Hilton's Head Island, he had erected a strong earthwork mounting twenty-three guns, all of the heaviest calibre, some of them rifled, and several, it is said, imported from England since the war commenced. This work was called Fort Walker. A small outwork, mounting a single rifled gun, stood between the fort and the sea. Fort Beauregard, on the opposite side of the channel, was situated at Bay Point, on Phillips' or Hunting Island, at a distance of rather more than two miles from the other. It mounted twenty large guns, and was supported by an outwork nearly half a mile off, mounting five guns. The Federal attack began on the morning of November 7th, when the ships took up their respective positions. The plan was for the vessels to steam in succession up the channel; to deliver their fire into Fort Walker, situated to the west of the channel; then to turn round, and engage Fort Beauregard, to the east. For four hours the bombardment continued without intermission: at the end of that time, the greater number of the guns in both forts were dismounted, or rendered incapable of further use. It was then found imperative to abandon the forts, which was done with some disorder. Though exposed in the open ground to the full action of the Federal guns, the Confederate garrisons, aided by the steamers and flat-boats which came to their assistance, managed to escape in various directions, carrying their wounded with them. Their losses had been severe, and the triumph of the Federals was complete. Forty-three pieces of ordnance fell into the hands of the latter, and the forts were occupied by the troops under General Sherman. It was afterwards discovered that the town of Beaufort had been entirely deserted by the white population, and that the negroes were committing acts of great disorder. These were speedily suppressed, and the blacks were set to work on the fortifications at Hilton Head, in accordance with general directions from Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War.

Encouraged by their successes at Port Royal, by which they were enabled to threaten the cities of Charleston and Savannah, and to strengthen the blockade, the Federals sent out naval expeditions, in December, against Otter Island, commanding the entrance to St. Helena Sound between Port Royal and Charleston, and Tybee Island, at the mouth of the river Savannah, near the entrance to Warsaw Inlet. No opposition was attempted by the Confederates, and detachments from General Sherman's army were sent to garrison the positions. The Government was at this period exhibiting great energy; but one of its projects was regarded by many as having too much the character of vindictiveness to be justifiable on moral grounds. It was proposed to destroy the harbour of Charleston by blocking it up with huge masses of stone. Charleston had been the cradle of the rebellion, and some degree of punishment for the immense wrong it had committed, and the misery it had spread far and wide in the prosecution of its wicked ambition, would have been nothing more than just. But to destroy the harbour for ever, and thus to ruin an important commercial city perpetually (if that was indeed the design, which, however, the Federal Government denied), was an act of revenge which other nations not unnaturally reprobated. The plan, nevertheless, met with the general approval of the Northern people, and forty-five old whaling vessels and mercantile ships were purchased by the Government, and filled with stones. These assembled at Port Royal, and, on the 17th of December, under convoy of ships-of-war, sailed for the scene of the contemplated operations. The vessels designed for this purpose, and which were to be sunk together with their contents, were ships and barks of a burden between two and five hundred tons, too old to be any longer employed in long sea-voyages, but very well adapted to the project in hand. They were for the most part double-deckers, and, having been stripped of their copper and other fittings, were loaded with stones as deeply as was considered safe. Each vessel was manned by about fourteen men, and precise instructions were given as to how they should proceed. Measures of a similar nature had already been taken on the coast of North Carolina, where Ocracoke Inlet, Pamlico Sound, had been to some extent blocked by sunken vessels, as a means of preventing the egress of privateers and the entrance of commercial ships. But the present attempt was on a much larger scale, and involved the destruction of Charleston as a harbour and place of trade. It was indeed declared by the American Government, in answer to inquiries made by foreign States, that nothing more than a temporary blockade was intended; but the mischief, if once effectually done, might not have been repaired. The old boats were to be sunk in such a manner as not entirely to block up the outlets to the current, lest the stream, running with great force out of the harbour, should make for itself a fresh passage, equal to that which had been closed. On the 19th of December the fleet assembled off Charleston Bar, when the position

where each ship was to be sunk was exactly marked. The act of sinking the vessels began on the evening of that day, and was continued throughout the next; and the work was believed to have been so thoroughly effected that Northern newspapers exulted over the fact of Charleston harbour being a thing of the past. But the calculation proved erroneous. The strength of the current soon swept away the obstructions in its channel, and the harbour was once more free before the Federals had ceased to rejoice over its supposed obliteration.

The close of 1861 was marked by a painful incident, which caused the utmost excitement in England, and for awhile threatened war between Great Britain and the United States. As a means of advancing their cause in Europe, the rulers of the Confederate States were very desirous of being represented at London and Paris by agents fully instructed as to the plans, prospects, and intentions of the Southern League. Mr. Jefferson Davis was therefore empowered by Congress to despatch to the old world Mr. Mason, who was to proceed to England, and Mr. Slidell, the scene of whose labours was to be in France. These gentlemen, with their secretaries and some others, sailed in the first instance from Charleston to Havannah, where, under the protection of the Spanish flag, they talked openly of their mission and its objects, the principal of which was to obtain the recognition of the Confederacy, not only as a belligerent, but as an established Power. Their passage to Europe was to be effected in the British Royal mail-steamer, *Trent*, for the arrival of which they waited in the Spanish colony. All this while they were under the close observation of the United States consul at Havannah, who telegraphed to Captain Wilkes (the commander of the United States exploring expedition of 1838–42) to bring the sloop-of-war *San Jacinto* from Trinidad to Havannah. The *Trent*, with the Confederate Commissioners on board, left Havannah on the 7th of November, and about noon on the 8th, when in the narrow passage of the old Bahama Channel, observed a steamer some way ahead, apparently waiting the approach of the mail-steamer, and showing no colours. This was the *San Jacinto*, the crew of which were prepared as if for action, with every gun of their starboard battery directed against the English vessel.* The latter hoisted the English colours, and the American fired across her bow; though which of these acts had precedence of the other is a matter of some uncertainty. The *Trent* showing no disposition to stop or slacken speed, the *San Jacinto* ran up the American ensign, and fired a shell across the mail-steamer, which brought her to. Lieutenant Fairfax, of the American vessel, was despatched on board the *Trent*, and measures were taken for a resort to force, should that be considered necessary by the officers of the United States. Captain Moir, of the *Trent*, refused to show his papers and passenger-list; but, Mr. Mason having been recognised, a part of the armed crew in one of the American vessel's boats was ordered by Lieutenant Fairfax to come on board. Messrs. Mason and Slidell were then requested to accompany the lieutenant on to the *San Jacinto*, but declined, saying they would yield only to force. An additional body of armed men, including marines, thereupon boarded the *Trent*, and, after some application of personal violence, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, were conveyed on board the United States ship, where they were received by Captain Wilkes, and shown into his cabin. Before their removal, they had claimed the protection of the British flag, and Captain Moir had protested strongly against the act of the American officers in searching his vessel—an expression of opinion in which he was joined by many of the passengers, comprising natives of various countries. The families of the gentlemen thus removed, including several ladies, were invited by Captain Wilkes to proceed on board his vessel, where they were offered the use of a cabin; but this they declined, and the *San Jacinto* proceeded on its way to the United States. The Commissioners were carried to Fortress Monroe, at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, and thence transferred to Fort Warren, in Boston harbour, where for a time they were held as prisoners.

In his report to the Secretary of the Navy, Captain Wilkes stated that it was his original intention to take possession of the *Trent*, and send her to Key West as a prize, for resisting the search, and carrying passengers whose character and objects were well known to the captain; but that the reduced number of his officers and crew, and the number of passengers on board the *Trent* bound to Europe, who would thus have been put to great inconvenience, decided him to allow the vessel to proceed. The seizure of the Commissioners, however, was considered to be in itself so great a triumph that public opinion in America was intoxicated with delight and self-congratulation. The newspapers gave emphatic expression to what may almost be described as the universal joy. "There is no drawback to our jubilation," said the *New*

* Statement of an officer on board the *San Jacinto*: Tenney's History of the Rebellion, p. 110.

York Times. "As for Commodore Wilkes and his command, let the handsome thing be done. Consecrate another July 4th to him; load him down with services of plate and swords of the cunningest and costliest art; let us encourage the happy inspiration that achieved such a victory." But it was not merely in the press that these absurd and most reprehensible remarks were to be found. They proceeded also from the mouths of speakers occupying high positions in the country. A banquet in honour of Captain Wilkes was given at Boston; and on that occasion Mr. Andrew, the Governor of Massachusetts, delivered a speech, in which he characterised the seizure of the Commissioners as "an act of conspicuous patriotism and good judgment," and as one of the most illustrious services of the war. "To him," he added, referring to Captain Wilkes in the midst of loud cheers, "and to all who assisted and counselled and aided him in that enterprise, the American people, with one accord, agree in ascribing, not only wise and prescient judgment, but also a manly and heroic success." Judge Bigelow spoke on the same evening in the same strain, and expressed a hope that peace with England, desirable as it was, might be not be bought at the cost of their own degradation —by which, of course, he meant the surrender of the Commissioners.

Governor Andrew and Judge Bigelow, however, were not responsible persons in the matter; and it is more important to consider what was the conduct of the United States Government itself. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that this was in all respects equal to the gravity of the occasion. A mistake may be made by the subordinate of any Government, without reflecting discredit on the Government itself, if it be promptly disavowed; but, at the outset, the Cabinet of President Lincoln evinced some disposition to support Captain Wilkes in the act which he had committed. Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, wrote to that officer, expressing approval of his conduct, and the Secretary of War seemed inclined to adopt the same tone. The Government was, indeed, not unanimous in its view of the matter, and President Lincoln maintained silence, as if he were waiting for the development of events before committing himself to any course. But for a time there appeared only too much reason to apprehend that the Cabinet would find it difficult, even if it so desired, to comply with any demand from England for the restoration of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. The House of Representatives passed a resolution thanking Captain Wilkes for what he had done, and the President was requested to direct the confinement of the Commissioners in the cells of convicted felons until Colonel Corcoran and Colonel Wood (who were at that time held as hostages for the Southern privateersmen then awaiting trial as pirates in the Northern Courts) should be treated by the Confederates as, it was alleged, the United States had treated all prisoners taken by them on the field of battle. There were two reasons why the people of the United States regarded with so much exultation the capture of these Confederate agents. In the first place, it was a triumph over the enemy; in the second place, it was an affront to England. It is painful to regard the second consideration as having any weight; but there can be no question as to the fact. The Americans of the North had been deeply, and not unreasonably, hurt by the conduct of England towards them since the commencement of the struggle; by the manifest sympathy of the most influential classes with Southern conspiracy and rebellion; by the hasty recognition of the South as a belligerent; and by the refusal to wait until Mr. Adams could present his credentials to the Queen before that step was taken. To most politicians in the United States it seemed that England was covertly acting the part of an enemy, without having the honesty and courage to make an open avowal of her views. The opinion was exaggerated, though not altogether without foundation; and it increased tenfold the feeling of satisfaction with which the boarding of the *Trent* was contemplated. This feeling was put into very plain words by Governor Andrew in the speech to which allusion has been made. "That there might be nothing left," he said, "to crown the exultation of the American heart, Commodore Wilkes fired his shot across the bows of a ship that bore the English lion at its head." Nothing could be more lamentable than that such a sentiment should have existed; but it is impossible to doubt its reality, or its wide diffusion.

In England, the emotion excited by the event of November 8th was equally powerful with that of America. No one who can recall those days will ever forget the flame of indignation which leapt quivering out of the national heart when the news arrived. It was felt that the whole might of the British Empire had been challenged and defied. In the outburst of popular rage, reason was scarcely heeded. The talk at first was all for war, and those who suggested a more cautious method of proceeding, and who felt that until the American Government had spoken no extreme measures could be adopted, were scarcely listened to. Even a journal like the *Daily News*, notwithstanding its strong sympathy with the Northern cause and

THE "SAN JACINTO" STOPPING THE "TRENT."

people, wrote in a very decided tone as to the necessity of resisting such an assumption on the part of America. It was not until the general excitement had a little calmed down that people began to look into the law of the case, and to examine the precise application of international usages to the somewhat unique position of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. A full discussion of the matter brought out the fact that, however unjustifiable was the conduct of Captain Wilkes, he might absolutely have done much more, and been strictly within his right. It was declared by the law officers of the Crown that the conduct of the *San Jacinto* in seizing and carrying off the Southern Commissioners was illegal, but that if they had seized the ship, with all on board, and submitted her to an American prize-court, they would have been completely justified. From this point of view the act of the American officer appeared more an error of judgment, or a mistake in form, than a deliberate and intentional outrage. A persistence in that error on the part of the American Government would of course have converted it into an outrage of the most extreme description; but the matter was greatly simplified, or at any rate reduced in gravity, by the unquestionable fact that the *Trent* was acting improperly in conveying the Commissioners at all, and might have been condemned for doing so. It was still further lightened by the circumstance that Captain Wilkes had acted without any instructions from his Government. The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, in writing to Mr. Adams on the 30th of November, drew his attention to the fact. While admitting that he did not attach much importance to that fact, he evidently regarded it as a matter calculated to exercise some influence on the progress of negotiations. The subject, he remarked, was free from the embarrassments which might have resulted if the act had been specially directed by the Washington Government. The arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell was in his estimation a new and unforeseen circumstance, which was to be met by the two Governments, if possible, in a friendly spirit. Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador to the United States, had at that time said nothing on the subject, and no explanations were furnished to Mr. Adams by the Secretary of State, as it was considered prudent that the ground to be taken by

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the British Government should be first made known at Washington. This despatch was read by Mr. Adams to Earl Russell on the 19th of December; but all knowledge of its existence was most disingenuously withheld from the English public until full three weeks later, although it would necessarily have had a very tranquillising effect on that popular emotion which was nearly hurrying the country into a war with America.

Earl Russell, writing to Lord Lyons on the same day that Mr. Seward had written to Mr. Adams, intimated that her Majesty's Ministers were willing to believe that Captain Wilkes was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government. The Government of the United States must be fully aware that the British Government could not allow such an affront to the national honour to pass without full reparation. It was therefore believed by Earl Russell and his colleagues that when the matter should be brought under the consideration of the President and his Cabinet, they would of their own accord offer to the British Government such redress as alone could satisfy the nation; namely, the liberation of the four gentlemen, and their delivery to Lord Lyons, in order that they might again be placed under British protection, accompanied by a suitable apology for the aggression that had been committed. If these terms were not offered by Mr. Seward, Lord Lyons was himself to propose them. In a letter containing private instructions to the British Ambassador, Earl Russell said that, should Mr. Seward ask for delay, it was to be granted to an extent not exceeding seven days, and that if, at the end of that time, no answer was given, or an answer different from that which was required, Lord Lyons was to leave Washington with all the members of the Legation, and to repair immediately to London. The subject was of course discussed in Parliament, when a very lofty—perhaps it might even be said, a somewhat truculent—tone was adopted by the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, and a great deal of unnecessary and ill-judged declamation against the United States was indulged in by Confederate sympathisers. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and some few other members of the same party, ventured to plead for a fair and temperate discussion of the points involved, which were much more difficult and many-sided than appeared in the first blinding glare of passion. But what they urged was set down for nothing better than a craven submission to the desires of the United States; and the torrent of angry vituperation and irritating menace still poured on. The Government even considered it proper to make preparations for war, though they had not yet heard the decision of the United States, and had some grounds for hoping that that decision, when given, would be in accordance with the fair and reasonable demands of England. Two battalions of Guards were sent out to Canada, together with munitions of war for the fortifications in that colony. The despatch of household troops was an act of greater significance than the employment of any other soldiers would have been; for the Guards are never sent out of England except on occasions of great urgency, when war is considered almost inevitable. It is impossible, therefore, to acquit the Government of that day of having indulged in a policy of provocation towards the United States at a time when the Northern people had their hands so fully engaged that a foreign war would have been little short of utter ruin. An unbiassed historian must also admit that, while the feeling of anger was yet strong in England, it decreased in America. Even before the decision of the Washington Cabinet was known, the New York papers themselves—the most violent of any in America—were prepared to accept the release of the Commissioners as an act required by all the circumstances of the case; and from the first General McClellan, and some other Americans of distinction, doubted the propriety of the seizure.

Fortunately, this was the feeling which ultimately prevailed on all hands. To the despatch from Earl Russell to Lord Lyons, Mr. Seward replied on the 26th of December. The Secretary of State began by narrating the facts of the case, which, he said, showed that Captain Wilkes had simply adopted the legal and customary proceedings of a belligerent to arrest and capture a neutral vessel engaged in carrying contraband of war for the use and benefit of the insurgents. He affirmed that the persons named, and their supposed despatches, were contraband of war; that Captain Wilkes might lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for those contraband persons and despatches; that he exercised that right in a lawful and proper manner; and that, having found the contraband persons on board, and in presumed possession of the contraband despatches, he had a right to capture the former. But then arose the question, whether he exercised that right of capture in the manner allowed and recognised by the law of nations. Here Mr. Seward was obliged to acknowledge that an error had been committed. He continued:—"I trust I have shown to the satisfaction of the British Government, by a very simple and natural statement of facts, and an analysis of the law applicable to them, that this Government has neither meditated, nor practised, nor approved, any deliberate wrong in the transaction to which

they have called its attention, and, on the contrary, that what has happened has been simply an inadvertence, consisting in a departure by the naval officers—free from any wrongful motive—from a rule uncertainly established, and probably, by the several parties concerned, either imperfectly understood or entirely unknown. For this error the British Government has a right to expect the same reparation that we, as an independent State, should expect from Great Britain, or from any friendly nation, in a similar case. I have not been unaware that, in examining this question, I have fallen into an argument for what seems to be the British side of it against my own country; but I am relieved from all embarrassments on that subject. I had scarcely fallen into that line of argument when I discovered that I was really defending and maintaining, not an exclusively British interest, but an old, honoured, and cherished American cause; not upon British authorities, but upon principles that constitute a large portion of the distinctive policy by which the United States have developed the resources of a continent, and thus, becoming a considerable maritime Power, have won the respect and confidence of many nations. These principles were laid down for us by James Madison, in 1804, when Secretary of State under Jefferson, in instructions to James Monroe, our then Minister to England." The instructions were quoted by Mr. Seward in full, and he then went on to say that if he decided the existing case in favour of his own Government, he must disallow the most cherished principles of his country, and for ever abandon its essential policy. If, on the other hand, he maintained those principles, and adhered to that policy, he must surrender the case itself. "The Government of the United States," he observed, "could not deny the justice of the claim presented. They were asked to do to the British nation what they had always insisted that all nations ought to do to them." The upshot of Mr. Seward's analysis was an intimation that the four prisoners would be cheerfully liberated, and Lord Lyons was requested to indicate a time and place for receiving them.

The only unsatisfactory part of the Secretary's letter was that in which he said:—"In coming to my conclusion, I have not forgotten that if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured prisoners, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them; but the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid me from resorting to that defence." This qualification was quite unnecessary, and it weakened the force of Mr. Seward's argument, besides taking away from the grace and propriety of his act. If the seizure of the Commissioners was unjustifiable, as Mr. Seward himself abundantly and conclusively proved, it could not have been rendered fitting by any danger that might possibly have accrued from their release. The question was simply one of right and law, to be determined without reference to any other considerations. The Secretary of State occupied much safer ground when, towards the conclusion of his letter, he expressed his satisfaction that, by the adjustment of the case upon principles confessedly American, and yet, as he trusted, mutually satisfactory to both nations, a question was finally and rightly settled between them, which in former days had exhausted, not only all forms of peaceful discussion, but the arbitrament of war itself—a question which for more than half a century had alienated the two countries from each other, and perplexed all other nations with fears and apprehensions. To this it would indeed be difficult to reply. Indefensible as the conduct of Captain Wilkes undoubtedly was, and imperative as it would have been for England to adopt the most serious measures, had reparation been refused, it is obvious that the position of the injured country was weakened by the principles which she had herself maintained in earlier times. The war of 1812 was caused by the persistent determination of Great Britain to search American ships for fugitive subjects whom she believed to be on board. The alleged right of search was enforced again and again, in defiance of the earnest protests of the American Government; and men were violently seized by British officers, even when they claimed to be American citizens, because they were English by birth, and therefore, according to the contention of the British Government, still within the grasp of English law. This asserted right was not given up at the peace of 1815; and at much later periods it was again affirmed. Even in the year 1842, Mr. Webster, when Secretary of State under the Presidency of Mr. Tyler, addressed to the British Plenipotentiary then in Washington (Lord Ashburton) a long communication, in which the whole question was discussed with that masterly force and intellectual fulness which so remarkably distinguished the writer. It was desired by Mr. Webster that some provision for putting an end to a very dangerous state of things should be agreed to between the two countries; but the Government of Sir Robert Peel refused to entertain the suggestion, and some little while before, in connection with the slave-trade, Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign

Secretary, had re-asserted the principle of the right of search (as Lord Palmerston had done before him), though with a degree of hesitation and compromise which in no respect helped the matter. From some other points of view, also, the British Government of 1861 was embarrassed in its treatment of the case which then engaged its attention. If Captain Wilkes was in the wrong, so also was Captain Moir. The one officer should not have taken the Confederate agents from off a foreign ship; the other should not have had them on board. Captain Moir, moreover, committed a grave error in not producing his passenger-list on the demand of Lieutenant Fairfax. There was, in fact, so much blundering on both sides, that it would have been tragical indeed had a war between kindred nations resulted from the incompetency and ignorance of two sea-captains, both conscientiously desirous of doing their duty to their Governments, and neither understanding in what way to do it.

In her resistance to the arbitrary proceedings of the *San Jacinto*, England had the full support of other nations. The Foreign Ministers at Washington expressed themselves strongly to Lord Lyons on the illegality of what had been done. France, in particular, took very decided ground in connection with the affair, moved perhaps in some degree by the fact that one of the envoys seized was on his way to her own court. On the 10th of December, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs wrote to the representative of that country at Washington that the arrest had produced in France, if not the same emotion as in England, at least extreme astonishment and sensation. "The desire," said M. Thouvenel, "to aid in preventing a conflict, perhaps imminent, between two Powers for which the French Government is animated by sentiments equally friendly, and the duty to uphold, for the purpose of placing the right of its own flag under shelter from any attack, certain principles essential to the security of neutrals, have, after mature reflection, convinced it that it could not, under the circumstances, remain entirely silent." The disposition to recognise the Confederate States was even stronger in France than in England; and it is probable that, had war broken out between Great Britain and the Government of President Lincoln, France would gladly have availed herself of such an opportunity for placing the South in the position which she earnestly coveted, and would at the same time have joined England in military and naval operations against her enemy. These matters were fully understood at Washington, and exercised an important influence in determining the event. If hostilities had really ensued, Canada would have been one of the main seats of war; and between the Canadians and the Americans there has never been much love. On the present occasion, the former were even desirous of coming to blows. The reinforcements sent from England were received with enthusiasm. Volunteer companies were formed; drilling and marching went on all day long; and people began to anticipate a renewal of those disasters which have on several occasions befallen the Americans in their attacks upon the Northern province. The feeling of the moment derived additional strength from some foolish remarks which had appeared in one of the New York papers a little before the conflict of Bull Run. The writer of those remarks regretted that two sections of Americans should be fighting one another, and suggested that it would be far wiser for them to unite their forces, and march against Canada. For a moment, it seemed doubtful whether Canada would not march against them.

The case being at length decided, the authorities at Washington sent instructions to the commandant of Fort Warren to deliver the Confederate agents to the representatives of the British Government. They were accordingly placed on board a small steamer, and conveyed to an English vessel at anchor off Provincetown, near Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Thence they were conveyed to the West Indian island of St. Thomas, where they took passage for England by one of the regular steam-packets. Not long after, Mr. Mason was doing the best he could for his Government in London, and Mr. Slidell in Paris. In both countries they met multitudes of friends, who earnestly desired to promote their cause; but their mission was a failure. The brief popularity which had resulted from their seizure on board the *Trent*, and which was entirely factitious in its character, died out before the cold and hard necessities of diplomacy, and neither enjoyed the honour of being at any time the accredited representative of an acknowledged Government. The arrest of these Commissioners, under circumstances which put their captors so completely in the wrong, was hailed by the Government at Richmond as the most fortunate circumstance in its career. Brilliant anticipations were formed as to the course that would be adopted by England under the affront she had received. It does not seem to have been thought possible that the United States would repudiate the act of their own officer, and disappoint the clamorous demands of their own people. War, therefore, was considered imminent, and war between England and the United States, at such a juncture, would in all probability have established the new

Government at once and for ever. Great was the disappointment in the slave-holding States when it was found that Mr. Seward comprehended international law better than Captain Wilkes, and that the nation in its sobriety was wiser than the New York press in its drunkenness. When Messrs. Mason and Slidell were released from Fort Warren, England had cause for quiet satisfaction, the Northern States of America had occasion for deep thankfulness, but the South had assuredly no motive for any other feeling than that of profound vexation.

One evil result of this affair was, that even after it was all over it left a rankling sense of injury in the minds of Englishmen. The feeling of unfriendliness towards the North, which had been marked from the first, became much more extreme after that ill-starred incident of November 8th. It was always thought, though unjustly, that the Americans had yielded to fear, and not to right. Some blustering remarks in certain of the American newspapers gave a colour of probability to this impression; but the majority of the American people, when the first heat of controversy had passed, saw the case in its true bearings, and knew that by supporting Captain Wilkes they would have denied one of their most cherished traditions. It was perhaps regrettable that the Cabinet of President Lincoln omitted to make any apology for the error which had been committed; but it was certainly wise on the part of English Ministers not to insist upon what they had at first demanded. Governments, which often commit follies and crimes productive of the most lamentable results, are occasionally wiser than the people they represent. Had there been no interposition of cool-headed statesmen between the fiery English and American masses at the close of 1861, a desolating war might have been the result, together with the establishment of a Slave Empire on the ruins of a Free Republic.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Steps taken in the Confederate States for creating a Permanent Government—Message of Mr. Davis (Nov. 18th, 1861)—Review of the Situation—Appeal to the Fears of other Nations—Failure of the Cotton Supply, and its Effects in England—Destruction of Cotton by the Confederates—Strictness of the Federal Blockade—Sufferings of the Southern States—Disaffection among the "Mean Whites" and the Negroes—First Annual Message of President Lincoln (Dec. 3rd, 1861)—Progress and Prospects of the Union—Condition of the Negroes—Projects for Colonisation—Mr. Seward's Letter to General McClellan on the Treatment of Escaped Slaves—Report of the Secretary of the Treasury—Creation of a Large National Debt—Violation of the Neutrality of New Granada by a Federal Officer—The *Nashville* and the *Tuscarora* in Southampton Docks—Strength of the Federals at the beginning of 1862—General McClellan's Scheme of Operations—Fighting in Kentucky—Defeat of the Confederates at Mill Springs—Sufferings of the Southerners—Fort Henry surrendered to the Federals—Successful Operations on the Tennessee River—Advance of General Grant on Fort Donelson—Severe Fighting before the Walls—Extraordinary Blundering of the Confederate Commanders—Determination to evacuate the Fort—Escape of Floyd, Pillow, and Forrest, with a Portion of the Confederate Army—Dishonourable Conduct of Floyd—Retirement of the Confederates from Nashville—Confusion in the City—The New Confederate Line of Defence in the West—Inauguration of Mr. Jefferson Davis as Permanent President of the Confederate States—His Address on that Occasion.

Military operations, either offensive or defensive, occupy by far the most important position in the annals of the short-lived Confederate States; but political events were not entirely wanting, and these must be noticed in due course. The Government was as yet only provisional, and as the autumn advanced it was considered proper to take steps for creating a more permanent constitution. Electors for President and Vice-President were chosen on the 6th of November, and members were returned to a Congress which was to meet at Richmond on February 18th, 1862. The Provisional Congress met for its fourth session on the 18th of November, 1861, and the Message of Mr. Davis was delivered on the following day. The President congratulated his auditors on the flourishing state of the Confederacy. The necessities of the time, he said, had called into existence new branches of manufacture; the ability of the Confederate States to produce within themselves whatever was required by the needs of life, had increased with the continuance of the struggle; and they were gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of military stores and munitions of war. The conflict, it was observed, extended at that time from the shores of Chesapeake Bay to the confines of Missouri and Arizona; yet everywhere the tide of invasion had been rolled back from the frontiers. The "succession of glorious victories" which had crowned the Confederate arms was dwelt on with

pardonable, though somewhat inflated, congratulation; and it was asserted that, on a fair comparison between the two belligerents, the Confederate States were relatively much stronger at that date than when the struggle commenced.

After alluding to the position of Kentucky, to the state of the navy, and to the development of the ordinary departments of government, Mr. Davis referred to the financial system of the Confederacy, which he cautiously said had worked well so far, and promised good results in the future. There was, he thought, every reason to believe that the Confederate Treasury note was fast becoming a fair circulating medium. But a large part of Mr. Davis's hopefulness with regard to the general prospects of the Southern League was derived from the presumed mistakes and wrong-doings of the adversary. "Our people," said the Confederate official, "now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connection." The proceedings of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet were described as those of despots; as if the state of civil war did not invariably necessitate a resort to exceptional measures; as if the Confederate ruler himself were not, at that very time, depending on far worse acts for the maintenance of the cause which he desired to establish. The arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board the *Trent* was alluded to in terms of great reprobation, and the Federal Government was accused of other violations of right in the prosecution of its quarrel with the South. With respect to the blockade, Mr. Davis mentioned that

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BRITISH TROOPS CONVEYED THROUGH CANADA.

he had caused to be collected evidence which proved the utter inefficiency of what had been proclaimed, and should direct it to be laid before such Governments as might afford them the means of being heard, so that they might obtain the enforcement of a law which had been solemnly declared by the great Powers of Europe.*

Towards the conclusion of his Message, the Southern President made an appeal to the fears and self-interest of other nations. "Although," he observed, "it is true that the cotton-supply from the Southern States could only be totally cut off by the subversion of our social system"—which, by the way, we now see has had no such result—"yet it is plain that a long continuance of this blockade might, by a diversion of labour and investment of capital in other employments, so diminish the supply as to bring ruin upon all those interests of foreign countries which are dependent on that staple. For every labourer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupation." The war, in the opinion of Mr. Jefferson Davis, could never take from the Southern people the right of self-government; but it might work a revolution in the industrial system of the world, which would carry suffering into other lands. The consideration here suggested was intended mainly for Great Britain, as the chief importer of American cotton. It was always believed at the South that England would be compelled in a little while to recognise the Confederate States, and break through the blockade (even at the risk of war with the Washington Government), from the imperative necessity of saving one of her principal manufactures from extinction, and a large part of her population from the most dire distress. We shall have to record in a future page the leading incidents of that terrible "Cotton Famine," as it was justly called, from which the populations of Lancashire and other northern counties suffered so severely. It may here suffice to say that Mr. Davis's suggestions failed entirely of their effect; and that while the noble and wealthy, with few exceptions, clamoured for the admission of a slave-holding Confederacy into the family of nations, the working classes, who were by far the most acute sufferers from the failure of the cotton-supply, never faltered in resisting that demand, and by their resolution and fortitude saved the country from the eternal shame of supporting a cause which was nothing better than a dark conspiracy against the elementary rights of men.

The proceedings of the Southern Legislature were mainly directed towards supplying the Government with means for carrying on the war, and for providing defences on the western rivers. In accordance with a suggestion of Mr. Davis, money was voted for connecting the Richmond and Danville with the North Carolina Railway, which it was thought would be useful from a strategical point of view. A special Act was passed for the organisation of a force, consisting of one brigade or more, to be called the Maryland Line; and it was resolved that no peace should be concluded with the United States which did not ensure to Maryland the opportunity of forming a part of the Confederacy. The internal condition of the country became more lamentable every day. The naval expeditions of the North penetrated the inland waters of the Confederate States, and made the power of the Union felt where it was most denied. It was hoped by the Federals that many of the planters would be willing to deal with them, and exchange their cotton for either money or commodities; but it does not appear that their anticipations were well grounded. Directly a Federal steamer was seen far off, the torch was applied to the stored-up bales of cotton, and an enormous amount of property was thus destroyed, rather than that it should fall into the hands of the enemy. The effect of the blockade was seen in several ways. Salt became extremely scarce; wine, tea, and coffee, could be purchased only by the rich. In time, substitutes of various kinds were found for some of these things; but life was rendered difficult in the Southern States by the strictness of the Federal embargo. Notwithstanding the interested representations of Mr. Davis to the contrary, the blockade was a stern and rigid fact, which every day became more relentless in its grip. The Confederates opened manufactories for the production of clothes, as well as powder-mills, and establishments for making small-arms; yet nothing could compensate for the loss of resources which were to be found chiefly at the industrious North, or in foreign countries with which only a very precarious intercourse could be maintained. Some credit should be given to the Southern people for the equanimity with which they bore their deprivations. But it must be recollected that they did so in the hope of establishing a system by which they expected to realise the most magnificent profits; so that their patriotism, if it was worthy to go by the name at all, was of a very inferior order to that of men who fight for bare liberty, or for the predominance of some noble idea.

* "Blockades, to be binding, must be effective."—*Treaty of Paris, April 16th*, 1856.

The feeling in favour of the war, however, was by no means unanimous. The "mean whites," who owned neither land nor slaves, and who had nothing to gain by the success of a Republic based on aristocratical privilege and African serfdom, were so discontented with the existing condition that it was only by coercion they could be made to furnish recruits for the army. It has been alleged that they were often marched in chains to the great military centres, and compelled to serve by fear of the halter. These men have been known to say to their officers, "You are fighting for your slaves; we have no slaves, and have nothing to fight for." Even among the planters, there were some so little satisfied with their lives that they fled into the Northern States, to be rid for ever of the hopeless system to which they had been born. The position of the "mean whites" was peculiarly hard, even at the best of times. They had no possessions, yet were shut out from labour by the degradation attaching to the idea in all communities where labour is identified with a servile and inferior race. Poor and proud, despised and dependent, idle and shiftless, yet with aspirations towards a worthier life, they formed a dangerous class, loving neither the slaves nor their masters, but longing for the success of Northern ideas, and for the arrival of a time when labour should be restored to its natural dignity and honour.* Another source of peril was in the hatred and the hopes of the enslaved. The negroes did not, indeed, revolt in a body: they had too little power of combination, too little intelligence and self-reliance, for such a course; and they naturally dreaded an appeal to arms, when all the arms were in the hands of their oppressors. But masters who were compelled by the stress of war to remove far from the coasts, found their human chattels refusing to accompany them. The blacks desired to remain on the Atlantic shores, that they might welcome the Northern hosts when they came, and take their freedom from the conqueror's sword. Even those in the interior escaped whenever they could, and made their way towards the ocean. Hundreds of fugitives were shot by their owners, and lay unburied in the woods. Incendiary fires broke out in Charleston; and on the night of December 11th, 1861, a large part of that city was swept away by a conflagration of unusual magnitude. It is doubtless true that some negroes were to be found who upheld the tyranny from which they suffered. No political or social system, however bad, has at any time wanted defenders from among the ranks of its victims. But it is certain that the South never, until the last spasm of the rebellion, trusted her slaves sufficiently to arm them against the invaders from the North. The blacks were out of the pale of the Confederate Constitution, and were not likely to fight for its preservation.†

The first Annual Message of President Lincoln was delivered on the 3rd of December. It was a document of great length, and reviewed with much elaboration of detail the existing state of the Republic. The necessity of preserving the Union from the attacks of traitors was affirmed with emphasis, and, as regarded foreign nations, it was observed that, although causes of irritation had been averted by prudence and liberality, foreign dangers, in America as in other countries, necessarily attended domestic difficulties. The President therefore recommended that adequate and ample measures should be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side. This was doubtless an allusion to the *Trent* affair, which, however, received no more specific notice. The sea-coast line, Mr. Lincoln thought, should be protected; and he believed it would be found desirable to erect fortifications, and to form depôts of arms and munitions, on the great lakes and rivers. Alluding to the Act of Congress for confiscating property used for insurrectionary purposes, the President remarked that numbers of persons (negro slaves), thus liberated, had become dependent on the United States, and must be provided for in some way. He suggested that steps should be taken for colonising these individuals, and he thought it might be well to consider also whether the free coloured people already in the United States could not, so far as they might desire, be included in such colonisation. To this end it might be necessary to acquire territory, and to appropriate money beyond what would be expended in the territorial acquisition; and it was urged that the question involved was one not merely of expediency, but of absolute necessity. Very little in the way of marked and brilliant success called for recognition by the President; yet he could point to a number of detached facts which, taken collectively, showed that the cause of the Union was "advancing steadily and certainly southward." At the close of the address, it was observed that, from the first taking of the national Census to the last, seventy years had elapsed, and that the United States found themselves at the end of that period with a population eight times as great as it

* See an article in the *Daily News* of January 11th, 1862, apparently from the pen of Harriet Martineau.

† Brigadier-General Drayton, commanding the third Military District of South Carolina, said, in a report dated November 18th, 1861, that the slaves were not disaffected; but the fact is doubtful.

was at the beginning. "We thus," continued Mr. Lincoln, "have at one view what the popular principle applied to government, through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions." The prospect was almost too vast for human ken; but it had its effect in making Northern Americans all the more resolved to uphold the Union which was to effect such dazzling results.

The allusion to the slaves in this Message showed how perplexed was the Chief Magistrate on that most difficult and threatening subject. To deport the blacks to some other land, and so get rid of the trouble for ever, had long been a favourite idea with politicians who perceived the wickedness of slavery, yet disliked the existence within the Republic of an inferior race, possessing equal rights with the superior. It was seen that, if the negro were freed, it could not be long, according to the theory of the American Constitution, ere he must receive the suffrage, with every other privilege of the citizen; and it was not unnaturally feared that this might lead to a deterioration of political life. If the whole race could be removed to a distance, the tangled knot would be severed at a blow; and it was on this account that the free negro colony of Liberia (a recognition of the sovereignty of which was now recommended by the President) had been established by an American society, some forty years before. But the matter was not to be so easily disposed of. By far the greater number of the negroes objected to being sent off to Africa, or elsewhere; and to have transported them by main force, and against their own will, would have been too monstrous a violation of right. They had been born in America; they had, to a great extent, acquired American ideas and habits; and they shrank from the prospect of a new land and new conditions. As the civil war progressed, it became increasingly evident that the emancipation of the entire race must sooner or later be decreed; but Mr. Lincoln would gladly have avoided such a catastrophe altogether—a disposition which made him as unpopular with the Abolitionists of the North as with the slaveholders of the South. Hence it was that he favoured schemes of colonisation, and dreamt of a Republic from which the black element should be excluded.

Nevertheless, both he and Mr. Seward were desirous of enforcing the law of August 6th, for confiscating slaves who had been employed by their masters in the work of rebellion. On the 4th of December, Mr. Seward addressed a letter to General McClellan, stating that persons belonging to this category frequently escaped from the enemy's lines, and were received within the lines of the Army of the Potomac; and that such persons, on entering the city of Washington, were liable to be arrested by the police, on the presumption, arising from colour, that they were fugitives from service or labour. The object of Mr. Seward's communication was to call General McClellan's attention to the Act of Congress recently passed, and to declare that persons thus employed, and escaping, were under the military protection of the United States. Their apprehension, he added, should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure. Copies of the Secretary's letter were at the same time sent to the Mayor of the city of Washington, and to the Marshal of the District of Columbia, to avoid any collision between the civil and military authorities; but it was obvious that the situation was fraught with peril. Although nothing was said in the Act of Congress about the emancipation of the slaves thus confiscated, it was clearly impossible that they should be held in slavery, or sold to other masters; so that the work of freedom had already commenced, and the remaining steps would follow inevitably on the first.

The report of Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, showed with what fearful rapidity an immense National Debt was being created. The cost of the war up to July 12th, 1862, would be, according to the estimates, no less than 543,406,422 dollars, equal in English money to about £112,000,000. The public debt at the same date would be 517,372,802 dollars, or £107,000,000; so that during the first year of the war there had been an increase in the public debt of 426,504,974 dollars, or £88,000,000. Of this increased public debt, present and prospective, the Government had negotiated 197,242,588 dollars, leaving 200,000,000 to be provided for. The ordinary expenditure of the country was to be met by an increase of direct taxation on property, by augmented duties on certain articles, by the proceeds of customs, and by several miscellaneous sources of revenue; but the expenses of the war were to be defrayed chiefly out of the loan, for payment of the interest on which a large annual sum was to be provided, together with a sinking fund for its gradual extinguishment. Mr. Chase was of opinion that a permanent debt was an idea of European origin, and should not be introduced into America. He was obliged, however, to create a temporary loan of immense proportions, and to this extent the United States were placed

in a position not more enviable than that of many nations of the Old World. Only in the distant future were their prospects brighter.

The question of the rights of neutrals was constantly springing up, and leading to events of an unpleasant character. About the period of the *Trent* affair, an act of a somewhat similar nature was committed by General Sumner while proceeding, in the course of November, from San Francisco to New York, in command of a detachment of regular troops. Two ex-senators of the United States, and a lawyer who had formerly been Attorney-General of California, had taken passage from San Francisco to Panama on board the Pacific steamer *Orizaba*, with the intention of making their way to New Orleans from some of the West India Islands. Before arriving at Panama, they were placed under arrest by General Sumner, and conveyed across the Isthmus, within the territory of New Granada, under guard of the American troops. The New Granadian authorities protested against what they not unreasonably considered a violation of their neutrality; but General Sumner had a sufficient force at his command to overawe resistance, and the prisoners, being placed on board another steamer, were carried to New York. There can be no doubt that an outrage had been committed on the Government and people of New Granada; but the weakness of that State prevented her demanding explanations, and the act went unpunished and unredressed. It was sometimes a difficult task for England herself to keep the peace, even within her own waters, between the two belligerents. The Confederate cruisers, *Sumter* and *Nashville*, were committing fearful havoc, towards the end of 1861, among the commercial vessels of the United States; and it was a matter of great importance that they should be captured or destroyed. The latter of these vessels, commanded by Lieutenant Pegram, was lying in dock at Southampton, when, on the 8th of January, 1862, the Federal war-corvette, *Tuscarora*, arrived off that town. On the night of the following day, several armed men were found between the west and middle docks, close to the bows of the *Nashville*. The party consisted of two officers with their side-arms, and three men with dark lanterns and signal-lights. On being requested to state what ship they belonged to, and their authority for being there, one of the officers replied, "We belong to the *Tuscarora*, and are here on duty, by order of our captain. We are here to watch the *Nashville*, and, if she attempts to get under way, to signal the *Tuscarora*." They were requested by the superintendent of the docks to leave immediately, and were informed that the docks were the private property of individuals; that they had no right to be there for other than commercial purposes, and would not be allowed to watch the *Nashville*, or any other vessel. Thus baffled in their design, the officers of the Federal ship seem to have determined on attacking the Confederate vessel as soon as it should sail. But the dock authorities, by forbidding the *Tuscarora* to follow until the *Nashville* had got the start by twenty-four hours (a proceeding in accordance with international law), not only prevented a conflict off the English shores, but facilitated the escape of the threatened cruiser.

Whatever might be effected at sea, the chief operations of the Federal Government were necessarily on the land. The military force of the United States was by this time immense, if regard be had only to numbers. At the commencement of 1862, the Northern States had at their disposal upwards of 640,000 volunteers, and more than 20,000 regular troops. The quality of these soldiers was in many instances very indifferent; but, if the war continued long, there seemed no reason why they should not in time become educated to their trade. On receiving his appointment as Commander-in-chief of the Federal armies, General McClellan prepared, at the request of Mr. Lincoln, a memorandum in which he drew out a scheme of operations, and set forth the means by which his conceptions were to be carried into effect. The most important strategical point, he said, was in Eastern Virginia, and the struggle must be fought out there. Campaigns in other directions, however, were necessary in support of the principal movement. An advance must be made on the Mississippi, and the Confederates must be driven out of Missouri. Operations should likewise be conducted in Eastern Tennessee, for the purpose of assisting the Union men in that locality, and of seizing the railroads leading from Memphis to the east. Efforts should be made to organise and equip regiments in Western Virginia; and the General insisted on the importance of occupying Baltimore and Fortress Monroe, and at the same time of concentrating a large army in the vicinity of Washington. For the carrying out of these various projects, McClellan demanded 250 regiments of infantry; 100 field-batteries of six guns each; 28 regiments of cavalry; and 5 regiments of engineers: giving altogether a total of 273,000 men. This was for the active operations alone. Another large body would be needed for holding Washington and the line of the Potomac, for furnishing garrisons to various towns, and for performing the routine military duties required by a state of war. A strong

naval force, it was suggested, should act in conjunction with a fleet of transports; and the railway service of the country was to be turned to advantage by every available means. "We must endeavour," said McClellan, "to seize places on the railways in the rear of the enemy's points of concentration; and we must threaten their seaboard cities, in order that each State may be forced, by the necessity of its own defence, to diminish its contingent to the Confederate army." To this ambitious commander it appeared possible that by a combination of vigorous movements the war might be terminated in one more campaign. He hoped to occupy Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Montgomery, Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans, and in this way to "crush out the rebellion in its very heart."

Some of the earliest encounters of the year 1862 took place in Kentucky. The Western Military District was at that time commanded by General Halleck, who had his head-quarters at St. Louis. Under the orders of this commander were Generals Grant and Buell; the first in Western Kentucky, the second in Eastern. The army under Buell occupied Somerset and Columbia, near the upper part of the Cumberland River, and was opposed by General Zollicoffer, whose camp was at Mill Springs, on the southern bank of the same stream. Having subsequently crossed to the northern bank, he was joined by General Crittenden, his superior in rank; and in the early part of January it was determined to advance. The troops commenced their march at midnight on the 18th, and the design was to surprise the Federals ere it was yet light. The enemy was stationed about ten miles north of the Confederate entrenched camp. General Thomas, the Union officer, was awaiting reinforcements, but had already a respectable force under his command. The approach of the Confederates was discovered at half-past five o'clock on the morning of the 19th, and the action commenced shortly afterwards. At first the Confederates repulsed their opponents; but the latter, after a while, regained the ground they had lost, and at eight o'clock a furious encounter was taking place between forces which appear to have been fairly matched. It was at this time that General Zollicoffer, riding forward in front of his men, suddenly perceived himself in the immediate presence of a Federal regiment. One of the officers of that regiment drew his revolver, and shot the General dead; and his men were so much disheartened by this unexpected event that they began to lose form, and to fall back confusedly. The Union men, deriving new spirit from the fall of one of their chief opponents, now advanced in force, and scattered the Confederates, who were soon completely mobbed. The Federals had received additional regiments during the conflict, and were by this time so strong that General Thomas ordered a pursuit of the Southerners, who were accordingly followed as far as their entrenchments. During the ensuing night, shells were thrown into the Confederate camp, and the discomfited troops, fearing they might be cut off, and being very ill-provided with food in the situation they had taken up, determined to retreat across the Cumberland. The men succeeded in effecting their passage, but it was found impossible to carry with them their waggons, horses, artillery, and camp equipment, which fell into the hands of the Federals. General Crittenden's regiments retreated first to Monticello, and afterwards to Gainsborough, in Tennessee. Their sufferings on the route were extreme, for they had been obliged to leave behind them all their stores, and were compelled to make their way through a tract of country so thinly populated that it could afford no adequate support for a large army. The effect of these deprivations was increased by the low physical condition of the men even before the battle of Mill Springs. For several weeks they had been living on the poorest rations, which frequently consisted simply of bread, and even that in insufficient quantities. The country in which they had encamped was but slightly cultivated, and therefore produced little capable of being turned to the sustenance of man. The troops were in fact half-starved, and on the retreat their condition was even worse. "I have at length," wrote an officer of one of the regiments, "approached that point in a soldier's career when a handful of parched corn may be considered a first-class dinner." The state of depression thus created may account for the want of energy with which the Confederates fought. They were certainly not overborne by superior numbers; yet immediately after the death of Zollicoffer they gave way in disorderly flight.

Their retreat placed Eastern Kentucky entirely in the hands of the Federals; but the Western division of the State still remained to the Confederates. General Sidney Johnston, the Southern commander, held a line of defence which extended from Bowling Green, on the right, to Columbus, on the left—a position rendered unusually strong by the neighbourhood of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, and by a railway system connecting the ends of the line, and giving a command over the adjacent country. Johnston had protected himself by the erection of two forts, one of which,

called Fort Henry, was situated on the right bank of the Tennessee, in the State of Kentucky, while the other, entitled Fort Donelson, was planted on the left bank of the Cumberland, fifteen miles to the south-east of the other, and within the borders of Tennessee. The defences of Fort Henry were somewhat formidable, and the position was strengthened by the creeks and swamps among which the works had been constructed. Nevertheless, General Grant determined to attack the fortification, in combination with the fleet under Commodore Foote. The expedition embarked at Cairo on the 1st of February, and the troops were landed some four and a half miles below Fort Henry on the 5th of the same month. The fort was to be assaulted on the land side by the soldiers, and from the river by the fleet. All being prepared, the march of the land forces commenced on the morning of February 6th. The first division, under General McClernand, proceeded along the right bank of the river, with orders to take up a position on the road from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson. Two brigades of the second division, under General Smith, proceeded at the same hour along the left bank, so as to occupy the heights commanding Fort Henry; and to the third brigade of the second division was assigned the duty of moving directly against the fort, and assaulting the works when the proper moment should have arrived. Unfortunately, the roads were heavy with mud, owing to a great fall of rain a few days previously, so that the army was not in a position to co-operate with the fleet when the latter opened fire. The first naval line was composed of four gunboats, partially protected with

COMMODORE A. H. FOOTE.

iron armour, but hastily adapted to their present purpose out of river-steamers or ferry-boats; the second line consisted of three wooden vessels. A vigorous cannonade was interchanged between the ships and the fort, and the gunboats, getting nearer in shore, directed an effective fire against the works; but, before the action had lasted quite an hour, an unlucky casualty occurred in the fleet. A shot struck the gunboat *Essex*, entering the starboard boiler, and filling the boat with steam. Many of the crew were badly scalded, and the *Essex*, unable to do anything more, was forced to drop astern. The other gunboats, however, continued to advance; and when they had got within six hundred yards of the fort, the Confederate flag was lowered, and signal was made that General Tilghman, the commandant of Fort Henry, was prepared to surrender. The action had lasted an hour and a quarter, and the success of the Federals was due entirely to their naval force, as, owing to the obstructions to which allusion has been made, the land forces were unable to reach the positions to which they had been assigned. The defenders of the fort were made prisoners of war; but the derangement of the Federal plans enabled the main body of the Confederates to escape to Fort Donelson. Grant's cavalry pursued for some distance, and a portion of the field artillery was abandoned; yet the men got safely to their place of refuge. By the possession of Fort Henry, the Federals were able to take up a position in the rear of Columbus, on the Mississippi, and within ten miles of a bridge crossing the railway which connects that town with Bowling Green. The Tennessee River was now open to the Federal gunboats, and the three wooden vessels, under Lieutenant Phelps, were sent up the channel, with orders to destroy the railway bridge, and to capture or sink such of the enemy's vessels as they might encounter. These directions were completely carried out. Lieutenant Phelps penetrated as far as Florence, in Alabama, and succeeded in capturing three steamers and an unfinished gunboat. Six other river-steamers were burnt by the Confederates themselves, to save them from the adversary, and scarcely any opposition was offered to the lieutenant, who possessed himself of a large amount of camp equipage and other stores, with which he returned to Fort Henry on the 10th of February.

The striking success of the Federals in reducing that work encouraged General Grant to prosecute operations against Fort Donelson. On the 12th of February, he set out with the divisions of Generals McClernand and Smith, consisting of 15,000 men. Six regiments were at the same time detached, with orders to proceed by water, and under convoy of a gunboat, to the Cumberland River. Preparations for the investment of Fort Donelson were at once commenced, and the Federal operations were conducted with so much vigour as to promise a speedy success. The garrison was strong in numbers; but the troops who had fled from Fort Henry were in a mood of depression which augured ill for their steadiness. The works in themselves were not contemptible. Heavy batteries commanded the river, while, on the land side, rifle-pits and entrenchments offered resistance to the Federal advance. The entrenchments, however, formed the weakest part of the defences, for on the morning of the 12th they were still unfinished. The hilly nature of the country, covered with dense oak-woods, and intersected by a broad, deep valley, which almost divided the Confederate position into two distinct parts, presented opportunities of which both sides could equally avail themselves. The army within the fort, and in the external works connected with it, was augmented, on the 13th of February, by the troops under General Floyd, who had marched from the city of Cumberland. The Confederate force now amounted to about 14,000 men, who were under the general direction of Floyd, as the senior officer. The right wing was commanded by General Buckner, and the left by General Pillow. Amongst the three commanders, and in the several divisions of the army, there was but little unity of feeling or design, and a disaster was insured by the inefficient character of the troops, and the ignorant blundering of the officers. At three o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th, Commodore Foote began the attack with four iron-clad gunboats and two wooden vessels. These advanced in a crescent shape, and opened fire at a distance of upwards of a mile from the batteries. The Confederates, however, did not reply until the boats had got within a distance of four hundred yards. A hot encounter then ensued, and continued for an hour and a quarter, when the iron-clad gunboats were so much injured as to be obliged to withdraw, with a loss of fifty-four men. Commodore Foote hereupon retired to Cairo, determining to wait until a competent force should be brought up from that place to attack the fort. The land forces under General Grant had previously taken their positions in front of the works, and the whole of the Confederate left, with the exception of a strip of swampy ground near the river, was by this time invested. Some skirmishing had occurred, but to no very serious extent, and the Federals were now suffering rather from the severity of the cold than from the guns of their enemies. The weather had for some time been unusually warm for the season;

and the Union troops, with that recklessness which so often distinguished them, had in many instances actually thrown away their great-coats and blankets. When a change came on, and they were surprised by frost and snow, an immense amount of suffering, which might have been avoided, was experienced by the regiments in the open field.

The Confederates were not much better off, and their position in all respects was so critical that, at a council of war held on the night of the 14th, it was resolved to reopen, if possible, the communication with Nashville by Charlotte, and to save the greater portion of the army by abandoning the position at Fort Donelson. The plan proposed was to attack the Federal right next day, in order that while the action was proceeding the rest of the army should cut their way out by the most available of two roads leading to Nashville. The operations of the 15th were embarrassed by delays in some of the divisions, consequent on the icy condition of the roads, and a want of sufficient preparation on the part of the men. Nevertheless, an animated encounter was proceeding by nine A.M., when General Pillow attacked the Federals in front, and General Buckner, who was to conduct the rear-guard of the retreating army, opened fire on their left with his artillery. The Union troops soon found their ammunition exhausted, and gave way with some precipitation. Pillow now pushed forward with rapidity and vigour, supported by Buckner on his right, and by the cavalry under Colonel Forrest. For a moment, the Confederates seemed to be prevailing over the enemy; but their enthusiasm was short-lived, and their commanders were totally inadequate to the demands of the situation. Generals Pillow and Buckner misunderstood one another; General Floyd appears to have done nothing; the inferior officers were left without instructions; confusion speedily supervened, and General Buckner, who had full possession of the road by which he proposed to escape, was perplexed and bewildered as to the proceedings of his colleagues. In the course of the day, he received a message from General Pillow, bidding him return to his entrenchments, and while in full retreat was met by Floyd, who expressed surprise at what he was doing, but afterwards confirmed the directions of General Pillow. Buckner accordingly struggled back to the Confederate lines; but before the whole of his force could get within them, Smith's division attacked his right, and in a little while burst into the entrenchments. After two hours' fighting, the Confederates were completely defeated, and the division of General Smith retained possession of the works. Grant had lost upwards of a thousand men, of whom nearly three hundred had been captured by the Confederates, placed on board steamers, and sent up the river; but he had achieved a great success, and the Southerners were now in so serious a position that it was a question whether they would not be entirely overwhelmed. The attempt to break through the Federal lines had been an utter failure. Communication with Nashville was cut off. The troops were suffering much from the inclemency of the weather; and they had now on their hands a large number of wounded, for whose necessities no adequate provision could be made. Another council of war was held on the night following the 15th of February, when several of the officers met at the head-quarters of General Floyd, in the little town of Dover. Floyd having requested the views of Buckner and Pillow as to what should be done under existing circumstances, Buckner spoke very emphatically to the effect that another sortie would result in nothing but a massacre; and it was understood that Pillow was of the same opinion. After some further discussion, from which it appeared that General Sydney Johnston had effected his removal from Bowling Green to Nashville, and that consequently there was no longer any necessity for covering his operations, it was agreed that negotiations should be opened for the surrender of the army, together with the fort.

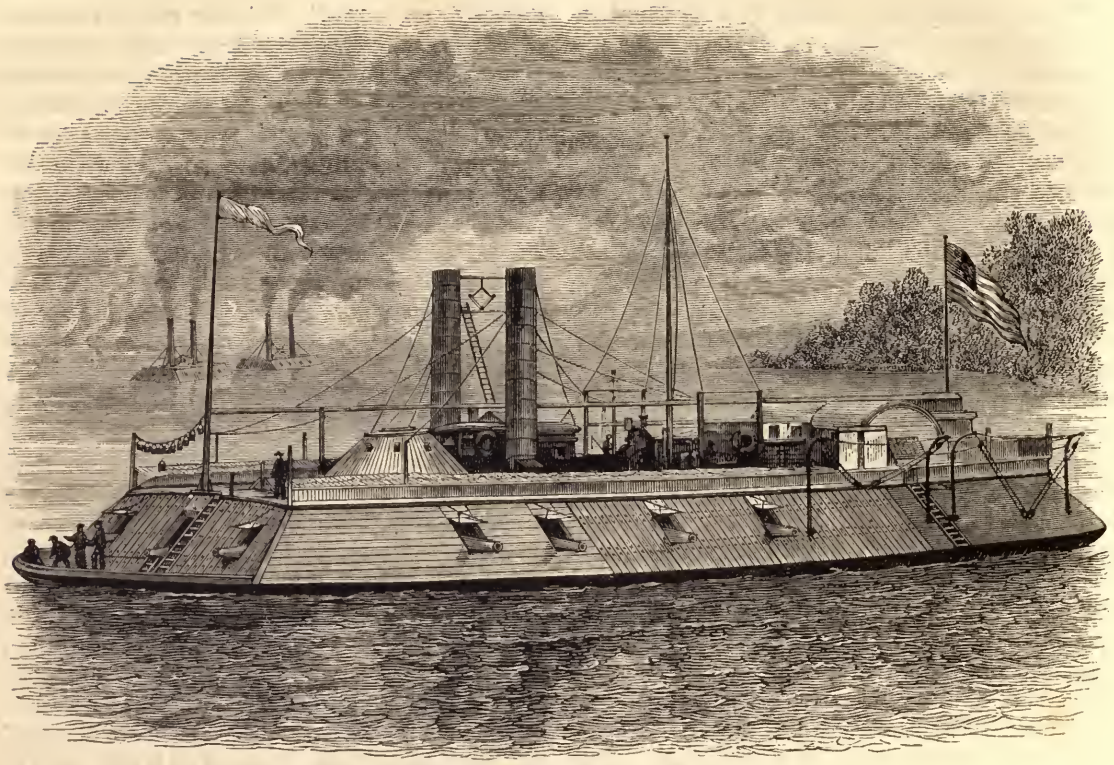
While signifying his assent to this course, General Floyd, speaking on personal grounds, observed that he would rather die than surrender. Hereupon, General Pillow remarked that there were no two persons in the world whom the Federals would be better pleased to capture than himself and General Floyd; and he proposed that they should endeavour to escape. Buckner undertaking to remain and conduct the negotiations, it was resolved that that officer should assume the chief command. As daylight was by this time near at hand, and the Federal attack would certainly recommence in a little while, Buckner drew up his missive to the Federal commander, and sent it off. Arrangements, however, were at the same time made for the escape of Generals Floyd and Pillow and Colonel Forrest, with a certain proportion of the army. In the early dawn, these got away from their perilous position—the infantry in boats, and the cavalry on the lower road to Nashville. The letter from Buckner to General Grant proposed an armistice until twelve o'clock that day (the 16th), in order to arrange terms of capitulation. Grant replied by insisting on unconditional and immediate surrender, and added that he proposed to move at once upon the Confederate works. In responding to this communication, Buckner observed that the existing

distribution of his forces (incident to an unexpected change of commanders), and the overwhelming strength of his opponent, compelled him, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms, to accept the "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms" which were proposed. The capitulation was then effected, and the prisoners, in spite of General Buckner's ridiculous complaint, appear to have been treated with great consideration. Fort Donelson was now occupied by the Federal troops, and the river by the gunboats. The Confederates had lost, during the four days' fighting, nearly twelve hundred men, and the blow thus inflicted on their cause in that part of the country was of the most disheartening nature. On the same day, Bowling Green, from which Sydney Johnston had just withdrawn, was occupied by the Federal officer, General Mitchell, at the head of a division from Buell's army.

The conduct of General Floyd throughout this business was contemptible; though perhaps we shall more fitly describe it by saying that it was worthy of the traitor who, while occupying the position of Secretary of War under Mr. Buchanan, made preparations for revolt against his own Government and country, by surreptitiously conveying arms into the Southern States, and denuding those of the North. His abandonment of the command at Fort Donelson when affairs had reached a crisis —his cowardly escape when there was no choice for his comrades but to suffer—are of a piece with the man's whole conduct for the previous two years. Doubtless he had good reason to dread his treatment, should he fall into the hands of the Federals; but after his melodramatic parade about preferring to die rather than surrender, it is sufficiently ignominious to find him stealing off in the twilight of a winter dawn. Mr. Jefferson Davis was evidently dissatisfied with the proceedings of his subordinate; for he speedily deprived him of his command. General Pillow was not again employed; but Buckner, who had certainly acted in a creditable spirit of self-abnegation, was once more placed at the head of a Confederate army, as soon as he had been exchanged. The position of the Confederates was at this time far from hopeful. The Federal gunboats having advanced up the Columbia River to Clarksville, General Johnston considered it advisable to abandon Nashville, and take up a position farther south. The Governor of Tennessee (Mr. Harris) felt alarmed for the safety of himself and his colleagues, and accordingly published an address, requiring the Legislature to remove to Memphis. He also issued a proclamation calling out the militia regiments of the State, and ordering them to assemble at various strategical points. The people of Nashville were wild with rage and apprehension at the departure of the Confederate troops. Many of them took flight by any conveyance they could obtain, and crowded the roads leading southward with disorderly mobs. The officers in charge of the army-stores began to destroy them, under the influence of a baseless panic with respect to the Federal gunboats, which it was thought were near at hand. The poorer classes of the city stole large quantities of provisions, and wasted more. Two unfinished steamers on the wharf were burnt; and nothing but rapacity, fear, and outrage prevailed for some days. Order was not restored until the arrival of the first brigade of the Federal army on the 25th of February. The Mayor then surrendered the place into the hands of General Buell, who took measures to calm the popular excitement, and re-establish the forms of government.

In the meanwhile, General Johnston pursued the line of his retreat without being followed, and took up a position in the vicinity of Murfreesborough. The whole of Northern Tennessee, with the entire line of the Cumberland River, was now abandoned by the Confederates. Columbus, on the Mississippi, was evacuated by General Polk, who removed his army, guns, and stores to a line of defence situated forty miles to the south, near the small town or village of New Madrid, on the western bank of the great river. On the 3rd of March—the day following the departure of the Confederates—the Federal cavalry from Paducah, followed by the gunboats under Commodore Foote, arrived at Columbus, and took possession of it. General Beauregard was now established at Jackson, Tennessee. His army formed the centre of the Confederate line of defence for the Western States. Polk was to the left, at New Madrid, and Johnston to the right, at Murfreesborough. The Confederates had been compelled, by the recent course of events, to make a great retrogression towards the south, to give up the whole of Kentucky, and to leave the northern part of Tennessee open to the attacks of the enemy. They had lost the command of important rivers and railway communications; had beheld their ranks thinned by fatigue and want, as well as by the operations of war; and were now dispirited, not merely by the calamities which had occurred, but by the prospect of others which seemed imminent. The reverses of the Federals in the East had been amply compensated by their successes in the West, and the development of events was such as to place the fortunes of Washington far above those of Richmond.

Three days after the surrender of Fort Donelson —viz., February 19th—the electoral votes for the Confederate Presidency were examined, and it was found that Mr. Davis had been unanimously elected to the chief position. He had, in fact, occupied that position from the very creation of the league; but this provisional tenure was now formally confirmed. At the same time, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens was established in his office as Vice-President. The inauguration took place on the 22nd of the same month, on an open spot in front of the building appropriated to the State Legislature. The President and his subordinate stood close to a statue of Washington, and the fact that that was the anniversary of Washington's birth added to the impressiveness of the ceremonial. Mr. Davis began his inaugural address by reiterating the old charges brought against the North, and by affirming that a military despotism of the most cruel and remorseless kind had been established at the Federal capital. With equal assurance, and with as little foundation in fact, he alleged that his own Government had been one of perfect freedom and unqualified legality. He had desired peace, but the United States would insist upon war. Nevertheless, the Confederation had prospered. The number of the States thus linked together had grown from six to thirteen; and Maryland, already associated with them by hallowed memories and material interests, would, he believed, connect her destiny with the South as soon as she was able to speak with unstifled voice. A million of men, it had been estimated, were then standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier extending thousands of miles. The tide had for the moment turned against the Confederates; but the final result, Mr. Davis felt assured, would be in their favour. The "pretended blockade," as the Southern President described it, was fast making them a self-supporting and an independent people; yet foreign countries were concerned in opening the Confederate markets to their commerce. "When," pursued Mr. Davis, "the independence of the Confederate States is recognised by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and our inclinations by cultivating foreign trade, the Southern States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favourable markets which ever invited their commerce. Cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, provisions, timber, and naval stores, will furnish attractive exchanges." This was one of the many offers which Mr. Davis was in the habit of making periodically to foreign countries to induce them to recognise the Confederacy. As a further persuasion, he drew a most idyllic picture of the reign of peace which was to be inaugurated by a Government which denied the rights of millions of its people, and made slavery its corner-stone. The citizens of the Confederate States, he urged, were too deeply interested in foreign commerce to disturb it out of any wanton motive. They could wage no war of conquest, because the nature of their Republic admitted of no coerced association; nor could there be any civil war in a Confederacy of which the component parts were held together by their volition only. Mr. Davis forgot that, by the contention of all Southern politicians, the United States themselves were equally framed upon the principle of voluntary association. If that principle, supposing it to have really existed, had been violated in the one case, it might equally, in course of time, be violated in the other. In truth, no system of polity can be created, so absolutely free from doubtful provisions, and from the clash of contending interests, as to be placed above the possibility of internal feuds. Least of all is this likely to be the case where the Government is based on privilege, where a small class of territorial magnates is set in opposition to a large class of miserable labourers, and where the elements of discord strike deeper, and undermine more surely, in proportion as they are violently suppressed and disingenuously denied. The most creditable part of Mr. Davis's address was that in which he admitted the serious defeats which had recently been inflicted on the Confederate armies. "At the darkest hour of our struggle," he said, "the provisional gives place to the permanent Government. After a series of successes and victories which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters; but, in the heart of a people resolved to be free, these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance." It is always better to admit a defeat frankly than to put it forward as a victory, or at the worst a trifling check. This virtue of sincerity was certainly evinced by the Southern President in his inaugural address; but it must not be permitted to relieve from condemnation those principles of which Mr. Davis was the foremost champion and the chosen head.



FEDERAL IRON-CLAD RIVER GUNBOAT.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Dissatisfaction in the Southern States at the Conduct of the War—Expedition against the Coast of North Carolina—Attack on Roanoke Island by Sea and Land Forces—Defeat of the Confederates, and Destruction of their Gunboats—Burning of the Town of Winton—Charges brought against the Southern Secretary of War—Taking of Newbern by the Federals—Other Successes—A New Campaign opened in Missouri—Movements of Federals and Confederates—Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas—Incidents of the Fighting on three Successive Days—Critical Position of the Federals—The Confederates driven back—Mutual Charges of Cruelty—Conduct of Indian Auxiliaries—Subsequent Operations of the Federa's in Missouri—Confederate Invasion of New Mexico—Guerilla Warfare—The Battle of Valverde—Defeat of the Federals—Subsequent Misfortunes of the Texan Invaders—New Mexico abandoned by the Confederates—The Territory not worth fighting for—Depredations of the Indians—Error of the Confederate Government in attempting too much, and operating in too many Directions.

GREAT dissatisfaction was felt in the Southern States, during the early part of 1862, at the conduct of the war by the Confederate Government. It was felt by many that the Secessionist fervour of the people was on the decline; that the spirit and discipline of the army were decaying; that, on the other hand, the Federal army was not only increasing in numbers, but every day gaining in self-reliance, steadiness, and courage; that grave abuses had found their way into the official circles of the Confederacy; that undue confidence in their own superior military virtues, and a vain belief in foreign assistance, were ensuring disaster to the slave-holding aristocracy; that the measures adopted at Washington were energetic and well suited to the ends in view, while those sanctioned at Richmond were languid and hesitating; that the navy of the North, created with remarkable rapidity and skill, was making its way, by means of the rivers, bays, and sounds, into the very heart of the South; and that the Confederacy was doing little to increase its strength either by land or sea. A Southern advocate even went so far as to say that the patriotism of the United States had been broadly invoked; that no clique arrogated and monopolised the control of affairs; that no favourites closed up against the million the avenues of patronage, of honour, and of promotion; and that, by unresting zeal and ability, the Federal Government had united the whole North, brought an army of

BURNSIDE'S EXPEDITION CROSSING HATTERAS BAR.

half a million men into the field (it was in truth more even than that), and swelled the proportions of the war far beyond the expectations of the world.*

The energy of the United States was now about to be exhibited in a military and naval expedition against the coast of North Carolina. The land forces were to be under the command of General Burnside, an officer professionally educated, who, after quitting the army, had rejoined it on the secession of the South. Commodore Goldsborough was appointed to the direction of the fleet, and this was ordered to assemble at Annapolis and Fortress Monroe, and afterwards to proceed to Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, where the garrison stationed there some months before was to be strengthened, as a preliminary to ulterior proceedings. The expedition quitted Fortress Monroe on the 12th of January, and anchored inside Hatteras Inlet on the 17th. It was not until the beginning of February, however, that the allied commanders began operations against Roanoke Island, which was to be the first point of attack. This insular territory had been defended by the Confederates at the northern extremity, but not at the southern. A few weeks before, that part of North Carolina east of the river Chowan, together with the counties of Washington and Tyrrell, was separated from the remainder, and constituted a military district under Brigadier-General Henry A. Wise (formerly Governor of Virginia), who was attached to the command of Major-General Huger, of the Norfolk department. The island of Roanoke is situated between Roanoke Sound, on the east, and Croatan Sound, on the west. Commanding both channels, it was a position of importance, for its possession gave a hold over all the north-eastern parts of North Carolina, unlocked several rivers, canals, and railways, and exposed Portsmouth and Norfolk, in Virginia, to an attack in the rear. Yet, notwithstanding its great value from a strategical point of view, little had been done by the Confederates to secure it. General Wise had repeatedly called the attention of the authorities at Richmond to the necessity of providing more efficient protection; but his representations produced very slight effect. Some piles had been driven into the adjacent sands, and a few batteries had been planted on the marshy soil; but there was nothing capable of resisting a vigorous assault. The situation was so unhealthy that even the negroes employed in erecting the works had suffered greatly from malaria, notwithstanding their usual strength and power of endurance. Wise was so prostrated with illness that he was obliged to hand over the defence to Colonel Shaw; and the attack was awaited under dispiriting circumstances. The number of the Confederate troops seems not to have been more than 2,000; and the fleet consisted of only seven gunboats, which were stationed, under the command of Commodore Lynch, in the sound between Roanoke Island and the mainland.

The attack took place on the morning of February 7th, when the Federal gunboats entered the narrow channel of Croatan Sound. Feeling his inability to cope with so powerful an enemy, Commodore Lynch withdrew his gunboats under cover of the batteries. By noon, the firing was general, and Wise, who was on the mainland, sent his son with a reinforcement of troops, who disembarked with some difficulty. One of the Confederate gunboats was sunk, and the firing did not cease till dark, though the loss in killed and wounded was very small on both sides. The operations of the land troops were now about to commence. They had been conveyed by the transports into Croatan Sound, and were landed in rear of the enemy's gunboats, and beyond the range of the Confederate batteries, by eleven o'clock at night. Their advance, however, was postponed until the following morning, when they proceeded in three columns through a swampy tract of ground, covered with forest. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Confederate works, the trees had been cut down, so that the range of the guns might not be interrupted; but at a little distance the woods were untouched, and offered excellent cover to the Federals. The position of the Southerners seemed fairly good in a military sense. They had marshy grounds on both flanks, and appear to have reckoned, not altogether without reason, on being protected against attack in those directions. It turned out, however, that the marshes were capable of being passed, and the Confederates were compelled to abandon their entrenchments. Pursued by the attacking force, they rushed towards the shore, and embarked in boats, which were towed away by a steamer; but several were captured, including a number of the wounded. The whole island thus fell into the hands of the Federals, at a very small cost of life. Amongst the killed on the side of the Confederates was Lieutenant Wise, son of the General, who was struck in four places, and expired in the hands of the Northern troops, by whom he was kindly treated. The Confederate gunboats were followed by a squadron from the opposing fleet, and attacked on the 10th, while drawn up in the narrow channel

* Pollard's First Year of the War, chap. 8.

which leads to Elizabeth City. After a little resistance, the Southern crews set fire to their vessels, abandoned them, and sought refuge on shore. The small town of Winton, on the river Chowan, was next set on fire by the invading troops, and several of the streams were ascended; but the Union sentiment, of which so much had been heard, was not discoverable among the inhabitants.

In a Message to Congress, President Davis referred to the capture of Roanoke Island as "deeply humiliating," and a committee of the Legislature, appointed to investigate the affair, decided that the responsibility for the disaster must rest with General Huger, as commander of the department, and Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, the Secretary of War, but especially the latter. The report of the committee stated that Mr. Benjamin had paid no practical attention to the appeals of General Wise, and he was charged with having by his neglect conduced to the misfortune which had occurred. Great was the unpopularity of the War Minister; but he had a friend in Mr. Davis, who promoted him to the higher post of Secretary of State. This was one of numerous facts which disgusted the Southern people with the Government now set over them, and which probably made not a few regret that they had abandoned the old Union under which they had for many years been strong and prosperous. Pride alone would keep them from confessing such a sentiment. The contest, having been begun, must be fought out. But it was obvious that the Confederacy, from which they hoped so much, was bringing them very doubtful blessings. It was bringing them defeat and ruin. It was placing over their heads a number of adventurers, whose eagerness to live on the public was much more apparent than their ability to serve the cause. It was even endangering slavery, by associating that institution with defeat; and it had proved itself incapable of obtaining the support of any foreign Power. These were the facts which in the early part of 1862 stood most prominently before the Southern public.

It was now determined by the Federal Government to attack Newbern, situated near the river Neuse, on a line of rail connecting Beaufort with Raleigh. The troops, after a long and weary march over roads deep in mud, found themselves in front of the town on the night of March 13th, and the assault commenced on the following morning. The place was defended by a line of forts, some way in advance of the houses, and so heavy a fire was kept up on the attacking regiments that orders were at last given for storming the principal work. This was at length effected, after a very severe struggle, and the Confederates, seeing that their position was turned, and that the enemy's gunboats were ascending the river, gave up all for lost. At this opportune moment, the whole Federal line advanced, and the Southerners fled with the utmost precipitation. One of the forts was blown up, and the defeated troops, retreating across the Neuse, burned the bridge, in order to hinder the pursuit. The town of Newbern, on being entered by the conquerors, was found to be nearly deserted. The Confederates had set fire to the houses before they left, and the greater part of the town was destroyed. General Burnside did his best to conciliate the few inhabitants who remained; but Newbern was almost annihilated. A large number of guns, two small steamers, a few sailing-vessels, and some naval stores, were the trophies of the battle; and shortly afterwards a detachment of gunboats took possession of Washington, situated at the mouth of the river Tar, in Pamlico Sound. At the same period, Commodore Dupont captured—without, indeed, encountering any resistance—the towns of Fernandina and Jacksonville, on the coast of Florida. A large proportion of the Confederate sea-board was now in the hands of the Federals, and the stringency of the blockade in other parts was greatly increased.

The campaign in Missouri was reopened in the early days of 1862. General Price, who was wintering at Springfield, in the southern part of the State, received there some reinforcements, together with supplies of clothing, and at the beginning of the new year was in a somewhat better position for meeting the enemy. Nevertheless, his forces were still greatly inferior to those of the Federals; and on the 12th of February, being attacked by the armies of Generals Curtis and Sigel, he found it expedient to retreat to Cassville, and thence to Cross Hollows, on the frontiers of Missouri, Arkansas, and the Indian Territory. But he was not safe even there; and, on his rear-guard coming into collision with the troops under Curtis, he continued his southward retreat to a place called Boston Mountains, where he effected a junction with General McCulloch, the Texan Ranger. The army was shortly afterwards joined by General Van Dorn, an old United States officer, who had command of all the Confederate troops in that locality, and who in the previous year had zealously seconded the treasonable proceedings of General Twiggs in Texas. In addition to the other Southern forces, several Indians, under the command of General Albert Pike, were hurried up, in obedience to the orders of Van Dorn, so that the total army was not inconsider-

able in numbers. It was accordingly determined to take the initiative, and at once attack General Curtis, who had by this time entered Arkansas. His army, formed into three divisions, was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Sugar Creek, to the south of Pea Ridge, on the Fayetteville road. The right of the Federal line was commanded by General Sigel (now promoted from the lower rank which he recently held); the centre by an officer who, singularly enough, bore the name of Jefferson Davis; and the left by General Carr. The position occupied by these divisions was well chosen; but Van Dorn determined to give battle with the troops at his disposal.

Sigel's division was the one first attacked. On the 6th of March, the German commander was surprised by his opponent, and nearly cut off; but he contrived to extricate himself with great cleverness, and to join the main army. As there was reason to fear that the road in rear of the Federals, which passed through a densely wooded defile, might be seized by the enemy, General Curtis ordered a change of front to be effected by throwing back his left, and so modifying his dispositions that, on the morning of the 7th, his line was at right angles with that of the previous day, and what had been the right of the army became the left. The divisions now ranged to some extent north and south across Pea Ridge, with their front towards the north-west; and here they were attacked by a strong Confederate force, which, moving through ravines and brushwood, was enabled to drive back the Union right wing. The Southerners encamped for the night on the ground which they had won, and General Curtis fell back nearly a mile. By thus defeating the Federal right, the Confederates had overlapped the line of their opponents, and, by getting between them and the north, had threatened their communications with Missouri. The left wing of the Federals had been more fortunate; but even here the issue was for a long time doubtful. General McCulloch had endeavoured to form a junction with Van Dorn and Price. Sigel sent forward a detachment to counteract the manœuvre; but a furious cavalry charge scattered the forces he had detailed for that purpose, and his position for a while seemed critical, especially as several of his guns were taken. The fight was continued between the troops of General McCulloch and those of Colonel Osterhaus, belonging to Sigel's division. Much resolution and obstinacy were exhibited on both sides; but it is probable that the Federal left (formerly the right) would have been defeated, had not the centre, under General Davis, proceeded to its assistance. This entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The Confederate right was completely shattered, and two of the most able officers in the Southern army of the West—Generals McCulloch and McIntosh—were slain.

On the night following the 7th, General Van Dorn established his head-quarters near the position occupied in the morning by General Carr, whose division had been forced to retreat. Notwithstanding the success which had attended the operations of Sigel, the situation of the Federals, upon the whole, was very serious. Nothing but hard fighting on the morrow could deliver them from the dangers by which they were surrounded, or enable them to hold their communications with Missouri; and the night was passed in great anxiety. Another change in the order of the troops was now carried out; and, while Sigel still remained on the left, General Carr was placed in the centre, and General Davis on the right. The battle commenced at eight in the morning of March 8th, and was contested with great determination. It was necessary to dislodge the Confederates from the range of steep and wooded hills which they occupied, and General Sigel, under cover of his artillery, threw forward his infantry regiments so as to threaten the position of the enemy. The fire was terrific; but for two hours the Confederates stood firm, and their artillery replied with spirit, until silenced by the superior fire of the Federals. Sigel's batteries were now advanced nearer, and the Confederates turned and fled. The Union line pushed on with fixed bayonets, while the heavy guns still poured their shot into the staggering lines of the Southern troops. Fighting was renewed in the woods beyond the open ground; but the fortune of the day had evidently gone against the Confederates. They were gradually pushed farther and farther back, and General Curtis directed his centre and right wing to move forward. The Confederate left was turned; the centre was completely shattered; and when the whole line of the Federals advanced with one simultaneous sweep, the Southerners withdrew in utter confusion, and sought refuge among the trees which overshadowed the deep and narrow defiles of Cross Timber Hollow. Sigel followed towards Keetsville, Missouri, and the cavalry continued the pursuit somewhat further; but the nature of the country was such as to render the movements of mounted troops extremely difficult, and very little was done in this respect. Both armies were much exhausted, and both had suffered considerably in the series of engagements which had taken place. Union accounts state that the Confederates lost, in prisoners alone, no fewer than 1,000 men, and they certainly left many dead upon the field.

The Federals had regained their communications, and proved their superiority over the opposing troops; but the results of the action were far from decisive, since the Confederate forces, though discomfited, were not dispersed. On the 9th, General Van Dorn, under a flag of truce, desired permission to bury his dead; and General Curtis, in granting this request, brought a charge against his adversaries of tomahawking, scalping, and otherwise mangling, the dead bodies of the Federals. Van Dorn, in his reply, expressed a hope that General Curtis had been misinformed in the matter, and, alluding to his Indian allies, said they had for many years been regarded as civilised people. He brought a counter-charge of atrocities committed by certain Federals who were alleged to be Germans; while General Sigel, on behalf of his countrymen, alleged that the Germans had been savagely treated by the Confederates. Accusations of this kind are common in armies engaged in active operations. It is impossible to tell the exact amount of truth or falsehood which may be mixed up with them; but it is, unfortunately, only too probable that in all large bodies of armed men, excited by the rage of combat, some will be found who observe no measure in their ferocity. This is most likely to be the case with savage warriors, like the Indians. As in the wars of the Revolution and of later dates, the tribes employed in 1862 were found perfectly uncontrollable, and of no value in any sense whatever. Totally undisciplined, and altogether unacquainted with the tactics of modern warfare, they proved to be nothing but an encumbrance, and were so much astounded by the noise and devastating effect of heavy artillery as to be incapable of retaining any military formation. Both Federals and Confederates soon found that such auxiliaries were at once discreditable and useless, and their services were speedily renounced.

After their defeat, the Confederate forces retired towards the north, to obtain reinforcements, and recombine their shattered ranks. General Curtis also was reinforced by bodies of troops despatched to him from Kansas and Missouri; and having established himself at Keetsville, he remained there for the rest of the month. Early in April, he advanced towards Springfield, Missouri, on receipt of intelligence that Price was approaching the same place; but nothing of importance occurred, and Curtis returned to Arkansas, moving towards the south-east. In June, an expedition was fitted out at Memphis, Tennessee, to descend the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas River, and thence up the White River to Batesville, Arkansas, where Curtis was then established in a position of some danger. The object was to open communications with that General; but the attempt was unsuccessful. Stores were subsequently sent by land from Missouri, and reached him about the 1st of July. He was known to be short of provisions, and, being distant from all sources of supply, and surrounded by enemies, his situation was such as to inspire anxiety. From Batesville he now moved to Jacksonport, at the confluence of the White and Black Rivers, and finally established himself at Helena, on the Mississippi. In September, he was appointed to command the Department of Missouri, containing the States of Missouri and Arkansas, and the adjacent Indian Territory, with his headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri. Several minor actions were fought in Arkansas during 1862, but none of these exercised any important influence on the general progress of the war. The design of the Confederates was to penetrate into Missouri, and re-establish their power north of Arkansas. The object of the Federals was to defeat the attempt; and on the whole they were successful. Missouri was still vexed by the desultory action of guerillas; but these irregular troops could not succeed in wresting that State from the vigorous grasp of the Union.

The war had now penetrated as far as New Mexico, where a small force of Texans was operating under General Sibley on behalf of the Confederates. Some forts and other positions in that distant region were in the occupation of Federal troops, and the Confederates, being poorly supplied with artillery, were unable to dislodge them. Actions of a trifling nature took place from time to time; but neither side was strong, and nothing more was done than to attack isolated farms, levy contributions, and desolate a wide tract of country which, at the best of times, was somewhat starved and barren. Only one engagement of any importance occurred between the opposing forces. It has been called the battle of Valverde, and was fought on the 21st of February, 1862, between the Texans under General Sibley, and the garrison of Fort Craig under Colonel Canby. The former marched from Mesilla, in Arizona, distant from Fort Craig about a hundred and seventy-five miles; and Colonel Canby, hearing on the 13th of February that the enemy was within thirty miles of his position, sallied out with a large force to attack the Confederate hosts, but, being unable to discover them, returned to the fort. On the 18th, the Confederates appeared in front, to the number of two thousand, but shortly afterwards retired. Colonel Canby then despatched Major Duncan, with a squadron of cavalry, to follow and harass them.

The Texans retreated down the valley of the Rio Grande, and on the 21st took up a position at Valverde, some miles below Fort Craig. Here they were attacked by the Federals, who crossed the river with a battery of six pieces and two mountain howitzers. The conflict lasted the greater part of the day, and both parties fought with courage and determination. The main effort of the Texans was directed towards the capture of the Federal battery, which was doing great execution among their ranks. Repeated attempts were made to take the guns, and these were at length successful, though not without a large expenditure of life. Some volunteers raised by the Federals amongst the New Mexican population gave way to panic at the latter end of the action, and fled in great disorder. The regulars then refused to obey their commander, and the Texans, taking advantage of the confusion, charged their opponents with long bowie-knives, double-barrelled shot-guns, and Colt's revolvers. Starting at a distance of eight hundred yards, with what an admiring chronicler has termed their Comanche war-whoop, they came rushing down upon the battery, and, when they had got within thirty yards, poured a deadly fire into the very faces of the gunners. All of these were killed; the other troops leaped into the river, and swam to the opposite bank, losing many of their number by drowning; and the battery remained in the hands of the assailants. Colonel Canby had now no choice but to retire to Fort Craig. He had sixty-two killed and a hundred and forty wounded, and the loss of his artillery was fatal. General Sibley's forces were so much crippled that they made no attempt to capture Fort Craig, but proceeded up the Rio Grande to Albuquerque and Santa Fé, both of which towns were evacuated by the Federal troops. The latter fell back to Fort Union, a hundred miles east of Santa Fé, where the Government stores for the department were concentrated. Several skirmishes followed, the general result of which was that the Confederates found themselves unable to make any progress in their design of revolutionising New Mexico. After a defeat at Parillo, on the Rio Grande, about the middle of April, they felt compelled to take refuge in the mountains, and thenceforward suffered a series of disasters which destroyed more than half of their original number, and reduced the others to a state of extreme wretchedness. When they arrived at Nusilla, on their retreat towards Texas, they had with them only five pieces of artillery and seven waggons, though they had started with a magnificent train; and even these possessions were still further reduced before they reached El Paso. The chief towns were re-occupied by the Federals, and from that time forward no fresh attempt on New Mexico was made by the Confederates.

The Southern House of Representatives adopted a resolution of thanks to General Sibley, his officers and men, for their victory at Valverde; but Sibley himself, in his report of the campaign, expressed a decided opinion that, except for its geographical position as affecting the Confederacy, New Mexico was not worth a quarter of the blood and treasure expended on its conquest. The Indians, though they may have cared very little for the Federals, had been decidedly unfriendly to the Confederates. They had in fact taken advantage of the general state of disruption to promote their own interests, and had commenced a system of plunder which inflicted serious injuries upon the invading force. Large numbers of sheep had been carried off; and the depredations of the savages at length became so great that General Sibley determined to encourage private enterprises against them, and to legalise their enslavement. The only value of New Mexico to the Confederates consisted in its taking them a step nearer to the Pacific. This might in some respects have been a gain; but it does not seem to have been worth a sanguinary, protracted, and doubtful struggle. The Pacific was not a necessity to the new political league, even supposing it to achieve its independence. It was still less so during the period of war. With a long seaboard on the Atlantic, the Confederates, but for the blockade, would have had full access to all the great markets of the world: the Western Ocean concerned rather their pride than their interests. With more than half a million of men arrayed against them in the most vital parts of their territory, it seems to have been a foolish mistake to grasp at New Mexico. The attempt to seize that country diverted a certain portion of their military strength, and, though the same must of course be said of the Federals also, they were in a much better condition to bear such a demand upon their resources. The plans of the Richmond Government at this period were certainly characterised by very little ability. The Confederates were striking wildly in many directions, instead of concentrating their forces to meet the terrible assault which was being prepared against their chief positions. The few successes of the opening war had been counterbalanced by numerous reverses; but these were in their turn to be followed by renewed and still more brilliant triumphs, such as made the prospects of permanent success seem probable for a time, and menaced the Federal power in the very centre of its myriad legions.

FAIRFAX COURT HOUSE.

CHAPTER XL.

Northern Demand for an Advance on the Potomac—McClellan's Plans for Attacking the Enemy from the Direction of the Rappahannock—The President opposed to this Scheme—Resignation of Mr. Cameron, and Appointment of Mr. Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War—Charges brought against the Former—His Vindication by the President—Antagonistic Feeling between Mr. Lincoln and General McClellan—Withdrawal of the Confederates from their Positions on the Potomac—Forward Movement of the Federals—McClellan removed from the Supreme Command—Remarks of the Prince de Joinville—General McClellan's Exposition of his Motives in advancing on Centreville—Difficulties inherent in the Military Position of the Federals—Determination to send the Troops by Sea, and attack Richmond from the East—The Union Fleet in Hampton Roads—Designs of the Confederate Ironclad, *Merrimac*—Her Attack on the Union Ships off Fortress Monroe, March 8th—Destruction of Two Vessels, with great Slaughter—Arrival of the Federal Ironclad, *Monitor*—Structure and Appointments of that Vessel—Reappearance of the *Merrimac* on the following Day—Fight between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*—Indecisive Result of the Action—Revolution in the System of Naval Warfare.

INSPIRITED by the better condition of their armies, the Northern people became eagerly desirous, in the early days of 1862, for another advance on the Potomac, and the cautious tactics of General McClellan were blamed by those who did not see how great were the obstacles to be overcome. The Confederate position was strong; the troops who had conquered at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff seemed capable of conquering again; and the country in the northern part of Virginia presented many difficulties to an invading force. To these considerations was to be added a want of agreement between McClellan and the President as to the best method of pursuing the campaign. The plan elaborated by the General contemplated an advance against Richmond from the lower part of Chesapeake Bay, by way of Urbana, on the Rappahannock. The town so called was not far from the Confederate capital, and could be approached by vessels of heavy draught. Its occupation by the Federals would compel the enemy to abandon his positions near Manassas, so as to cover Richmond and Norfolk, and would equally oblige him to give up the batteries which he had erected on the Lower Potomac. Mr. Lincoln, however, did not approve of this scheme.

He feared an attack on Washington in the absence of the army, and thought it would be safer to march round Alexandria on the entrenchments at Bull Run. On the 27th of January, therefore, he issued an order directing that on February 22nd there should be a general movement of the land and naval forces against the enemy's positions on the Potomac; and that all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing for the defence of Washington, should be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railway south-west of Manassas Junction. The details of these operations were to be in the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief; but it soon appeared that the General was opposed to the plan altogether. The way in which that plan was put forth added to McClellan's discontent. It was published without any previous intimation to the head of the army that his scheme had been set aside in favour of one that was totally distinct. He accordingly remonstrated with the President, and repeated his reasons for preferring the route by Chesapeake Bay. While consenting in some respects, Mr. Lincoln still clung in the main to his own conceptions, and the early weeks of the year slipped away without anything decisive being done. Occasional collisions took place while the armies were executing reconnaissances; but on the whole the positions remained the same. At the latter end of February, a detachment of the Federal army superintended the reconstruction of the railway bridge at Harper's Ferry, and the re-opening, as far as Hancock, of the line from Baltimore to Ohio, the cutting of which by the Confederates had interrupted the communications with the West. Yet the opposing armies still confronted one another, without any material modifications.

A change in the War Office had recently taken place, which it was hoped would conduce to the more vigorous management of affairs. On the 11th of January, Mr. Cameron resigned his position as Secretary, and was succeeded by Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, who, during the last few weeks of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, had acted as Attorney-General. Mr. Cameron was sent as Minister to St. Petersburg; but, while thus receiving a new proof of the President's friendship, the late Secretary of War appears to have lain under a cloud, which enabled his political enemies to accuse him of abuse of trust. On the 30th of April, the House of Representatives passed a resolution affirming that, by investing a certain Alexander Cummings with the control of large sums of public money, without requiring from him any guarantee for the faithful performance of his duties, when the services of competent public officers were available, and by involving the Government in a vast number of contracts with persons not legitimately engaged in the business pertaining to the subject-matter of such contracts, Mr. Cameron had adopted a policy highly injurious to the public service, and deserving the censure of the House. Mr. Lincoln, feeling the censure to be unjust, chivalrously came forward in defence of his subordinate; affirming, in a Message to Congress dated May 29th, that he himself had originated the measures which the House of Representatives condemned, and that they had been sanctioned by all the heads of departments. It was admitted by the President that some of the measures taken by him shortly after his accession to power were without any authority of law; but he believed them to be justified by the condition of the country, and the necessity of saving the Union by every means at his disposal. No adequate and effective organisation then existed for the public defence. Congress had indefinitely adjourned, and there was no time to summon it. The President had therefore directed the employment of various temporary agents in the purchasing or chartering of steamers, the forwarding of troops and supplies for the public defence, and the performing of other duties; and these arrangements had obliged him to authorise a large expenditure of public money, for which he acknowledged that no security had been required. One of Mr. Lincoln's reasons for taking these exceptional measures was very remarkable. "The several departments of the Government," he said, "at that time contained so large a number of disloyal persons that it would have been impossible to provide safely, through official agents only, for the performance of the duties thus confided to citizens favourably known for their ability, loyalty, and patriotism." It cannot be questioned that Mr. Lincoln acted for the best under very difficult circumstances; but it is to be feared that the necessities of the time led to much dishonest appropriation of the public money by agents of doubtful character.

The new Secretary of War does not seem to have been animated by a very friendly feeling towards General McClellan. The disposition to take important steps without his knowledge, which had been noticeable for some time, became even greater after the appointment of Mr. Stanton. Two orders were speedily issued by Mr. Lincoln; one of them directing the formation of the army into corps, and appointing generals to the command of those corps —the other making various arrangements with

respect to the contemplated advance, and throwing on the Commander-in-Chief the responsibility of carrying them out. On the 10th of March a forward movement was commenced, in consequence of the receipt of intelligence that General Joseph Johnston was withdrawing from his lines near Manassas, so that he might take up new positions, better adapted to repel the supposed designs of the Federals, and to support the defences on the Yorktown peninsula. McClellan's plan of attacking the enemy from the Lower Chesapeake had been kept secret until the commencement of March, when, owing to the action of spies, of whom there were many at Washington (in close association, it is said, with persons of high official position), the contemplated movement was divulged to the enemy. It was in the belief that this plan was about to be realised that the Confederate commander determined to change his position; but in fact Mr. Lincoln still adhered to his own scheme, and the movement of Johnston to the south-east rendered McClellan's project far less easy of execution than it had been before. It was therefore resolved that the Federal troops should advance towards Centreville, and occupy the positions abandoned by the Confederates; though McClellan himself appears to have regarded the movement as only temporary. Some detachments of the Federal army had already crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, and, moving down the river, not without occasionally encountering the enemy, had hastened the change of position. On the withdrawal from Manassas becoming known at the North, great disappointment was felt at its being no longer possible to avenge the defeat of July 21st (at Bull Run) on the very ground where it had been suffered. Owing to the swollen state of the rivers, and the heavy condition of the roads, pursuit was impracticable for the time; and the Confederates, after using the railway to remove their stores to the new positions, had torn up the metals, burned the sleepers, and pulled down the bridges. The whole country was desolated, and a small Federal detachment, or rather a flying column, which had been pushed forward as far as Cedar Run without sufficient stores, and which had had two unimportant actions with the enemy, was in some danger of starving.

When, however, all preparations had been completed, the main body of the army crossed the Potomac into Virginia, and General McClellan made his head-quarters at Fairfax Court House. While staying here, his attention was called to an order of the President, dated the 11th of the month, in which it was stated that the General, having personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac until otherwise ordered, was relieved from the command of the other military departments, while retaining that first mentioned. It was at the same time ordered that all the commanders of departments should thenceforward communicate directly with the Secretary of War, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports should be sent in to that Minister. This new arrangement made a very important alteration in the position of General McClellan. It considerably reduced the sphere of his powers and the dignity of his post, and it placed under the control of the War Secretary a number of operations which until then had been directed entirely by the Commander-in-Chief. That such a change should have been brought about without any intimation to the person principally concerned, and that he should have been left to discover it from the columns of a newspaper, seems an act of discourtesy which it is difficult to explain. But for a long time past McClellan had been getting unpopular. The desire for a forward movement was general; and McClellan had delayed the gratification of that desire. Competent judges, however, are of opinion that he was right in so delaying, and that it would have been better had he delayed still more. The Confederates believed that had the Federals waited two months longer, they themselves would have been destroyed. The Prince de Joinville, in a narrative of the campaign on the Yorktown peninsula which he subsequently published, observes that McClellan had long known, better than anybody else, the real strength of the rebels at Manassas and Centreville. He knew that until the month of April the roads in Virginia are in such a state that waggons and artillery cannot be moved over them, except by constructing plank-roads—a tedious operation, exposing the army engaged in it to the danger of sudden attacks. In the opinion of the French prince, McClellan never intended to advance upon Centreville. His long-contemplated purpose was to protect Washington by a strong garrison, and then to use the great navigable waters and immense naval resources of the North to transport the army by sea to a point near Richmond. That the General regarded the movement of the 10th of March as a mere preliminary to his operations in another quarter, is evident from a report which he himself wrote on the subject, and in which he said :—"The retirement of the enemy, and the occupation of the abandoned positions which necessarily followed, presented an opportunity for the troops to gain some experience on the march and bivouac, preparatory to the campaign, and to get rid of the superfluous baggage and other impedimenta which accumulate round an army encamped

for a long time in one locality. A march to Manassas and back could produce no delay in embarking for the Lower Chesapeake, as the transports could not be ready for some time; and it afforded a good intermediate step between the quiet and comparative comfort of the camps round Washington and the rigours of active operations, besides accomplishing the important object of determining the positions, and perhaps the future designs, of the enemy, with the possibility of being able to harass his rear."

It was certain that McClellan's plan could not be immediately put in execution. Some of the transports were at that moment frozen up in the Hudson; moreover, it was by no means clear that the President would give his consent. The General had therefore to consider very earnestly what he should do under the existing condition of affairs; and it was while he was so considering that he became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln's recent orders, confining his functions to the Army of the Potomac alone, dividing the total forces of the United States into separate corps under distinct and independent chiefs, and placing the actual conduct of hostilities under the immediate control of the Secretary of War. The situation was most perplexing, and in some degree serious. If the movement by sea were finally determined on, it must yet be postponed until the necessary preparations could be completed. If it were resolved to advance by land, a still longer time must be spent in perilous inactivity. There had been tremendous downfalls of rain, which rendered the fords on the large rivers impracticable, and converted even the smaller watercourses into torrents. General Stoneman, who commanded the flying column, was obliged on a certain occasion to send two of McClellan's aides-de-camp across one of the rivers on a raft of logs tied together with ropes. The destruction of the bridges interposed another obstacle to the progress of the Federal troops; and it was speedily placed beyond a question that the route by sea was the only route left open. On the 13th of March, McClellan returned to Washington, when it was settled that the army should be counter-marched. On the 16th, the several divisions were massed in new positions near Alexandria, ready to embark with the least possible delay; and in the following week the embarkation commenced. The number of transports, however, proved insufficient, and not more than half the troops could be put on board. They were to be sent to Fortress Monroe; but a fortnight elapsed before the whole effective force of 85,000 men could be conveyed to that position. A portion of General Sumner's corps stayed behind, until relieved by other troops, to guard the lines of Manassas; and provision was made for the defence of Washington against any attack on which the Confederates might feel disposed to venture. Before leaving for his new base of operations, McClellan issued directions to General Banks to rebuild the railway from Washington to Manassas and Strasburg, in order to open communications with the valley of the Shenandoah; to place a strong force both at Strasburg and Manassas, with block-houses at the railway stations; to extend his pickets as far as Warrington Junction and the line of the Rappahannock; and to keep up constant patrols, by means of cavalry, in all directions where there was any probability of the enemy getting in his rear. These directions soon proved to be very necessary, for the Confederates were still in force in the Shenandoah Valley. Banks occupied Winchester on the 12th and 13th of March, and one of his lieutenants—General Shields—advanced beyond that town as far as Strasburg. In the neighbourhood of the latter place, a strong body of Confederates was posted, under the command of "Stonewall" Jackson; and Shields considered it prudent to retire to Winchester. Here, on the 23rd of March, after the departure of the greater portion of Banks's corps, he was attacked by Jackson. The Confederates were ultimately driven back; but the battle was obstinately contested, and left an uneasy feeling at Washington as to the strength of the enemy in that direction.

A little before the temporary advance towards Manassas, a naval action had taken place in Hampton Roads, off Fortress Monroe, which showed that the Federals had a very formidable antagonist to encounter on the seas. The Union fleet stationed in that quarter consisted of five vessels, under the command of Captain Marston, of the *Roanoke;* and it would be a great gain to the Southern cause if these could be destroyed or taken. The Confederates had by that time raised and refitted the frigate *Merrimac*, which had been sunk by the Federals on the evacuation of the Navy Yard at Norfolk. This vessel had been converted into a shot-proof steam-battery. Its proportions had been cut down, and its sides plated with iron, which had been subjected to various experiments, calculated to show the resisting power of the armour, and the best methods of managing such a ship when in actual conflict with an enemy. A ram had also been added to its appointments, and the *Merrimac* was now in a condition to inflict the maximum of injury on her opponents, while receiving the minimum of injury herself. Under her new designation of the *Virginia*, the *Merrimac* bore ten

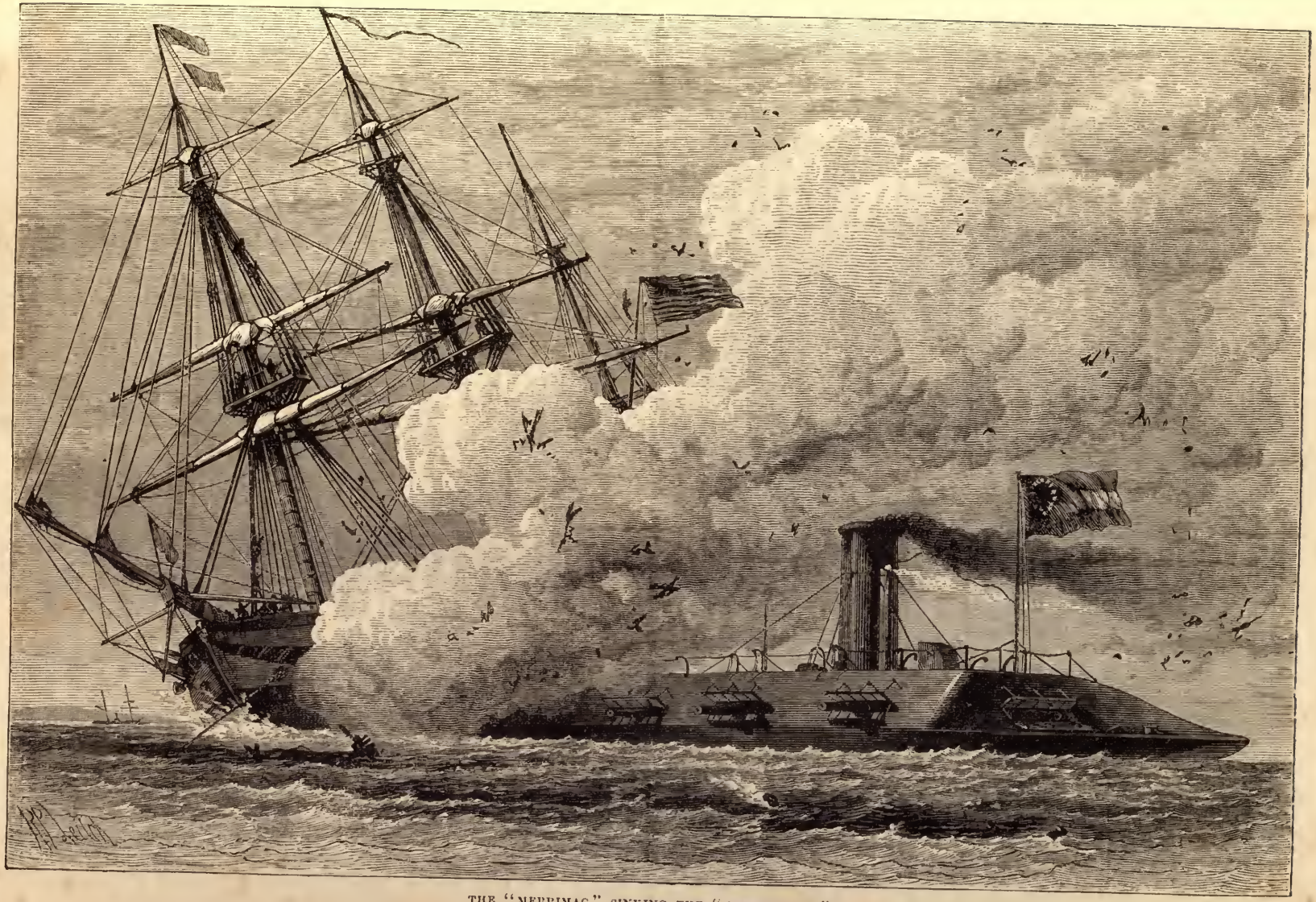
guns—eight at the sides, one at the bow, and one at the stern; and she was placed under the command of Captain Buchanan, an officer who, previously to the civil war, had been in charge of the Washington Navy Yard. Towards noon on the 8th of March, the vessel was seen approaching the fleet in Hampton Roads, coming from the direction of Norfolk. The Federal ships were immediately prepared for action, and the *Cumberland* was laid across the channel, so that her broadside could be brought to bear on the *Merrimac*. The latter, owing to her heavy structure, which assimilated her appearance to that of a sunken house, with the chimney just appearing above the water, could not move with much rapidity; but this was not the object for which she was designed. At the distance of about a mile, the pivot-guns of the *Cumberland* opened on her, but without the slightest effect. Not deigning to reply to the attack, she continued on her course, receiving a broadside from another ship, as well as from the *Cumberland*, but giving no sign that she was at all injured by this powerful cannonade. She now fired in return, and again received several broadsides, with the same result as before. The pilot of the *Cumberland*, in a statement which he afterwards made, spoke of the balls bouncing from her sides, as if the vessel had been made of india-rubber. A shot from one of her guns killed five mariners on board the *Cumberland*, and that vessel, being unable to escape, was soon crushed by the iron horn of the *Merrimac*, which knocked a hole in her side near the water-line, as large as the mouth of a hogshead, and drove the unfortunate ship back upon her anchors with great force. Although the water came rushing into the hold with the utmost violence, the *Cumberland* replied with spirit, and the action continued for half an hour. The broadsides of the *Merrimac* were doing fearful execution on the deck of the Federal ship, which caught fire in the forward part. The flames were soon extinguished, but the water proved a more formidable enemy. Nothing could keep it from pouring in at the horrible gash which the ram had torn in the side of the *Cumberland*, and, although the guns were still served with persistency, notwithstanding that the dead and dying lay about in large numbers, the bow kept sinking deeper and deeper into the sea, and it was plain that the injured ship must speedily succumb to the superior power of her foe. She went down with the flag still flying; and even after her hull had grounded on the sands, fifty-four feet below the surface of the water, the pennant was yet seen fluttering from the topmast above the waves. None of the men were captured, but many perished as the vessel sank. Of the four hundred on board, nearly half were killed during the fight, or drowned as the waters closed above the wreck. The commander of the *Cumberland*, Captain Radford, was absent in the *Roanoke* at the period of this sanguinary struggle, and the former vessel was under the temporary direction of Lieutenant George M. Morris. Some of the crew swam ashore, and others were rescued by small boats; but the list of dead was lamentable. The only consolation to the people of the Union was to be found in the splendid gallantry which had been exhibited, and the noble sense of duty which kept the flag flying to the last.

The *Merrimac* now attacked the *Congress* at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards, and, getting astern, raked her fore and aft with shells, while one of the steamers attending on the iron-clad kept up a fire on the starboard quarter. All this while, the *Merrimac* ranged slowly backwards and forwards, firing broadside after broadside, to which the *Congress* replied with resolution, but with scarcely any effect on the mailed vessel by which she was attacked. After about a hundred men had been killed, and the ship had taken fire in several places, the Union flag was hauled down, and a white pennant hoisted at the peak. The remaining officers, and a portion of the crew, escaped on shore; the others were taken off by a Confederate gunboat; and during the night the vanquished ship was burned to the water's edge, and sank. The *Congress* had been even less able to resist her opponent than the *Cumberland*. Her only means of defence were two guns at the stern, and these were soon disabled. The *Merrimac* had been accompanied by five armed steamers, which took part in the action, and placed the Federals at a still greater disadvantage. To make matters even worse, the steam-ship *Minnesota*, which had left Fortress Monroe shortly after the appearance of the *Merrimac*, got aground, and was unable to render any assistance. The frigate *St. Lawrence*, which followed her, was equally unfortunate; and the *Roanoke*, which also made an attempt to reach the spot, was obliged to return, owing to the shallowness of the water.

On the evening of the same day, the *Merrimac*, accompanied by two other vessels, proceeded towards the *Minnesota*, which lay some three miles below Newport News, quite unable to stir. The commander of the iron-clad, wishing to capture the grounded vessel without inflicting any serious injury, made no attempt to run her down, but, standing off about a mile, threw shot and shell into her. The *Minnesota* replied with so much animation that one of the steamers attending the *Merrimac* caught fire, and was towed off by her companion.

At nightfall, the *Minnesota* still remained untaken, and the *Merrimac* steamed in behind Sewall's Point. The effect of the day's operations was alarming to the Federals in the neighbourhood of Hampton Roads. They anticipated that the terrible stranger would again appear on the following morning, and resume its work of destruction, to which, it seemed, no effective resistance could be offered. It was only too probable that the *Minnesota* would be taken; that all the other ships would be sunk or driven off; that the stores and warehouses on the beach would be fired; and that the troops would be compelled to seek refuge in the fortress. A great surprise, however, was in preparation, both for the Union men and for the *Merrimac*. An iron-clad, called the *Monitor*, had just been completed at New York, and was taken in tow by a steam-tug on the 6th of March. Her destination was Hampton Roads, and it was intended that she should be used against the Confederate iron-clad, of which the Government at Washington had received some information. The *Monitor* was a small vessel, more like a raft than a ship-of-war; but her construction admirably fitted her for the kind of naval encounters which now seemed likely to be general. She was built in two parts, forming an upper and a lower vessel. The length of the upper vessel, which was shot-proof above the water-mark, was 172 feet; that of the lower vessel, 124 feet. Of these two vessels, the depth of the former was 5 feet, and of the latter 6 feet 6 inches; with a breadth, in the one case, of 41 feet 4 inches, and, in the other, of

CAPTAIN ERICSSON.



THE "MERRIMAC" SINKING THE "CUMBERLAND."

36 feet at the top, and 18 feet at the bottom. The sides of the upper vessel were constructed of 25-inch thickness of oak, coated with iron plates of 5-inch thickness. The turret, built of 8-inch plates of rolled iron, increased in thickness near the port-holes to 11 inches. The deck, which was of 8-inch thickness of oak, was coated with 2-inch plates of wrought iron. The pilot-house was built of 9-inch plates of forged iron, but in the event it was found to be of insufficient strength. The vessel drew 10 feet of water; the height of her turret was 9 feet, the diameter 21 feet. She was armed with two Dahlgren guns, carrying shot or shell of from 162 to 168 pounds' weight. The deck was from two to three feet above water; the cabins, which were below the water, were lighted artificially day and night; and the commander's post was in the pilot-house, whence he directed the steering of the vessel and the movement of the turret.* The architect of this remarkable ship was Captain Ericsson, and great reliance was placed on its power to meet any floating battery which the Confederates could bring into the water.

At ten o'clock on the night of March 8th, shortly after the disappearance of the *Merrimac*, the *Monitor* entered Hampton Roads, and took up a station near the *Minnesota*. The crew of that vessel were greatly relieved at the appearance of this much-needed friend; but the powers of the *Monitor* had yet to be tried, and it was still uncertain whether she would be able to cope with the Confederate iron-clad. Her appearance was so unwonted that it was impossible for ordinary seamen to form any precise idea as to her powers. Her deck was unprotected by any bulwarks, and stood not more than two feet above the water. The heavy turret and the dwarfish pilot-house were strange features in a sea-going vessel; indeed, the structure of the *Monitor* was so novel that, before she was launched, doubts were entertained as to whether she would float at all. Nevertheless, there she was in Hampton Roads; and although she had encountered a heavy gale on her passage, and had suffered not a little from the effects of the storm, she had proved herself seaworthy. Whatever the result of the morrow's action, she would undoubtedly fight; and the surprise in preparation for the *Merrimac* had a character that was truly dramatic.

During the night, the *Monitor* lay between the *Minnesota* and Fortress Monroe; so that when the Confederate vessel approached in the early morning, the presence of the new-comer was entirely concealed. The *Merrimac* had been a good deal damaged in the action of the previous day. In men, she had indeed lost only two killed and eight wounded, though among the latter was her commander, Captain Buchanan; but the vessel itself was much the worse for the encounter. Two of the guns were disabled; the anchor and the flag-staff were shot away; the smoke-jack and steam-pipes were riddled; the prow was twisted, the armour was battered, and the ram was wrenched. The officers, nevertheless, felt perfect confidence in the ability of their vessel to dispose of all the Federal ships which they expected to fight. At six o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the iron-clad was observed by the Federals rounding the point of land at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, accompanied by two of her satellites. It must have been with some astonishment that the crew of the *Merrimac*, shortly afterwards, saw emerging from the further side of the *Minnesota* a small, dark vessel, with an iron-clad turret which rose almost sheer out of the water. The two floating batteries approached one another, and the *Monitor* was the first to open fire, which she did at the distance of a hundred yards. Her antagonist at once replied, and a vigorous interchange of shots went on, at first with rapidity, but afterwards with slowness and caution. The distance between the two combatants varied from fifty to two hundred yards, and it was found that the *Monitor* could move with greater speed than her opponent, and was more easily turned. The *Merrimac* soon discovered that she had her match in the strange-looking craft which had so suddenly started out of the waves. She had begun by attacking the *Minnesota;* but it was now evident that she had quite enough to do in holding her own against the *Monitor*. The grounded vessel was in fact able to assist her protector, by firing over the low deck of Captain Ericsson's gunboat at the floating battery beyond. In doing so, two of her shots fell short of their destination, and struck the *Monitor;* but the iron-plating of the latter resisted the action of the balls. For a little while the *Merrimac* ran aground, but, on getting afloat again, steamed up the harbour towards Elizabeth River, followed closely by the *Monitor*. Her shot produced no effect, and the *Merrimac* now made an attempt to run down her formidable antagonist. Five times did these two iron-clads come into collision; but the *Merrimac's* ram, already injured by the first day's action, was by this time entirely broken, and her engines were of insufficient strength to propel her with the necessary speed. Each time that the vessels struck one another, one of the guns of the *Monitor* was discharged directly against the plated

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War.

sides of the *Merrimac*, and the latter replied by bringing her guns to bear on the turret and pilot-house of her adversary.

This unique combat was witnessed by the crews of the Federal fleet, by the garrison of Fortress Monroe, by the troops encamped on the adjoining shore, and by the Confederates from their batteries at Sewall's Point. The hopes and fears of both parties alternated from time to time; but on the whole, although the result was not decisive, the Federal vessel showed that its powers were superior to those of the Confederate. The *Monitor*, however, withdrew between one and two P.M., owing, it is said, to her commander having been injured in the eyes by a shot which struck the pilot-house. The disappearance of the Federal iron-clad was viewed by the captain of the *Minnesota* with dismay; but he was shortly afterwards relieved by seeing the *Merrimac* and her companions steam up the river towards Norfolk. No one had been killed on board either vessel; but the commander of the *Monitor*, Captain Worden, was injured, as already stated, and two of the seamen had been momentarily stunned from the concussion of the shot on the turret. The *Merrimac* was a good deal damaged. The timbers of her framework were started; the vessel leaked badly; and it has been said (though the statement was denied by the Confederates) that in other respects the gunboat was much shattered by the fire of her opponent. During the fight, the working of the *Monitor's* guns had been directed from the pilot-house by signals to the first lieutenant stationed in the turret; and the action proved that vessels of this character were capable of effective handling.*

The conflict was a perfectly new experience in marine warfare and it attracted great attention, not only in America, but in Europe. It may be said to have revolutionised the mode of fighting at sea, and to have rendered the ships, the armaments, and the tactics of Trafalgar as obsolete as those of Actium. Since then, all maritime nations have been compelled to arm their ships with iron plates of enormous thickness, to invent artillery of ever-increasing size and power, and to depend more on revolving turrets than on the old-fashioned tiers of guns. Happily, there has been no great naval war since 1862, and we are still ignorant of the ultimate effects likely to ensue from these new methods of warfare. But the combat of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* drew a deep line between the past and the future; and the naval heroes of days to come will have to fight under conditions the nature of which has not yet been fully tested.

CHAPTER XLI.

Plan of General McClellan for his Campaign against Richmond—State of the Army of the Potomac previous to changing its Base of Operations—Bitter Animosity of the South against the New England States—Sailing of the Army for the Yorktown Peninsula—Reduction of McClellan's Forces by order of the President—Difficulties in the Way of the Expedition—Position of the Confederate General, Magruder, in front of Yorktown—The Federal Advance—McDowell's Corps withdrawn by the President from General McClellan's Command—Mr. Lincoln's Explanation of his Conduct—McClellan's Hesitation and the President's Timidity—Further Diminution of the General's Powers—Opening of the Siege of Yorktown—Failure of a Federal Attack on the Confederate Lines—Progress of the Siege—Evacuation of the Position by the Confederates—Further Exploits of the *Merrimac*—Pursuit of the Confederate Army of Yorktown—Bad Condition of the Roads—Position of Williamsburg—Battle before that Town—Further Retreat of the Confederates—Federal Advance on Richmond—Evacuation of Norfolk by the Confederates—Burning of the *Merrimac*.

General McClellan felt himself free to change his base of operations from the lines round Alexandria and Washington to Fortress Monroe, when the ability of the *Monitor* to encounter the *Merrimac* became known to him. The council of war, in agreeing to the General's plan, had stipulated that it should be postponed until it could be ascertained whether it would be safe to send the army in transports to the vicinity of Hampton Roads. It being now evident that the movement might be executed without any special danger, McClellan began his preparations for the new campaign. The proposed plan, as he informed the War Department in a report which he was required to send in, was to assume Fortress Monroe as the first base of operation, taking the route by

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion; the Rebellion Record, Vol. IV.

Yorktown and West Point upon Richmond as the line of advance, and contemplating Richmond as the objective point. The fall of that city would involve the conquest of Norfolk and the whole of Virginia; and it was believed by McClellan that he could fight a decisive battle between West Point and Richmond, and that the Confederates would concentrate all their forces to meet his movement in that direction. West Point was to be reached as soon as possible, and used as the main depôt of the Federal forces; and the best way of approaching that spot was to make a combined naval and military attack upon Yorktown, then to push a strong corps up the York River, under cover of the navy, and finally to establish the new base of operations at a distance of five-and-twenty miles from Richmond. "For the prompt success of this campaign," wrote the General, "it is absolutely necessary that the navy should at once throw its whole available force, its most powerful vessels, against Yorktown." This, in brief, was the scheme by which McClellan hoped to strike the Southern Confederacy to the heart, and to restore the power of the Union over Virginia and her companions. For its execution he required 150,000 men and 400 guns.

The Army of the Potomac was in a fair state of discipline when the final resolution was taken as to the way in which it should operate. A degree of unhealthiness had existed during the winter, owing to the overcrowded state of some of the tents, to want of cleanliness, and to neglect of sanitary arrangements. But with approaching spring these evils remedied themselves, and the army was now in a favourable condition for meeting the enemy. The men were well fed, and even supplied with luxuries, the transport of which from place to place is said to have seriously hampered the movements of the several divisions, and to have prevented any operations at a distance from water-communication.* On the whole, however, the troops were not well officered, being often commanded by persons who were entirely ignorant of the military art. But McClellan himself had the confidence of his soldiers, and he was one of the few Federal commanders of whom the people at the South spoke well. This was owing not merely to the ability which in some respects he possessed, but to the fact of his being a Democrat in politics, and therefore in some measure inclined to Southern views. In any intercourse which he was compelled to hold with the Generals on the opposite side, he refrained from assuming the haughty tone adopted by some others, and thus acquired a sort of popularity with the enemy, which the more extreme politicians of the North regarded with disfavour. It is curious to observe how bitter throughout the whole war was the feeling of the slave-holding States against the people of New England. They were always reviled as cowards, hucksters, knaves, and hypocrites. After the battle before Fort Donelson, it was admitted by the Confederates that their opponents could fight well, and even heroically; but care was taken to point out that the Federal troops on that particular occasion consisted almost entirely of Western men, and to a great degree of men from the more southern of the Western States. The South never could forgive the North for defying the Fugitive Slave Law, and challenging the principle of slavery in its very home.

The first divisions of McClellan's army were embarked in the latter days of March, but the General himself remained at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Alexandria until the larger part of his force was on its way to the Yorktown peninsula. While so waiting, he received a letter from Mr. Lincoln, informing him that he had felt constrained to order Blenker's division (amounting to 10,000 men) to Fremont. "If," said the President, "you could know the full pressure of the case, I am confident you would justify it, even beyond a mere acknowledgment that the Commander-in-Chief may order what he pleases." This was a substantial reduction of the General's legions; but there was no help for it, and McClellan was obliged to content himself with the President's assurance that no other troops should in any event be detached from his command. On the 1st of April, McClellan and his staff embarked on a large river-steamer, and proceeded to Fortress Monroe. The Potomac was crowded with steam-transports filled with troops, with sailing-vessels carrying stores, artillery, and cavalry, and with gunboats acting as a patrol in case the Confederates should make any attempt to re-occupy their batteries at Mathias Point. Everything told of war on an immense scale; everything seemed to augur a speedy and brilliant success. Yet McClellan had no sooner arrived at Fortress Monroe than his hopes were dashed by an intimation from Flag-officer Goldsborough, commanding the fleet, that the navy could render but little assistance in the contemplated expedition. The *Merrimac* still kept the naval forces in terror, and the James River was practically closed by its lurking presence. It was found impossible to obtain any exact information as to the movements or the strength of the enemy, and

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War.

the maps of the Yorktown peninsula, which dated from the time of Washington (the country never having been surveyed since those days), were so inaccurate as to be seriously misleading. Nevertheless, it would have been fatal to draw back; and the troops were accordingly landed on the 4th of April, when 56,000 men, with one hundred guns, forming the first detachment, began their march for Yorktown. But McClellan had already endured fresh mortifications at the hands of the Government. The troops were not yet in motion when their General received a telegram informing him that the garrison and other forces at Fortress Monroe were withdrawn from his command, and that he was not to detach any men from that place without General Wool's sanction. It had been understood by McClellan before his departure that Fortress Monroe, as being the base of his operations, should be under his control, and that he was to be at liberty to draw from it a force of 10,000 men. The new arrangement now communicated from Washington was at the best humiliating, and might be the cause of much embarrassment. It did not, however, make any difference in the proceedings of McClellan. A portion of the army, under General Keyes, proceeded by the James River road, while another marched on Big Bethel and Howard's Creek; but the conditions of the campaign were now a good deal altered.

General Magruder, the Confederate officer opposed to McClellan, had defended the Yorktown peninsula by a line of entrenchments, reaching from Yorktown itself (famous as the scene of Lord Cornwallis's surrender in 1781) to a point on the Warwick River, one of the tributaries of the James. These entrenchments extended a distance of thirteen miles and a half, and were covered by Warwick Creek, which Magruder dammed up, and guarded with batteries and earthworks. Yorktown was very slightly fortified; but the York River was dominated by water-batteries of considerable power, and by various works on Gloucester Point. The defences altogether were not formidable; but the country itself presented natural obstacles, which placed several difficulties in the way of an invading force. The ground was swampy, and in many parts covered with a thick forest. Progress, therefore, was far from easy; and the defenders, having abundant opportunities of concealment, could make the most of their resources, and operate with the greatest effect on the advancing foe. They certainly stood in need of all these extraneous aids, for their numbers were few. Magruder could not command the services of more than 11,000 men, and with these he had to watch a very extended line of defence. He placed 6,000 of his troops at Yorktown and Gloucester Point, and the remaining 5,000 he distributed along the entrenchments stretching to the Warwick River. Reinforcements, however, would be sent from General Johnston's army, if Magruder could only hold the enemy in check for a few days. The fine weather with which the Federals started had now changed to wet; and this, by delaying McClellan's advance, contributed to the security of the Confederates. It became a matter of great difficulty to drag the heavy guns over the muddy and swampy paths by which alone the country could be traversed. Infantry and cavalry suffered in equal measure, and the spirits of the invading army were depressed by the gloomy aspects of the land. An earlier line of entrenchments, formed by General Magruder in advance of that which he now occupied, was found to be deserted, and the left column of the Federal army, under General Keyes, encountered no serious opposition until Lee's Mills were reached. At this point the advance was checked by the line of Warwick Creek, and at the same moment a heavy fire of artillery opened from the opposite bank. As it seemed doubtful whether the work could then be taken by assault, General McClellan determined to await the landing of the remainder of his army, and the arrival of his heavier artillery, before attempting an attack. Unfortunately for the success of the Federal plans, it was not known to McClellan, nor suspected by him, that the position in his front was held by a very small force, and that it must have yielded to a spirited assault. Instead of taking active measures, he threw up batteries of his own; and the anxiety of Magruder, when first the enemy appeared before him, gave way to a sense of comparative security when he saw that no immediate operations were to take place. He was now receiving reinforcements every day, and in a little while felt greater confidence in the strength of his position.

McClellan, in the meanwhile, was depending on the arrival of his first corps, under General McDowell. This, he anticipated, would land near Gloucester Point, and turn the enemy's defences at Yorktown by marching on West Point. But he soon learned that McDowell's corps was not to be placed at his disposal. He received a telegram from the Adjutant-General's office at Washington, stating that, by direction of the President, the first corps had been detached from the expeditionary force, and that McDowell had been ordered to report to the Secretary of War. McClellan complained to the President that he was not properly supported, and the President replied to the effect that he had military reasons for what had been done. "After

you left," wrote Mr. Lincoln to General McClellan on the 9th of April, "I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganised men, without a single field-battery, were all you designed to be left for the defence of Washington and Manassas Junction; and part of this, even, was to go to General Hooker's old position. General Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was diverted and tied up on the line of Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the Upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This presented—or would present when McDowell and Sumner should be gone—a great temptation to the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock, and sack Washington. My explicit order that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left entirely secure, had been neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain McDowell." Fear for the safety of Washington was therefore at the bottom of President Lincoln's act in depriving General McClellan of so large a portion of his command. The battle of Winchester, fought on the 23rd of March—about the period that the army of the Potomac was beginning to embark—had alarmed the Government by revealing a much stronger Confederate force in front of Washington than had been supposed. That action had terminated in favour of the Union troops, but it had not been so complete a success as many of the Northern newspapers alleged. The President was consequently uneasy; and, although it is impossible not to sympathise with the feelings of McClellan on finding his plans disconcerted by the subtraction of so many regiments, there does not seem any room for doubting that Mr. Lincoln acted with perfectly good faith, with the best intentions, and not altogether without reason. The question was brought before the notice of Congress on the 26th of May, when Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, defended the President, and argued that, even if he had acted erroneously, he had done so with the advice of those military men whom he had consulted. It had been decided by the commanders of corps that the number of men necessary for the defence of Washington was 45,000. In point of fact, not more than 15,000 were left in the city. Nearly all the regiments at the capital consisted of raw troops, and four or five regiments of cavalry were not mounted, or in a condition for service. Under these circumstances, and apprehending a Confederate incursion, such as took place a few weeks later, Mr. Lincoln withheld the 30,000 men under McDowell.

Even after this reduction of McClellan's forces, the General had, by his own admission, as many as 85,000 troops (ultimately, he had even more) for conducting his attack on the defences of the Yorktown peninsula. This cannot be regarded as a contemptible army, though it was less than what McClellan had conceived to be necessary, and what he had been led to expect. The truth appears to be that Lincoln was nervous about the defence of Washington, and McClellan over-cautious in his active operations. The Confederate army was less numerous than the Federal; yet McClellan hesitated as to striking a decisive blow. The President knew well that the country would not tolerate much more of this hesitation; and he told McClellan so in plain language, in his communication of the 9th of April. "I think," he said, "it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay, the enemy will relatively gain upon you; that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone. . . . . The country will not fail to note—is now noting—that the present hesitation to move upon an entrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated." Mr. Lincoln, it will be recollected, had never been in favour of the movement by the Yorktown peninsula. He held that the attack should be made at or near Manassas, in front of Washington, and he now felt more than ever convinced that his view was the correct one. McClellan none the less relied on the superior nature of his own scheme, and, finding his march arrested by Magruder's entrenchments, which he believed himself unable to take by a sudden and rapid movement, sat down before them, to commence a siege in due form. This enabled General Johnston, the Confederate leader, to concentrate his army in the peninsula, and also to prepare entrenchments nearer Richmond, to which he could retire if the first were carried. The encampments of the Federal Army of the Potomac were stationed between Yorktown and the Warwick River. The principal depôt for stores was changed from Fortress Monroe to Shipping Point, and siege-works on a great scale were presently commenced. The amount of labour thus expended was enormous. It was found necessary to erect bridges, to fill up swamps, and to make extemporary roads over the wet and quaking soil. These roads were formed out of logs of wood, which not unfrequently disappeared into the marsh shortly after they had been laid, when the work had to be done over again. The bringing up of the stores and ammunition from Fortress Monroe to the front, was a tedious and fatiguing task; and while it was proceeding there was but too much reason to fear that the position of the Confederates

was becoming rapidly stronger. On the other hand, the strength of McClellan, so far from increasing, grew continuously less. Whatever the motive, there was unquestionably a design on the part of the Washington authorities to circumscribe his powers in every possible way. During the month of April, the Federal commander heard that some new military departments had been formed That of the Shenandoah Valley was given to General Banks, while General McDowell obtained the district of the Rappahannock. Yet, even under these circumstances, McClellan had three army-corps at his disposal, and was thus enabled to confront the lines at Yorktown with a force of nearly 90,000 infantry, about 10,000 cavalry, 55 batteries of artillery (making a total of 330 field-guns), and a siege-train of 103 guns. At his back was the garrison of Fortress Monroe, containing some 10,000 men—not, indeed, under his immediate command, but adding to the strength of his position. It seems, therefore, remarkable that he could not at once have struck a telling blow against an adversary less powerful in several respects, and owing his safety in the main to the line of works by which he was covered. A want of bold initiative, however, was the leading defect of this General, whose talents as a military organiser were conspicuous, but who clearly did not possess that vivid and daring spirit by which the greatest captains of the world have performed their greatest deeds. When he was holding the line of the Potomac, he was unquestionably right in restraining the ignorant impatience of Northern politicians; for his army was totally disorganised, and quite unfit to meet the superior discipline of the Confederates. But he had now to a great extent remedied that state of things, and the forces under his direction were not likely to be any better after a few months' lingering on the Yorktown peninsula than they were at the moment of entering it. McClellan himself, in an address to his army, dated March 14th—that is to say, a little before the movement which had now been effected—remarked that the moment for action had arrived. "I feel," he said, "that the patient labours of many months have produced their fruit. The Army of the Potomac is now a real army—magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, excellently equipped and armed. Your commanders are all

A MONITOR, AND BLOCKADE-RUNNER

that I could wish. As I ride through your ranks, I see in your faces the sure presage of victory; I feel that you will do whatever I ask of you. The period of inaction has passed. I will bring you now face to face with the rebels, and only pray that God may defend the right. . . . . I shall demand of you great, heroic exertions, rapid and long marches, desperate combats, privations perhaps. We will share all these together." The check before the entrenchments at Yorktown made a strange comment on these high-flown utterances.

The Federal troops were now bivouacked in the forests which lie between the James and York Rivers. Huts were constructed out of the timber which those forests afforded; and when this had been done, the army suffered less than before from the inclemency of the weather. The engineer depôts were established in two deserted Confederate forts near Cheeseman's Creek on the York River, and the siege-train was landed a mile and a half from the locality where the first parallel was to be opened. Supplies were sent up Chesapeake Bay from Fortress Monroe to Shipping Point, in order to reduce the distance of land transport; the several corps and divisions were connected by roads and telegraphic wires; and in a little while the army got into fair working order. The Confederates had to endure much greater hardships than their enemies. Their rations consisted of the humblest fare, and their work was almost incessant, owing to the necessity of guarding a very prolonged line with a comparatively small number of men. The fire of the Federal artillery thinned their ranks, and the future seemed extremely doubtful. Yet their discipline was good—their self-reliance perfect. The left of their line, which rested on the village of Yorktown, was the point where they considered themselves the most likely to be attacked; but, after a careful survey, McClellan decided that Dam No. 1, at Lee's Mills, about midway between the York and James Rivers, was the weakest part of the position. Accordingly, on the 16th of May, he ordered General Smith to force a passage across Warwick Creek. Eighteen pieces of artillery were brought to play on the Confederate trenches, and at half-past three in the afternoon a Vermont regiment was sent across the stream. On getting to the other side, these troops attacked with great gallantry a regiment of North Carolinians, and another of Georgians, who were posted in that locality. After a sharp combat, the two regiments were driven back, and General Magruder then ordered up his supports, feeling that, if his line were cut in that central part, the two wings would be separated, and the position generally be rendered untenable. Other Vermont regiments had by this time crossed, but they were in time overpowered by the Confederates, who crept through the thick coverture of the woods, occupied the rifle-pits, and, pouring deadly volleys into their assailants, compelled the latter to retire, with considerable loss. The attack had been feebly supported, and had no chance of success under the circumstances. The hesitating nature of McClellan had again declared itself.

Reinforcements continued to reach the Confederate camp, and Magruder was now in a fairly good position. McClellan also received an addition to his numbers. A division of General McDowell's corps arrived at Shipping Point, with orders to co-operate with the army before Yorktown. It was the division of General Franklin, and consisted of 10,000 men, all well organised and disciplined under the personal inspection of McClellan himself. Yet that General did not make any use of the additional troops thus furnished him, but, giving up the thought of a direct attack on the enemy's works, resumed the slower operations of a siege. The first parallel was soon constructed at the distance of a mile from the batteries of Yorktown. The approaches were carried along the creeks and ravines with which the country is frequently intersected, and batteries and redoubts arose under the shade of spreading forests, at that time brilliant with the emerald tints of spring, or by the side of silvery streams, fitter for pastoral occupations than for the murderous extremities of war. Most of the batteries were erected among the trees, by which they were so shrouded as to be unperceived by the enemy; but it was of course intended to fell the trees as soon as the guns were ready to open fire. The Prince de Joinville, who was present at the siege, has recorded that 10,000 labourers were unceasingly employed cutting through the woods, and forming roads, trenches, and batteries. "It was a curious spectacle," he writes. "A straight arm of the sea, fringed by a thick and strong vegetation, mixed with trees of all kinds, living and dead, entangled with withes and moss, approached in a serpentine form to the front of the attack. This arm of the sea was covered with bridges. Roads were cut along its margin, in the midst of tulips, flowers of Judea, and azaleas in full bloom." The construction of parallels went on with great rapidity, and, although the Confederates opened a terrific fire on those works which they could see, as well as on those which they supposed to be in progress within the recesses of the forest, very little damage was done. Balloons were employed by the Federals for making reconnaissances. Powerful artillery was dragged up to the front; and 100 and even 200-

pounder rifled cannon, and 13-inch mortars, were placed in position. Fourteen batteries were constructed, armed, and appointed; and four steam gunboats, taking up a position between two and three miles from the Yorktown batteries, shelled the place at long range, but with very little effect. The general cannonade was postponed until everything was in a state of completion; but in the meanwhile trial was made of the 200-pounders. These enormous pieces were handled with a degree of facility which was hardly anticipated. Four men sufficed to load and aim them, and at a distance of three miles their fire was singularly precise. During the progress of the siege, the less disciplined among the Federal troops were strictly drilled, and instructed to act in masses. The outpost duty is said to have been ill-performed; yet the Confederates attempted no sallies, and, excepting their very ineffective cannonade, did nothing to hinder the progress of the siege.

At the commencement of May, it was generally believed in the Federal ranks that all the batteries would open fire on the Confederate works in a very few days. This would probably have been the case, but that the enemy, losing heart, determined to evacuate his positions. In the early morning of May 4th, it was discovered that the Confederate army had retired, and McClellan at once ordered a vigorous pursuit. The Federals had anticipated a signal triumph at Yorktown, and this sudden disappearance of the foe was a great disappointment. The capture of the place was a gain of a certain kind, as it transferred to the hands of the Federals a large number of heavy guns, and considerable stores of ammunition; but it was far from being the brilliant success desired and expected by the country, and the removal of the Confederate army was not only a vexation, but a danger. The Southerners had to some extent accomplished their object. They had delayed the approach to Richmond; they had given time to the military authorities in that city for increasing its defences; and they had brought the operations of the war so much the nearer to the hot season of the year, when the Federal armies, acting in the open field, would suffer from the sultry temperature, and from the pestilent diseases not unusual in the lowlands of that peninsula. The mere occupation of the lines at Yorktown did little to compensate the attacking forces for their loss of time and labour. The North had for a long while been indulging the hope that a staggering blow was about to be inflicted on the adversary; but the fulfilment of their wishes now seemed more remote than ever, and the tedious work had to be commenced afresh.

The *Merrimac* had again made her appearance in Hampton Roads during the progress of the siege of Yorktown. Accompanied by six other vessels, she issued forth one morning, and evinced an intention of attacking the Federal ships. The latter, however, were not at all inclined to accept the challenge. No sooner was the *Merrimac* seen approaching than the schooners, transports, and other vessels, spread their sails for a safer position, aided by the steam-tugs which were always at hand. The Confederate ram remained in Hampton Roads the greater part of the day; but none of the Federal ships would venture on an engagement. Three schooners were carried off by armed boats from the small Confederate fleet; yet the Federals made no attempt at resistance, beyond firing a few shots at long range. What rendered this misfortune all the more irritating was that the capture of the schooners was witnessed by two French ships-of-war and one English, which were lying in the roads at that time. The *Monitor* was close at hand; but her commander was not sufficiently confident of her powers to risk a duel with the *Merrimac*. The presence of the Federal gunboat, however, deterred the Confederate ram from making any attack upon the fleet. The two iron-clads to some extent neutralised one another; but the cutting out of the schooners was a success to the Confederates, which must have left a rankling sense of mortification in the minds of their opponents.

The pursuit of the Confederate army of Yorktown was conducted by a strong force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, under General Stoneman. It was discovered that torpedoes had been placed in the gates and roadways, and, to avoid these, a passage was made over the parapet. Others, it is alleged, were found concealed in dwelling-houses, and near springs of water; and General McClellan, being determined not to risk the lives of his own men, employed his prisoners in removing them. One of the balloons was sent up from Yorktown, and its occupants perceived the retreating columns at a distance of a few miles. The Confederates were evidently conducting their movement in good order. No stragglers could be seen, and the roads were not littered with those articles which are so commonly flung away when an army is in retreat. It was hoped that a portion of the rear-guard would be cut off; but the hope proved delusive. The fugitive columns marched quickly and steadily, and the pursuing cavalry were hampered in their progress by the thickness of the trees. At about half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, however, General Stoneman's advanced guard, debouching from the woods, came within sight of the Confede-

rate rear-guard, close to Fort Magruder. The fort at once opened fire, and a gallant attempt was made by the Federals to carry the position by which they had been so suddenly confronted. But it was impossible for a mere force of cavalry to take a fortified post, and Stoneman was obliged to retire. The infantry division, which had followed a wrong path, did not arrive until after the skirmish had terminated, and the conflict could not then be renewed. The Federals bivouacked that evening in the woods, and during the night rain fell to so great an extent that in the morning the roads were converted into channels of mud, which rendered necessary the laying down of planks. The delay thus created was very prejudicial to the Union troops, and equally advantageous to the Confederates. The latter had by this time retreated into the narrowest part of the peninsula between the James and York Rivers, and had there fortified themselves at the city of Williamsburg, which was approached by two roads, one leading direct from Yorktown, the other passing from the left of the Federal army, crossing Warwick River at Lee's Mills, and uniting with the first near the town which it was now proposed to attack.

The whole of the shipping and gunboats had been moved up to Yorktown, where the Federal depôts were speedily established. General Franklin's division was ordered by McClellan to advance by water to the vicinity of West Point, and endeavour to check the retreat of the enemy. The remaining divisions were massed near Yorktown, ready to move by land or water, as might be found most convenient. McClellan himself remained at the latter locality until noon of the 5th, superintending the movement of his troops. While still there, he heard that a serious battle was occurring at Williamsburg, and went instantly to the front, to assume the immediate command. The action had commenced at half-past seven in the morning, when General Hooker's division, belonging to the corps of General Heintzelman, attacked the Confederate forces with infantry and artillery. The forts opened fire on these advancing columns, and they were driven back, with the loss of five guns. Retiring within the shelter of the woods, they held their ground till other divisions could come to their assistance; but the movement of the supports was delayed by the muddy condition of the roads they had to follow. Ultimately, the Federal forces were more numerous than those of the Confederates, which consisted simply of the rear-guard, under General Longstreet; but the latter had the advantage of position, and were assisted by their forts. A great deal of irregular fighting went on for some hours, and matters were looking ill for the Federals when information of their distress was conveyed to General McClellan. It was no easy matter to go to the assistance of the divisions before Williamsburg, for twelve miles of heavy and encumbered roads lay between that place and Yorktown. Vast bodies of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, with their accompanying baggage, blocked up the forest-paths, and presented in every direction that scene of chaotic incoherence which nothing but an army in motion can furnish in equal measure. Deluging rain descended on the men, who, growing weary and dispirited, halted whenever they pleased, or fell out altogether. The sound of the enemy's cannon was heard in front, with greater and greater distinctness as the miles diminished; but the advancing divisions either could not hasten their pace, or did not care to do so. It was half-past five in the evening before General McClellan arrived at the scene of action. His presence was greeted with ringing cheers, which ran along the whole of the Federal line, and the new dispositions which he ordered soon produced their effect. The enemy was attacked at the point of the bayonet, and driven back. By seven o'clock the battle was over, and the conquerors bivouacked in the woods. But, although victorious, the Federals had been so severely handled, and were in such a state of military disorganisation, that it is doubtful whether they would have been able to renew the fight on the following morning. Fortunately, they were not called upon to do so; for the Confederates evacuated Williamsburg during the night, and McClellan's army entered without any opposition a few hours later.

The Southern troops were now on their way to Richmond, and their opponents were not in a condition to pursue at once. General Franklin's division, however, together with those of Generals Sedgwick, Porter, and Richardson, which had not been concerned in the fighting before Williamsburg, proceeded by water to West Point, opposite to which, on the 7th of May, Franklin's advanced brigades disembarked on the right bank of the Pamunkey, which, joining with the Mataponey, forms the York River. Here they were attacked by General Whiting, but, with the aid of the gunboats, succeeded in holding their ground. The remainder of McClellan's army followed on the 8th, 9th, and 10th; but the check they had received enabled the Confederates to retreat into Richmond, with their baggage and their supply-train. The Southern army, being weaker in numbers than the Northern, was compelled to contract the sphere of its operations. The Yorktown peninsula was entirely abandoned, and it was also found necessary

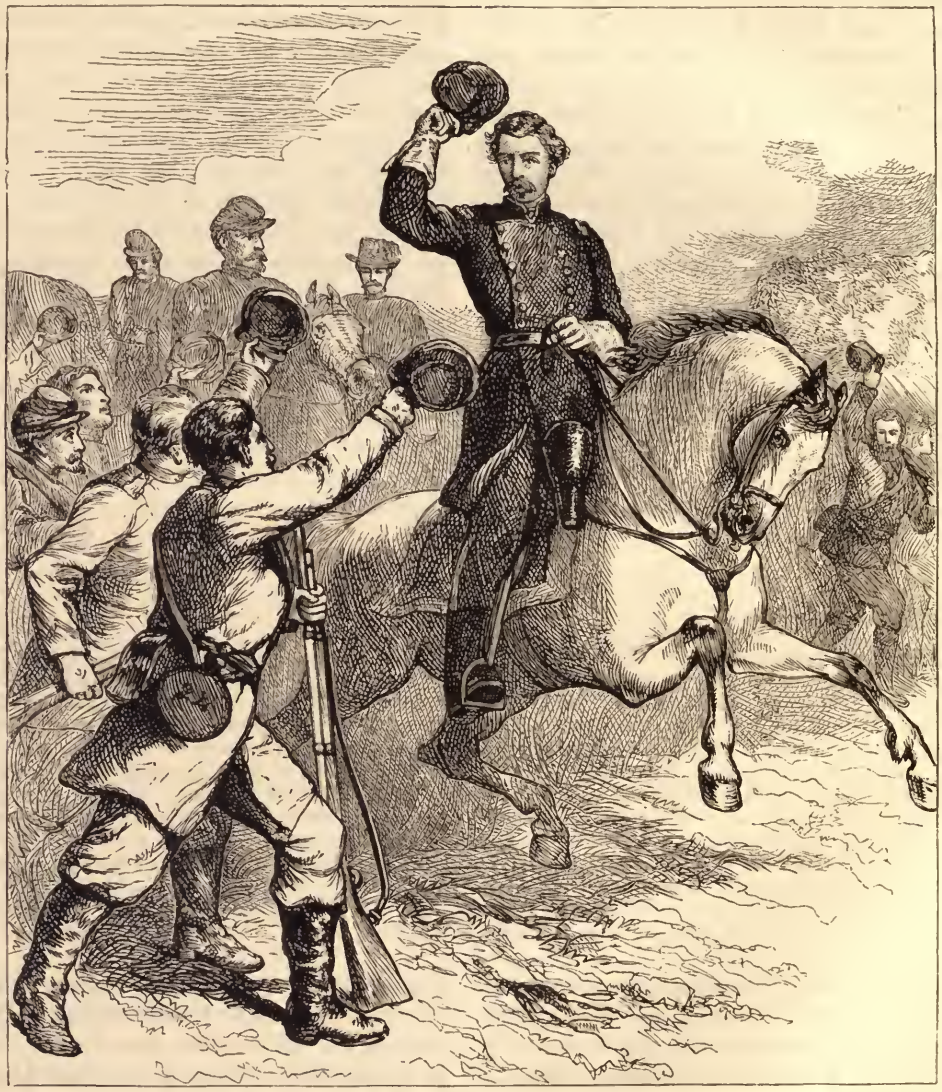
to evacuate Norfolk. As many of the stores were saved as could conveniently be removed; the rest, together with several steamers and other vessels, were destroyed; and the Confederate force marched for Richmond on the 10th of May. Norfolk was occupied by General Wool on the same day, after a little resistance from the rear-guard of the retreating force. Both shores of the James River were now in possession of the Federal troops, and Commodore Tatnall, who succeeded Captain Buchanan in the command of the *Merrimac* when the latter officer was wounded, resolved on taking the iron-clad up the James, beyond the Federal lines. The pilot, however, declared that, owing to the prevalence of westerly winds, the depth of water had decreased, and that he could not get beyond Jamestown Flats, where the gunboat would be within reach of the enemy's fire. Believing that he could not save the vessel—the sides of which, below the iron plating, had been exposed by her being lightened in order to effect the passage of the river—Tatnall ordered the *Merrimac* to be run ashore near Craney Island, where she was set on fire, and blown up, on the evening of May 11th. The people of the Confederate States were grieved by the loss of their famous ram, which had done them so much service. A Court of Inquiry which investigated the matter decided that the act was quite unnecessary, and Tatnall defended himself by saying that he had been wilfully deceived by the pilot, who wished to avoid an action. Delivered from their enemy, the Federal gunboats pushed on to within twelve miles of Richmond, but on the 15th of May were worsted in an encounter with some Confederate batteries at Drury's Bluff. In the meanwhile, General McClellan's forces were moving on Richmond by the line of the Pamunkey, and on the 21st the advanced guard had reached the river Chickahominy. The Confederate capital was now near at hand, and the most difficult and dangerous part of the expedition remained to be accomplished.

CHAPTER XLII.

Further Progress of Events in Tennessee—The Confederate Line of Defence across that State—Island No. 10, in the Mississippi—Evacuation of New Madrid by the Southern Forces—Digging of a Canal by the Federals—Abandonment of various Positions by the Confederates—General Grant at Pittsburg Landing—Junction of the Confederate Forces under Generals Sidney Johnston and Beauregard—Surprise of the Federals on the Morning of the 6th of April—A Desperate Day's Fighting—Resumption of the Contest on the 7th—Retreat of the Confederates—Heavy Losses on both Sides—Character and Results of the Two Days' Battle—Expeditions against Railway Lines of Communication—Northern Arkansas and Missouri evacuated by the Confederates—Federal Movements in the Vicinity of Savannah—Siege and Reduction of Fort Pulaski—Naval Operations on the Coast of Georgia—Taking of Fort Macon, North Carolina—Evacuation of Norfolk, Virginia, by the Southern Forces—Position of Louisiana towards the Confederacy—Defences of New Orleans—The River Defences of New Orleans—Composition of the Combined Naval and Military Expedition sent out by the United States—Passage of the Mississippi—Bombardment of Forts Jackson and Philip—Passing the Forts—Action with the Confederate River Fleet—Explosion of the *Manassas*—Consternation at New Orleans, and Destruction of Property—Surrender of the City to Commodore Farragut—Rage and Despair of the Populace.

The operations of the Federal armies were spread over so large a tract of country, and were pursued simultaneously in so many different and widely-separated quarters, that the historian is obliged to divide his attention amongst numerous centres of interest, and to hurry from one field of action to another, that no scene in the complicated drama may be lost. It is now necessary to quit once more the banks of the Potomac and the vicinity of Richmond, and to watch the further progress of events in Tennessee, where, after the great Federal successes recorded in a previous Chapter, Generals Grant and Buell continued their advance, and prepared for fresh attacks upon the Confederate armies. The line of defence taken up by the Southerners, after their retrogressive movement, was one of extreme length, extending from New Madrid, in Missouri, and Island No. 10 on the Mississippi, in the north-western part of the State named after that river, to Murfreesborough and Cumberland Gap, in the north-east, with the centre at Jackson, to the south of both extremities. The left, at Island No. 10, was supported by an outpost at New Madrid; and the defence of the island depended to a great extent on the possession by the Confederates of that small town. General Pope, therefore, led an expedition against the latter place, whilst Commodore Foote, with his gunboats, made a demonstration in front of the insular position. These proceedings began on the 28th of February; batteries were afterwards erected, which were used principally against the gunboats and shipping in the river; and on the

night of March 13th, in the midst of a violent storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, the Confederate garrison of New Madrid retired to Island No. 10, and to the works on the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi, within the State of Kentucky. The



ARRIVAL OF McCLELLAN AT WILLIAMSBURG.

town was at once occupied by the Federals, who came into possession of large quantities of stores, and were enabled to cut off the island from any communication by the Lower Mississippi.

Encouraged by their success, the Federals next brought their batteries to bear against the main body of the Confederate left, stationed on Island No. 10. But these operations, though prosecuted with vigour, were unproductive of any decided effect, and it was then determined by General Pope and Commodore Foote to resort to other measures. They resolved to cross to the opposite shore, and seize the batteries which commanded the channel from that side. To do this, however, it would first be necessary to cut a canal across the narrow neck of land separating New Madrid from the upper attacking force, so as to enable the gunboats to get a greater command over the insular defences than the winding course of the Mississippi would allow, and to give increased facility to the transports engaged in carrying troops from New Madrid to the opposite side of the river. The length of this canal would be twelve miles, and its execution would necessarily be a work of prodigious labour, seeing that, if done at all, it would be indispensable

to finish it with the utmost rapidity. Nevertheless, the work was undertaken, and successfully carried out. Half of the distance was through a swampy forest, where the trees had to be cut off four feet below the surface of the water; the rest of the way was less difficult, but still such as to require a great expenditure of toil. By the first week in April, the canal was fully made, and the work had not at any time been interrupted by the Confederates, their attention having been fully engaged by the heavy fire of the Federal gunboats and mortar-

A RAILROAD BATTERY.

batteries, and by a few naval actions which succeeded in keeping the besieged in continual alarm. On the night of the 6th of April, four steamers and a large number of transports were brought through the canal, of the very existence of which, beneath the shadow of its luxuriant trees, the Southerners appear to have been ignorant. A division, commanded by General Payne, was sent across the river in the transports, and the men, landing without opposition on the left bank of the Mississippi, drove back the defenders of the batteries, who seem to have been completely taken by surprise. The defences on Island No. 10 were at once abandoned, and the position was surrendered to Commodore Foote, together with a large amount of warlike material. Extraordinary want of spirit and resolution was shown by the Confederates throughout the whole proceedings. It was important to their position in the West that they should retain New Madrid, the island, and the batteries on the Kentucky shore; yet these were abandoned almost without a blow.

After the capture of Nashville, General Grant proceeded with his forces down the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing. His coadjutor, General Buell, prepared to march on foot to the same locality; and the Federal army, being thus divided, was exposed to the attacks of its enemy. The Confederates could now reckon on the services of two armies, both numerically strong, and commanded by officers of ability. At the head of one was General Albert Sidney Johnston; at the head of the other, General Beauregard. The former was the senior officer, and therefore exercised the chief control. To strike a concentrated blow at Grant, General Johnston united his whole force with that of General Beauregard on the 1st of April, and on the 3rd the army began its march towards Pittsburg Landing. Altogether, the commanders had under their control rather more than 40,000 men, divided into three corps and a reserve; but the regiments were defective both in organisation and discipline. The march was very slow,

partly owing to the inexperience of the men, partly on account of the thickly-wooded country. The neighbourhood of Grant's position was not reached until the afternoon of the 5th, and the attack was deferred until the next day. Grant, with singular want of prudence, had omitted to throw up any defences, and his divisions were scattered about the ground without any concentration or method. Separated by numerous creeks, and covered with woods, the ground offered several facilities for a sudden attack, and made the difficulty of an improvised defence all the greater; though, with a little care beforehand, such a position should have been very awkward to assault. At daybreak on the morning of April 6th, the Confederates advanced in four lines, and the Federal pickets were driven in so rapidly that their respective divisions had no time to get under arms. The division of General William T. Sherman (afterwards so famous) was among the first to bear the brunt of the attack, and nothing was in readiness for such a catastrophe. Many of the officers were in bed; of the men, some were preparing their breakfasts, while others were cleaning their rifles.

The astonishment and dismay of the Federals were for a time overwhelming. A portion of General Prentiss's division struggled into order, but was speedily driven back by the terrific fire which came blazing out of the woods. Prentiss himself was soon taken prisoner, together with three of his regiments; but in a little while some of Sherman's brigades got into line, and offered a brief resistance to the advancing foe. Nevertheless, the Confederates continued to gain ground, and, pursuing the forces of Prentiss and Sherman, now in full retreat, passed through their deserted camps, and captured the greater part of their field-artillery. Presently, they came in sight of General McClernand's division, posted upon some rising ground. These troops for a time made a stand, and, though some among them gave way at the first onset, the others were sufficiently steady to check the Confederate advance, and to induce General Braxton Bragg, who commanded one of the supporting bodies, to bring his troops into action. In conjunction with a few of the other brigades, he attacked the Federals with much animation, driving them back from their positions, and creating the utmost confusion among the opposing lines. When the Confederate left had been reinforced by General Polk's corps, General McClernand's division, which formed the second Federal line, was completely routed, and very little chance of retrieving the day remained to the Union troops. Two divisions of General Grant's army, however, still retained their positions; and these, being well planted and amply provided with artillery, withstood the Confederate assaults from half-past ten in the morning till four in the afternoon. The attack was led by General Bragg in person, and was again and again renewed, but with no other effect than to strew the field with dead and wounded, mowed down by the continual fire, both of rifles and artillery, which the Federals kept up from out the woods where many of their number were posted. Towards the end of the engagement, General Johnston, while superintending the right of the line, was struck in the leg by a rifle-bullet; but, believing the wound to be superficial, he refused to dismount, and continued to give his directions until a feeling of extreme weakness showed that an artery had been cut, and that death was close at hand. The centre of the Confederate line was still held in check by the two Federal divisions commanded by Generals Hurlbut and W. H. L. Wallace; yet victory, on the whole, lay with the attacking force. It seemed as if with one more effort the Federals would be completely crushed; but that effort was not made. The Confederate troops were exhausted, and it is admitted by General Beauregard himself, in his official report, that the men were engaged towards evening in plundering the deserted camps, and loading themselves with spoil. Beauregard had succeeded to the chief command on the death of Johnston; and, feeling doubtful whether his army was in a condition to do more that day, he ordered the several divisions to retire. The number of the Federals was about the same as that of the Confederates, and with the natural advantages of their position they should have done better. But want of generalship had been conspicuous, and the day was lost for lack of reasonable foresight.

On the night of April 6th, the disordered masses of the Federal army were scattered about the immediate vicinity of Pittsburg Landing, under shelter of the iron-clad gunboats drawn up in the Tennessee River. The Confederates held the greater portion of the battle-field. They had taken all the enemy's encampments but one, together with nearly all his field-artillery, about thirty flags, colours, and standards, more than 3,000 prisoners, several thousands of small arms, an immense supply of subsistence, forage, and munitions of war, and a large amount of means of transportation.* The struggle, however, was not yet concluded. On the following morning (April 7th), the Federals were

* Report of General Beauregard.

again seen ranged in order of battle. General Buell had arrived during the previous day on board a steamer, and had at once proceeded to General Grant's head-quarters. Some of his troops had even reached the ground in time to take part in the final stand made by the Federals on the evening of the 6th. Others crossed the river during the night, and four divisions marched into camp early on the morning of the 7th. The Federals were thus reinforced to the extent of about 20,000 men, several of whom might be described as veterans. Fighting was resumed at five A.M., when the fresh troops, having placed themselves in front of their disorganised comrades, advanced to the attack. Buell was the officer in command, and he made his dispositions with great ability. The forces of General Grant were so completely dispirited by the combat of the previous day that they were not able to render effective assistance, and on neither occasion does Grant himself appear to have done much in the way of personal supervision. General Nelson was sent forward with the regiments under his direction, and the contest was general by seven o'clock. The battle was maintained for some hours with considerable spirit, but the Confederates aimed at nothing more than holding their opponents at bay while they effected their own retreat. The Federals continued to recover the positions they had lost on the 6th, and to repossess themselves of the guns and colours captured by the Confederates. When the main body of the Southern forces had got safely away, the front line, which had been keeping the Federals in check, also quitted the ground, and rejoined their comrades, who had retreated to Corinth. Several rallies had occurred during the day, and there had been moments when the Confederates seemed as if they were about to achieve another victory; but they were, in truth, quite unfitted to meet the fresh and unwearied troops which General Buell had brought into the field, and, notwithstanding a few temporary gains at various points, they were compelled, about four o'clock in the afternoon, to leave the ground in entire possession of the enemy whom they had vanquished not many hours before. No regular pursuit was attempted until the 8th, and even then but little was done. The Federal loss on the two days had been 1,735 killed, 7,882 wounded, and 4,044 missing. The Confederates lost 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 missing. The battle has been variously called by the names of Shiloh and of Pittsburg Landing. It was one of the most hard-fought encounters that had yet taken place between the forces of the two belligerents.

The Confederates, after their defeat, fell back to the posts they had occupied on the night of the 5th, and then to a locality three miles in the rear. They had achieved a great, though only a temporary, success; and their subsequent discomfiture left them, in a military sense, in no worse position than they had held before the attempt was made. The Federals had been taught a sharp lesson as to the defects of their organisation; but in the end they had retained their ground, and, being now firmly established on the upper part of the Tennessee River, could inflict much injury on their opponents from that base of operations. The misconduct of the raw troops had been counterbalanced by the steadiness of those more accustomed to the profession of war, and many of the superior officers had distinguished themselves by courage and capacity. General Sherman, who had long been connected with the regular army of the United States, was especially mentioned for bravery on the field, which he refused to quit, although wounded in the hand, and although the broken condition of his legions left him but little to do. Shortly after the battle, an expedition was sent, under General Mitchell, to seize part of the Great Trunk line of railway, connecting Memphis, on the Mississippi, with Eastern Tennessee, Western Virginia, and Richmond. The object was to cut off Beauregard's army from direct communication with the forces in Virginia; and this object was accomplished. In the second week of April, General Mitchell took the railway depôt and village of Huntsville, and, sending out detached expeditions to the east and south, occupied the railway from Decatur to the bridge over the Tennessee River, near Stevenson, on the junction with the direct line to Nashville through Murfreesborough. The bridges on the Mobile and Ohio railway were destroyed by another expedition from Pittsburg Landing, and the operations of the Federal Army of the West were suspended for a little while. The boundaries of the contest in those Western States were about to be reduced, as it had been determined by the Confederate Government to relinquish for the present the defence of Northern Arkansas and Missouri. Experience had taught the South that her military line was far too extended, and the resolution to contract it within a moderate compass was unquestionably wise. The armies gained power by concentration, and the Federals were in this way obliged to face more formidable legions than it had been possible to bring into one field while so many widely-spread tracts of country had to be watched. The troops under Generals Van Dorn and Price were removed from their own States, with orders to join General

Beauregard; and soon after their withdrawal the Federal cavalry occupied Pocahontas, in Arkansas.

Success crowned the Federal arms, at this period, in other regions besides the West. At the beginning of 1862, it had been observed to be a part of the Confederate design to shut up the Federal troops in Port Royal Island, South Carolina, by placing obstructions in the neighbouring rivers, by erecting batteries in the vicinity, and by massing troops so as to be able to throw a large force on the most vulnerable points, whenever it should be considered advisable to do so. These plans it was determined to frustrate. The river approaches to the city of Savannah, one of the principal places in Georgia, are defended by Fort Pulaski, a case-mated work situated at the mouth of the river Savannah, and by Fort Jackson, a barbette-work on the mainland, only four miles below the city. The left or northern bank of the river is formed by a succession of islands, which, dividing the stream into a number of creeks and bays, render navigation difficult. On one of these islands stands Fort Pulaski, distant about eighteen miles from the city of Savannah. At the period in question, it was armed with forty-seven guns, and garrisoned by a force of three hundred men, under Colonel Olmstead. Before the invention of rifled cannon, it had unquestionably been a place of great strength; but the changed conditions of warfare had left it comparatively weak. For the reduction of this position, four regiments from the Eastern States, and some companies of engineers, were detached from the Federal Army of the South. Batteries were placed on Tybee Island, and the left bank of the Savannah River was occupied by a force sufficient to intercept communication with the city of the same name, and to prevent the Confederate gunboats from carrying succour to the fort. The batteries were not completed until the 9th of April, owing to the great labour involved in conveying the guns to their insular position, and there erecting them. When the works were completed, however, thirty-six pieces of artillery were ready to open fire on the fort. They extended in an oblique line of about a mile and a half in length, and varied, in their distance from the fort, from one mile to two. During the time that these guns were being placed in position, the garrison made not the slightest attempt to interrupt the work. The bombardment commenced on the 10th of April, and a hot artillery-duel continued during that day and the next. So large a breach had been effected in the walls by noon on the 11th, that preparations were made for storming the fort; but about two hours afterwards, before active operations could be commenced, the commander resolved to strike his flag, and surrender. By the destruction of the wall on the south-eastern face of the fortress, the magazine had become exposed to the fire of the batteries, so that further defence was impossible, and the only choice lay between immediate submission and instant death in the ruins of the structure. Great vexation was experienced in the South at the fall of Fort Pulaski; but the event, in fact, made no material change in the relative position of the combatants. The capture of Savannah did not follow the exploit, as the Federals had expected, and the interior parts of Georgia were not reduced. The defences of the city were increased, and a sufficient force was stationed in the neighbourhood to repel any attack that might be designed. The possession of Pulaski by the Federals, however, had the effect of preventing any further attempts to run the blockade into Savannah by the mouth of the river; so that the siege was not entirely barren of results. Other expeditions about the same period were directed against various positions on the coast of Georgia, and these were attended by a degree of success which sufficiently repaid the labour expended in conducting them. In North Carolina, Fort Macon was taken on the 25th of April by a force sent out by General Burnside from the town of Newbern. The fort was defended with great determination by Colonel White; but it was at length compelled to succumb to the superior fire of the Federals. The capture of this fort gave General Burnside a safe port of entry for the vessels employed in furnishing supplies to his army of occupation. The Union forces had now obtained complete command over the coast of North Carolina; but the loyal sentiment alleged to exist among the people was found to be entirely absent.

General Burnside was not wanting in activity. About the time that Fort Macon surrendered, a reconnaissance was made in the direction of Norfolk, Virginia, from Elizabeth City, North Carolina. A body of Confederate troops was encountered at a distance of thirty-five miles from that town, and, after an indecisive action, the forces of both belligerents drew back. Norfolk thus remained untouched; but the Confederates were doubtful as to its safety, and its evacuation, as we have seen, occurred shortly afterwards. These, however, were small results in comparison with the capture of New Orleans, which took place during the spring. It was a very important matter to secure this city, which is by far the greatest port in the Southern States of America. The people of Louisiana generally had given a most enthusiastic support to

the Confederacy, and, both from diversity of descent and distinction of interests, entertained a hearty detestation of the North. The commerce of New Orleans was ruined by the blockade, and nowhere did a more intense feeling of animosity towards the Federals prevail than in that fine emporium of the Mississippi which Jackson had so successfully defended against the British. The river-fleet employed against the blockading squadron had recently been increased; but two additional iron-clads, commenced some time before, still remained unfinished at the beginning of April. It was believed by the citizens that the forts near the mouth of the river would be sufficient to prevent the passage of ships; and it was thought by many that New Orleans was imperilled rather from the north, by a fleet which might possibly descend the stream, than from the south, by one approaching from the Gulf of Mexico. In the latter direction, the city was protected by two lines of defence. The outer line consisted of Forts Jackson and Philip, built on opposite banks of the river. The second line was established among the swamps and forests stretching along the banks of the Mississippi between New Orleans and the sea, and was chiefly intended as a safeguard against infantry, though here also the stream was blocked by two ranges of cannon. Very little attention had been given to this second line, and its weakness was rendered still greater by the removal to other spots of some of the large guns forming the river-batteries.

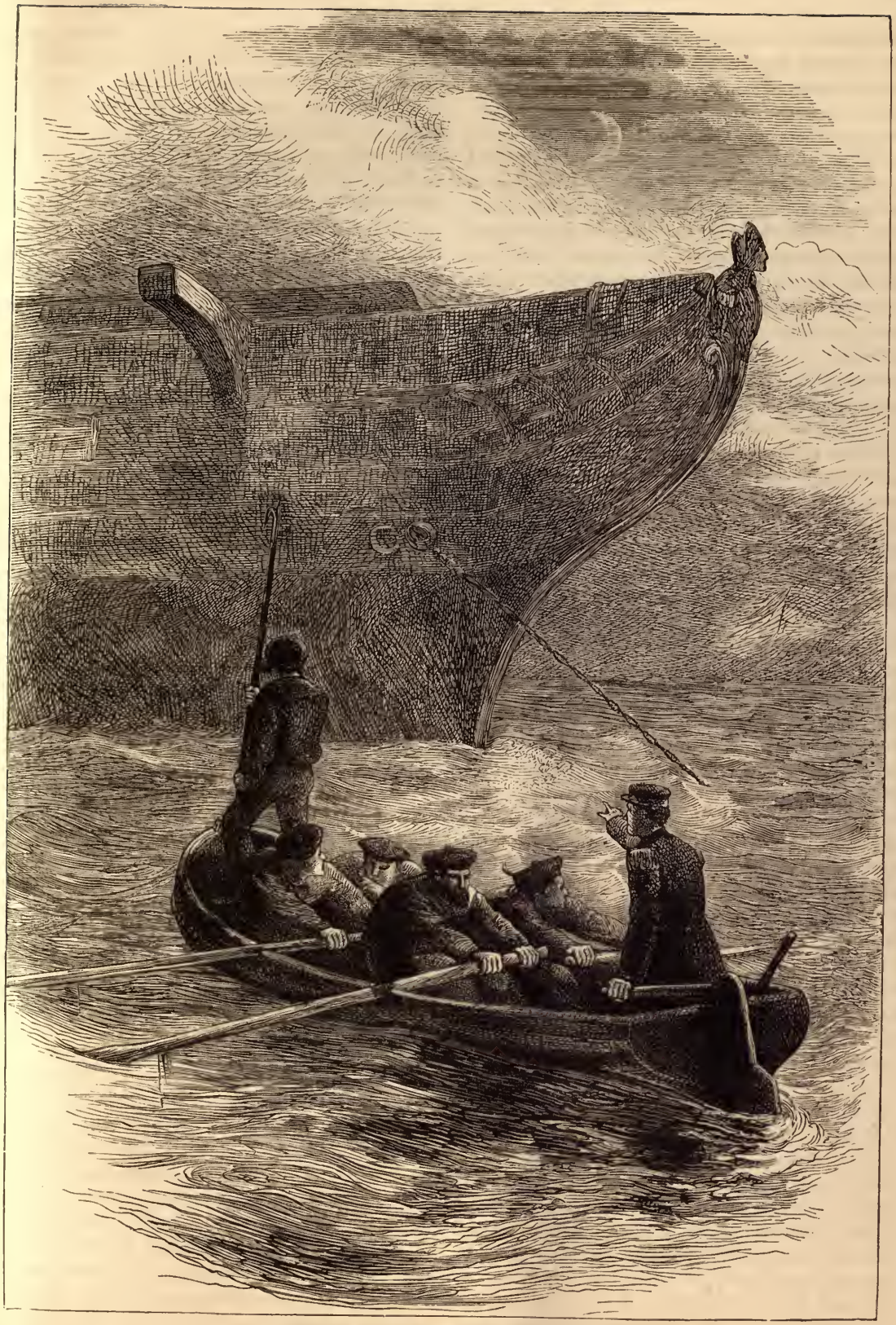
New Orleans was in no condition for repelling an attack when the Federals determined to reduce it. The city had been almost denuded of troops, to augment the Confederate army in Tennessee under General Beauregard. Forts Jackson and Philip (situated about seventy-five miles below New Orleans, and twenty-five from the mouth of the river) were garrisoned, for the most part, with regular troops, many of whom had formerly belonged to the army of the United States; but in the city itself only one company remained. Three thousand volunteers for ninety days were raised as a substitute for the regiments that had been withdrawn; but the new-comers were very insufficiently armed. Still, something had been done to meet impending dangers. A few heavy guns had recently been sent to the forts from Richmond, at the urgent request of Brigadier-General Lovell, who had the principal command in Louisiana. A boom had been thrown across the river from fort to fort, and, when carried away by the spring floods, had been succeeded by another of more elaborate construction. The river was further protected by a fleet of seven steamers, provided with iron prows to act as rams, and covered with cotton bulk-heads so as to ward off the action of shot; and the steam-ram *Manassas* was stationed a short distance above Fort Jackson. Yet the defences of New Orleans, though good in some respects, were on the whole insufficient to resist the extraordinary resources of the Federals. Louisiana was so distant from the chief seats of war that the inhabitants do not seem to have very seriously concerned themselves about their safety. It was only when news had been received as to the probability of an immediate attack that any extra measures were adopted.

The combined naval and military expedition now sent forth by the United States had been in preparation for some months. The fleet was under the command of Commodore Farragut, and included thirty armed steamers and twenty-one mortar-vessels, the direction of which was confided to Commodore Porter. General Butler was at the head of the land forces, which had been recruited chiefly from the New England States. The first instalment of troops arrived at Ship Island, in the Gulf of Mexico, off the coast of Mississippi, on the 3rd of December, 1861; the second instalment reached the same spot in January, 1862; and the squadron under Farragut followed shortly after. While the united forces were staying at Ship Island, a reconnaissance was undertaken to determine the best mode of approaching New Orleans. That city might be gained either through Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, or, more directly, by the Mississippi River. The former route, on account of the shallowness of the water, was found to be impracticable for large vessels; accordingly, it was determined to proceed by way of the river. But even this proved to be a work of difficulty. It took nearly three weeks to get all the ships over the bar at the south-west entrance to the Mississippi, and Commodore Farragut found the depth considerably less than had been indicated on the official maps—a difference which has been accounted for by the suggestion that the channel had been partly filled up, owing to the absence of traffic since the blockade. When at length the vessels got fairly into the stream, some of the gun-boats and mortar-vessels crept cautiously up, making observations as they went, and concealing their presence by wreathing their masts, rigging, and hulls with bushes, reeds, and willows, which, mingling in appearance with the thick woods on the left side of the advancing squadron, would be likely to deceive any Confederate observers who might be in the neighbourhood. A station for the fleet was selected twenty-two miles below the forts, and the gunboats were sent farther up the river, with orders to oppose any of the enemy's vessels

which might be visible, and to shell the woods, so as to clear them from Confederate sharpshooters.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PITTSBURG LANDING.

This was in April; and, the channel having been thus surveyed and protected, the troops were conveyed in transports through Pass à l'Outre to Table Island, and thence, in smaller boats, to a position twelve miles in the rear of Fort Philip, on the north-eastern bank of the stream. Two schooners from the mortar-fleet occupied a bayou, or creek, in the rear of Fort Jackson, soon afterwards; and on



LIEUTENANT CALDWELL SLIPPING THE CHAIN.

the 13th of April several of the Federal gunboats were within two miles of the latter fortification. The boom which the Confederates had stretched across the river had been damaged shortly before, partly by the action of a storm, and partly by the breaking loose of some fire-rafts which drifted against the obstruction. Everything being now in readiness, the bombardment opened on the 18th, the mortar-vessels taking the lead, and the gunboats assisting whenever the others required relief. A terrible fire was in this way concentrated on the forts, but especially on Fort Jackson, the citadel of which was in flames on the very first day. On the following day, the officers' quarters were entirely consumed, and the artillerists driven from the parapet-guns. Owing to the soft and spongy nature of the soil, the shells penetrated eighteen or twenty feet into the ground, where they exploded with a muffled noise and convulsion suggestive of an earthquake. The levee—that elevated portion of the river-bank which is artificially made—was broken in more than a hundred places, and the water, rushing into the fort, flooded the parade-ground and casemate.

During six days, this horrible bombardment continued, and the forts could do little in reply, owing to the short range of their guns. Fire-barges were frequently sent down the river by the Confederates; but these, while doing no harm to the Federals, inflicted considerable injury upon the Southerners themselves, by setting the wharves of Fort Jackson on fire, and enabling the enemy, after dark, to point his guns with greater accuracy. On the night of the 20th, no fire-ships were sent down from the forts, and the Federals, taking advantage of the obscurity, despatched some of their gunboats, under cover of a heavy fire, to complete the destruction of the boom, and drag off the remaining schooners which still impeded the channel. The feat was one of much difficulty and peril, for the guns of Fort Jackson opened fire on the gunboats with great animation; nevertheless, it was safely accomplished. Attempts were made to blow up the boom by means of a galvanic current acting on petards; but the explosives failed to ignite. Lieutenant Caldwell thereupon boarded one of the hulks, slipped the chain, and made an opening large enough for the fleet to pass. His vessel was swept ashore by the current; but she was afterwards got off, in spite of the cannonade from Fort Jackson, and the river was now free to the invading force. The bombardment, however, continued three days longer, and it was not until the early morning of the 24th that the squadron moved up the Mississippi in two columns. The previous day had been occupied by preparations for passing the forts; and while these were going on, the enemy's positions were still vigorously shelled. Much ingenuity was shown in protecting the engines and machinery of the vessels from the action of the hostile artillery. The signal to get under way was given at two o'clock A.M. on the 24th of April, and on approaching the forts a terrific cross-fire was opened on them. The *Hartford*, in which Commodore Farragut was leading the left column, caught fire from one of the combustible rafts, and for a time got aground; but the flames were speedily extinguished, and the guns were so well worked that in a little while Fort Philip was nearly silenced. Some of the other vessels became entangled in the remains of the barrier, and were not extricated without difficulty.

Before the Federal squadron had quite passed the forts, the Confederate fleet of gunboats and rams appeared in sight, and took part in the conflict. This fleet had been augmented two days before by the iron-clad *Louisiana*, and the whole of the vessels had then been placed by General Lovell under the direction of Captain T. K. Mitchell, of the Confederate Navy; but the river-fleet, which belonged to the State, disputed the authority of that officer, and many things were left undone, for want of proper co-operation. Captain Mitchell complained of drunkenness among the crew of one of the volunteer river-vessels, and altogether a disgraceful want of discipline was observable in the fleet. The Federal advance was much facilitated by the darkness of the night and the dense vapour from the guns; for, although General Duncan, who commanded the coast-defences, had sent instructions to the naval officers to keep the river lighted with fire-barges, in anticipation of an immediate attack, nothing of the kind was done until the Federal vessels were off the forts. It was now that the river-fleet did its utmost to oppose the advancing enemy. The *Manassas*, and an iron-clad called the *Morgan*, attacked some of the Federal vessels, one of which was run down, though not with such suddenness but that her crew were enabled to escape. The *Morgan*, being much damaged by the collision, shortly afterwards surrendered; three other Confederate ships were captured; and the *Manassas*, in aiming a blow at one of her adversaries, ran ashore, was abandoned by her crew, and finally blew up, after floating some way down the current, an utter wreck from the firing of the Federals. All this while, the Federal fleet was progressing up the river, to a greater extent, even, than the commanders were aware; for, when morning dawned, they discovered to their surprise that the vessels had passed the forts, and that the

Confederate flotilla had been nearly destroyed. It was therefore determined to push on at once to New Orleans. A regiment of troops encamped on the banks of the river was compelled to surrender; and on the morning of the 25th the advanced guard encountered the batteries of the second line of defence, at Chalmette, which, however, was too weak to offer much resistance. As the Union vessels drew nearer to the grand object of their attack, burning steamers, fire-rafts, and cotton-ships in flames, came floating down the tide. It was evident that the people of New Orleans were in a mood of angry desperation, and that everything was being destroyed which could be harmed by fire.

At one o'clock P.M. on the 25th, the Federal squadron anchored in front of the city. A terrible spectacle presented itself. Black clouds of smoke rose for miles along the levee, indicating that the vast stores of cotton in the neighbourhood were being consumed. The river was covered with burning ships, which threatened the Union vessels with conflagration. An excited crowd was drawn up on shore, and all Federal sympathisers, who ventured to give expression to their feelings, were at once shot down with pistols. For a long time, the people had believed the lower defences of the river to be absolutely impregnable. When they discovered their mistake, and plainly heard the enemy's guns engaging the upper defences, astonishment, despair, and rage filled the hearts of the citizens. The town itself was completely open to attack, and the hopelessness of maintaining it, with not more than three thousand raw troops, was so apparent to General Lovell that he retired at once to Camp Moore, on the Jackson Railway, together with a few of the volunteers, though the greater number disbanded, and returned to their homes. The civil authorities having practically resumed their control over the city, Captain Bailey, of the Federal ship *Cayuga*, which headed the right column of the squadron, went ashore to demand the surrender of the place. He was at once threatened by a violent mob, but, being protected by the more respectable citizens, made his way to the Mayor's office, where he demanded the submission of New Orleans to the forces of the United States. The Mayor replied that he had no authority in the matter, the city being under military control; and a messenger was despatched for General Lovell, who, upon returning to his abandoned post, made an offer to the Mayor of resuming the defence—an offer which under the circumstances was of course declined, and which can hardly have been seriously intended. Commodore Farragut had by this time stationed his ships at intervals off the levee, with their guns pointed against the city; and the Confederates had no force with which to encounter the strength of their enemies. The Federal commander, however, was aware that his own situation was not devoid of peril. He had in his rear two strong forts and some war-vessels. He was separated from all other Federal forces, and was surrounded by a violently hostile population. It was therefore very advisable to proceed with caution. A sharp controversy took place between the Commodore and the Mayor, mainly on the question whether the city authorities themselves should haul down the Confederate flag, and substitute that of the United States (as Farragut demanded), or whether the Federals should do it. A detachment of sailors and marines went on shore on the 26th of April, hauled down the symbol of rebellion, and ran up the stars and stripes. By about the close of the month, the Union flag was floating from all the public buildings; but the exasperation of the people found vent in acts of insult which sorely tried the patience of the Federal officers. At one time, Commodore Farragut considered it necessary to menace the city with bombardment; and the Mayor replied in a high-flown communication, assuming that the Commodore desired to murder women and children, though he had requested that they might be at once removed. No bombardment, however, followed; and New Orleans, conquered, but not submissive, set itself to the invention of new forms of annoyance, as the only solace remaining to its wounded pride.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Renewed Attack on the Mississippi Forts by Commodore Porter—Mutiny among the Confederate Troops in the Forts—Surrender of the Positions—Blowing up of the Confederate Iron-clad, *Louisiana*—Defences of the Mississippi—General Butler at New Orleans—Establishment of Martial Law—Submission of Bâton Rouge and Natchez—Evacuation of Pensacola by the Confederates—Irregular Traffic with Nassau, in the Bahamas—President Davis's Proclamation for a Fast Day—Arbitrary Measures of General Butler—His Order with regard to the New Orleans Women—Stringency of his Military Rule—The Case of William B. Mumford—Administrative Acts of the Federal Commander at New Orleans—Louisiana restored to the Union—General Butler superseded—Confederate Operations in the Valley of the Shenandoah—Colonel Kenly defeated by General Jackson—Retreat of General Banks (Federal)—Crossing of the Potomac—Panic at Washington—Position of the Freed Negroes in the Northern States—Chaotic State of the whole Question—Plans for dealing with the Fugitive Slaves—Proposals for Mediation in the American Quarrel—Operations of General Halleck in the West—Expedition against Charleston—Renewed Advance of McClellan towards Richmond—Position on the Chickahominy at the End of May—The Federals attacked by the Confederates on the Morning of May 31st—Defeat of McClellan's Left Wing—Anxiety of the Federal Commander—The Struggle renewed on the 1st of June—Defeat of the Confederates—A Battle without Definite Results—Miserable State of the Armies after the Two Days' Fighting—General Lee appointed to the Command of the Confederate Forces in Front of Richmond.

LOUISIANA lost heart with the fall of New Orleans. If Commodore Farragut had any anxiety with regard to the forts in his rear, the occasion for such a feeling was very soon removed. When morning dawned on that memorable 24th of April which witnessed the passage up the river of Farragut's squadron, Commodore Porter, whose detachment of gunboats and mortar-vessels still lay below the two forts occupying the right and left banks of the Mississippi, prepared to engage those works, as well as the remains of the Confederate fleet, with the force at his disposal. Some steps towards reducing the forts had already been taken. The army under Butler had been sent round to the rear of Fort Philip, and plans had been commenced for cutting off the garrison of Fort Jackson. But it was obviously desirable that the two positions should be taken as speedily as possible, and, on the morning of the 24th, Commodore Porter sent a demand for their surrender. This being refused, the bombardment was again opened on the 26th, and next day the demand for surrender was repeated. The terms proposed by the Commodore were honourable to his adversaries. The officers were to retain their side-arms; both officers and men were to be paroled; and private property was to be respected. At the same time, however, it was required that all arms and munitions of war, together with all public property, should be given up, and that no damage should be done by the garrisons to the defences. Porter might have demanded an unconditional surrender, had he felt himself in a stronger position; but, with the halves of the fleet entirely separated, it would have been impolitic to assume too high a tone, and this time the demand was received in a conciliatory spirit.

The officers in the forts were desirous of continued resistance; but the soldiers were mutinous, and their superiors saw that they had no longer the means of fighting at command. When intelligence arrived that New Orleans was in the hands of the enemy, and when, moreover, it was seen that General Butler had cut off the garrisons from retreat, the troops refused any longer to obey orders, and, seizing the guns, turned them from the ramparts. Some of the cannon were spiked, and officers who ventured to interfere were fired at. Several of the men deserted with their arms, and surrendered to Butler's pickets; and the aspect of affairs grew alarming during the night of the 27th. A capitulation was consequently inevitable, and on the morning of the 28th a boat was sent off to Commodore Porter, with a letter stating that the forts would be given up on the terms proposed. The Federal commander went to Fort Jackson, and, while discussing the terms of capitulation, observed the Confederate iron-clad, *Louisiana*, drifting on fire towards the Union ships. The Confederate naval officers had in fact towed the ram to a point above the forts, had set her in flames, and then turned her adrift with guns shotted, apparently in the expectation of her blowing up in the midst of the Federal squadron. Just before the discovery of this fact, Commodore Porter had been informed that the articles of capitulation could not include the naval force; but he regarded the firing of the *Louisiana* as a breach of faith. He asked whether there was any powder on board, but could obtain no satisfactory answer. Sending word, therefore, to the captains of his ships to be on their guard, he continued the negotiations. The catastrophe on board the *Louisiana* came sooner than was anticipated by those who prepared it. As the iron-clad got abreast of Fort Philip, it exploded with a terrific report, and the guns, as they became red-hot with the flames, which had been burning for some time, scattered shot and shell in various direc-

tions. It is marvellous that wide-spread injury was not the result; but the only casualty was to a Confederate soldier in the fort, who was killed by one of the fragments. The capitulation having been completed, Commodore Porter took measures against the three Confederate steamers which were lying about half a mile above the forts. One of these had already been scuttled; the others surrendered without resistance. Considering that he had been treacherously dealt with in the matter of the *Louisiana*, Porter made prisoners of the naval officers and crews, and sent them to the North. It was the opinion of General Duncan, the Confederate commander of the coast-defences, that the iron-clad was set on fire previous to the Federal boats coming to anchor abreast of the fort; but the facts look suspicious of a sinister design.

Before the actual surrender of the forts, General Lovell, the Confederate chief in Louisiana, had received an incorrect intimation that the event had already taken place. He accordingly ordered the evacuation of the forts on Lake Pontchartrain; and when this order was afterwards countermanded, the troops had left the works, and some had deserted the flag. The gunboats and armed steamers on the lake were destroyed, and the Confederate power almost ceased to exist in that region. At New Orleans itself, Commodore Farragut observed several iron-clad rams in course of building; but the principal of these soon came floating by in flames, and another was sunk in front of the Custom House. Eight miles above the city, Farragut found two forts, where the guns had been spiked, and the gun-carriages set on fire. A mile higher up were two earthworks, not armed; and at this part a boom of enormous dimensions was discovered, so fashioned as to stop the passage of gunboats, but not yet placed in its position across the stream. The Confederates, therefore, had evidently expended a good deal of time and labour in the defence of the Mississippi, but had postponed many of their works until it was too late to complete them. On the 1st of May, formal possession of New Orleans was taken by General B. F. Butler, at the head of the land forces of the United States. He at once wrote to Secretary Stanton, giving a very bad account of the condition of the conquered town. "I find the city," he said, "under the dominion of the mob. They have insulted our flag—torn it down with indignity. This outrage will be punished in such a manner as, in my judgment, will caution both the perpetrators and abettors of the act, so that they shall fear the *stripes*, if they do not reverence the *stars*, of our banner. I send a marked copy of a New Orleans paper containing an applauding account of the outrage." General Butler commenced his military administration in a very unfortunate spirit. It must not be forgotten that he had to deal with a turbulent, quarrelsome, licentious, and frivolous population—with men whose peevishness had all the quality of ill-mannered children, and with women who abused the privileges of their sex by continual provocations. But the Federal commander himself was certainly wanting in the habits of mind and temper especially required in the delicate office he had to fulfil, and acted too often rather in the manner of a despot than in that of a soldier appointed to do the work of a popular Government. He has, no doubt, been excessively condemned by those who choose to put out of view the extravagant and criminal behaviour of the New Orleans people; but a more moderate censure is not to be escaped.

The earliest measures of Butler, however, were only such as are usual in conquered cities which are evidently determined to continue an irregular resistance after a formal and hated submission. He established what was in fact the rule of martial law. In a proclamation which he issued after a conference with the municipal authorities and some of the principal inhabitants, he plainly intimated that all acts of violence against American soldiers, and all disorders, disturbances of the peace, and crimes of an aggravated nature, interfering with the forces or laws of the United States, would be referred to a military court for trial and punishment. Other matters (including civil causes) would be left to the ordinary courts. But no publication of newspapers, pamphlets, or handbills, giving accounts of the movements of the national troops within that department, or intended to influence the public mind injuriously against the United States, was to be permitted; and all articles of war-news, editorial comments, or correspondence making remarks on military matters, were to be first submitted to an officer of the army. The transmission of communications by telegraph was also placed under military supervision; and in short a complete censorship over the publication of news or opinions was established by the conqueror, together with the subordination of the civil power to that of the sword. The assembling of persons in the streets was prohibited, and the police arrangements of the city passed into the hands of the occupying force. For all this, General Butler had abundant justification in the state of popular opinion, and it is clear that he could not have discharged his duties in any other way. But the conductors of the New Orleans papers were so much exasperated at the proclamation that, upon its being sent to their offices, they

refused to publish it. Butler was not to be so easily defeated. Forcible possession was taken of one of the newspaper offices, and, by the aid of Northern compositors selected from the several regiments, the document was speedily put into type, and worked off in the issue of the journal for May 2nd.

COMMODORE FARRAGUT.

The submission of New Orleans having been secured, the Federal steamers ascended the river as far as Bâton Rouge, the capital of the State, which was given up without a struggle. The town had in fact no means of resistance, and simply yielded to necessity. Its sympathies were wholly with the Confederacy, and out of a population of about 5,428 (for the place is but small, though the seat of government) it had contributed 875 men to the Confederate army, and 240 to the Home Guard. But it was impossible to encounter the naval force by which it was threatened, and with its submission a large tract of cotton-bearing and sugar-producing country fell under Federal power. Still pursuing their career of conquest up the Mississippi, the Union vessels received the submission of Natchez, and the fortunes of the Confederates in all the Western States were rendered critical by the subjection of Louisiana. The raising of the blockade of the Mississippi made it advisable for the Confederates to evacuate the forts and navy-yard of Pensacola, on the south coast of Florida; for, with the Union fleet at liberty to pursue other operations after its

recent successes, it seemed very doubtful whether that exposed position could be maintained. The commandant, General Jones, had for some time been invested with discretionary power to abandon the place whenever such a step appeared to him advisable; and that time he considered had now come. He resolved to transport to Mobile, in the State of Alabama, whatever weapons, stores, and

THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

machinery he could manage to get off, and then to fire the public buildings of Pensacola. But the act of removal was no easy matter in view of the Federals, who were posted on the island of Santa Rosa and in Fort Pickens, not to speak of a hostile flotilla which was known to be lying off Fort Morgan, at the entrance to Mobile Harbour. The task, however, was accomplished with great ingenuity. Sham guns were mounted on the works, and other arrangements made for deceiving the enemy; many valuable materials were sent by rail, or in a small river-steamer, to a place of safety; and on the night of May 9th the infantry were marched out of the town. Three companies of cavalry were charged with the duty of setting fire to the public buildings; and it was not until the flames burst out simultaneously from many quarters that the Federals had any suspicion of what was being effected. The garrison of Fort Pickens then commenced a furious bombardment; and on Commodore Porter arriving with his vessels, the military and naval officers demanded the surrender of Pensacola. The demand was at once complied with by the civil authorities, and a force under General Arnold endeavoured to save what remained of the forts and navy-yard. To some extent the endeavour was successful; but the destruction of public property had been very large.

With five exceptions, the harbours along the coast of the Confederate States had now fallen into the hands of the Washington Government. The Southerners were therefore compelled to carry on their commercial transactions with Europe in an irregular way. Nassau, one of the Bahama Islands,

and a British possession, became the port of entry for the commerce of the Confederate States with England; and steamers proceeded from thence to Charleston or Mobile, running the blockade with frequent success. In this way the South was furnished with several of the necessaries and luxuries of life. Yet the blockade kept out a great many things which the Confederates wanted, and almost destroyed the export trade of the planters. During the spring of 1862, the prospects of the rebel Government looked so black that President Davis ordered a fast-day, and directed that prayers should be offered up on Friday, May 16th, for the strengthening and protecting of the armies. In his proclamation to this effect, Mr. Davis admitted the gravity of the situation. "Recent disaster," he observed, "has spread gloom over the land, and sorrow sits at the hearthstones of our countrymen." He should have asked himself whether this sorrow had not been brought about by the wickedness which he and his comrades had sought to extend and perpetuate; whether it was not a natural retribution on the attempt to uphold by bloodshed and fratricidal strife a system which violated every moral law and every Divine aspiration. Instead of doing this, he contented himself with the usual fast-day platitudes, which seek to make a partisan of God because the hopes of men have been deceived. The day of prayer, however, was very generally observed in the South, and would probably have been kept in conquered New Orleans, had not Butler strictly forbidden it. In his order on this subject, he spoke of the Confederate President as "one Jefferson Davis."

The position of General Butler at New Orleans continued to be onerous and difficult. The city, it is true, remained for some time comparatively tranquil. The principal hotels and drinking shops were closed, so that there was not much drunkenness; but the markets were so insufficiently supplied with food, owing to the general disruption consequent on the war, that the people stood in danger of starving. Butler therefore gave orders, very shortly after taking possession of the town, for the safe conduct of cargoes of flour, live stock, and other necessaries, from Mobile and various places in the interior. Distress, however, still prevailed, and the Federal commander issued on the 9th of May a general order, in which he accused the wealthy and influential classes of the city of having destroyed the sugar and cotton which might have been exchanged for food, while they themselves had run off with the specie of the State, as well as that which they had stolen from the Union. Against these leaders of the rebellion in Louisiana, the Northern General brought a long and angry indictment, and wound up by asking the people how long they would uphold these flagrant wrongs, and by inaction suffer themselves to be made the serfs of such tyrannical masters. He had captured a quantity of beef and sugar intended for the rebels in the field; and a thousand barrels of stores would be distributed among the deserving poor,—"even," continued the General, "although some of the food will go to supply the craving wants of the wives and children of those now herding at Camp Moore and elsewhere, in arms against the United States." Nothing could be in worse taste than this scolding tirade; and it seems in some respects to have been unjust also. It appeared, from statements published in the local papers, that since the preceding August the poor had been gratuitously supplied twice a week with provisions; that millions of dollars had been subscribed by private individuals for similar purposes; and that the existing distress was due partly to the blockade, and partly to the derangement of the currency caused by General Butler having, in his first proclamation, warned the people against the danger of receiving the paper money of the Confederate States, though its circulation was permitted for a time.

Acting up to his conception of the full scope of his authority, General Butler took forcible possession, on the 10th of May, of a large amount of specie deposited in the office of the Dutch consul, which he thought belonged to the Confederate Government, or was about to be expended on its behalf. The entire consular body of New Orleans protested against this act; but the Federal officer would not recede. He attracted to himself much greater odium, however, by an order which he issued on the 15th of the month, and which was expressed in these terms:—"As officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from women, calling themselves ladies, of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered hereafter, when any female shall, by mere gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officers or soldiers of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman about town, plying her avocation." That the women of New Orleans had given great provocation is beyond dispute; yet nothing could justify the monstrous character of this order. The Mayor of the city, Mr. John F. Monroe, wrote an angry note on the subject to General Butler, for which the latter immediately directed that the magistrate should be deprived

of his official functions, and committed to Fort Jackson until further orders. On the Mayor retracting, and tendering an apology for what he had written, the order for his imprisonment was cancelled; but the matter did not end there. Butler's original order was criticised all over English-speaking America, and even in the loyal States it was very generally condemned. In the South it was used as an incentive to renewed exertions against the Union troops, and with this view General Beauregard read it at the head of his army. The conduct of the Federal officer was energetically denounced in England, both in and out of Parliament, and helped to make the Northern cause still more unpopular. Indeed, there were few in any part of the world who ventured to excuse it. Yet the order of the 15th of May was not set aside by Mr. Lincoln, and Butler was allowed to retain his post. Americans were offended at the tone adopted in the British House of Commons by Lord Palmerston and others, and very naturally retorted that General Butler was a citizen of the United States, and not a subject of Queen Victoria. It cannot be questioned that the disposition to uphold him was intensified by these injudicious remarks.*

The circulation of Confederate paper money in Louisiana ceased on the 29th of May, in accordance with directions from General Butler; and on the 1st of June the port of New Orleans was declared, by a proclamation of the President, again open to commerce. The acts of Butler became more despotic with each succeeding week, and it was not long before the whole city was raging with indignation against him. Suspected persons were arrested, and the newspapers, on one occasion, were suppressed for advocating the destruction of the cotton and sugar crops. But this sternness was sometimes salutary. The bakers and other vendors of food, who had taken advantage of the scarcity to charge enormous prices, were obliged to conform to a tariff fixed by the city authorities. Stringent orders were issued, prohibiting officers and soldiers from taking private property, or forcibly entering and searching private dwellings, without having a written permission from the proper officers. In many respects the rule of Butler was not unjust; in some respects it was decidedly beneficial; but the General was too disposed to make his will the absolute law, and to mistake his passion for his better reason. The case of William B. Mumford was the cause of an immense amount of ill-feeling, on the part not merely of the New Orleans people, but of the Confederates generally. This man was arrested for hauling down, on the 26th of April, an American flag hoisted on the Mint, and for subsequently assisting in tearing it into shreds, and otherwise insulting it in the presence of a large and riotous crowd of citizens. Being tried before a military commission, Mumford was convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. It was within the power of General Butler to mitigate this sentence, had he chosen; but it appeared to him that the act was of so dangerous a character, in the then excited state of the city, that he determined not to exercise his prerogative of mercy. The sentence was carried into effect on the 7th of June, in the midst of an immense crowd; and, although no demonstrations were made at the time, the execution of Mumford produced a bad effect all over Louisiana and the other Southern States. The circumstance of the offence having taken place before the formal occupation of the city by the United States troops, was held to convert the execution into a murder; but the point thus raised seems immaterial, as General Lovell had previously given up the city to the municipal authorities, and they, as a matter of fact, had made their submission to the Federals. It might perhaps have been more judicious, as it would certainly have been more humane, to spare this unhappy man; but it must be recollected that General Butler was responsible for the peace of the city, and for its continued allegiance to the United States. The act of which Mumford had been found guilty was undoubtedly a very grave offence from the military point of view, and, had it not been severely punished, might have been taken as a precedent for endless seditions. It led, however, to severe reprisals in the Confederate States. Yet the Federal commander was at least even-handed in his justice; for upon one occasion he caused sentence of death to be executed on two soldiers of his own army who had been convicted of robbery. These three were the only military executions which took place in New Orleans during its occupation by the Federal troops; and that General Butler was not incapable of following a lenient course, is proved by the fact

* General Butler should in fairness have the benefit of the only explanation he ever condescended to give of his conduct in this matter. He stated that the insults of the women of New Orleans were so irritating that they must inevitably have led to equally outrageous personal retaliation; and to prevent this he issued the order in question, meaning thereby simply to intimate to the offenders that, on a repetition of those insults, they would subject themselves to the ordinary punishment of "women of the town," viz., summary confinement in the *calaboose*, the common prison of New Orleans. Still, while there is no doubt that his threat proved effective, it is much to be regretted, for the sake of our common humanity, that it was not pronounced in less offensive language.

that he commuted the sentence of death passed by a court-martial on six Confederate soldiers who, taking advantage of their parole at Fort Jackson, endeavoured to raise a company to serve in the army of General Beauregard.*

By an order issued on July 25th, all negroes leaving New Orleans by direction of their masters were declared free; and early in August a tax for the relief of the poor was levied on disloyal corporations and firms. The property of prominent Secessionists was confiscated, and all the inhabitants of New Orleans were disarmed, by order of the military commandant. In the latter months of the year, a body of negro soldiery was formed under the title of the Native Guards, and these troops were placed in the service of the United States. On the 24th of September, General Butler ordered all Americans, male and female, in his department, to renew their allegiance to the United States Government, under pain of fine, or imprisonment with hard labour, and at the same time to submit a return of the amount of their real and personal property. Whether by this date a true Union feeling had grown up among the population, or whether the hopelessness of further resistance had become apparent, certain it is that in a little while 60,000 persons complied with the order. In particular districts, the sugar plantations were worked by a commission in the absence of their owners, and the property of disloyal persons was sold for the benefit of the Government. Many other orders, tending to the stringent rule of the department, were issued from time to time, and on the 3rd of December an election for members of Congress was held, at which two persons were chosen to represent the first and second districts of the State of Louisiana. Whatever his faults, Butler had certainly restored that State to the Federation. Nevertheless, he was superseded on the 14th of December by General Banks, who at first tried a more lenient mode of administration, but was soon compelled to give up the attempt, on finding that his clemency produced no other effect than riotous demonstrations, cries for President Davis, and threatening language towards the military. New Orleans was like a passionate and wayward child, which mistakes generosity for weakness, and can only be kept in decent order by the use of the strong hand. General Butler acknowledged this from the first; General Banks preferred to buy his experience.

Banks had previously to this date been rather ingloriously associated with a series of events in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia. About the middle of April, that officer had advanced along the north fork of the Shenandoah River, and had established his head-quarters at Newmarket, beyond the terminus of the rail which intersects the valley. To his right he had General Fremont, who was stationed at Franklin, a small town in the mountains of West Virginia; to his left was General McDowell, who occupied Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, after its evacuation by the Confederate troops on the 17th of April, and its surrender to the Federals on the 19th. The Southern army opposed to the forces of the North in the Shenandoah Valley was commanded by "Stonewall" Jackson, who had fewer men at his disposal than his adversaries, but whose thorough knowledge of the country, combined with military tact, gave him a great advantage over the Federals. General Banks incautiously advanced up the Shenandoah, and Jackson, retreating for the present, drew the Federal commander after him. Inflamed with hopes of a speedy and brilliant success, Banks reported to his Government that Jackson was in a dangerous position, and encouraged the belief that he would speedily be crushed. He was in truth placed between the regiments of Banks, moving from the east, and the advanced guard of Fremont's army, under Milroy, coming from the west. By rapid marches, however, he got away from Banks, and hastened to the relief of a Confederate detachment menaced by Milroy's division. Having inflicted a crushing defeat on that body, he turned back with masterly suddenness on General Banks, conducting his troops over difficult mountain paths, and appearing unexpectedly, on the 23rd of May, before a small detached body of Federals stationed at the village of Front Royal, close to one of the passes in the Blue Ridge Mountains, at the point where the Shenandoah divides into the North and South Forks. This detachment, which was commanded by Colonel Kenly, and consisted of not more than 1,200 men, was completely overpowered in endeavouring to retreat. Nearly the whole of the men were killed, wounded, or captured, and Kenly himself was among the slain. Banks's army had recently been considerably reduced, in consequence of McDowell's corps of 30,000 men having been sent to assist McClellan in his advance on Richmond. Nevertheless, Banks despatched reinforcements towards Front Royal, but shortly afterwards felt compelled to recall them, on perceiving the serious nature of his own position. His army stood in considerable danger of being cut off, and he saw the necessity of retreating with all speed to Winchester. The march commenced early on the

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion.

morning of the 24th of May; but Banks soon discovered that his contemplated line of retreat was not so open as he had supposed. The escort of the baggage-train encountered the enemy's pickets on the road they were traversing, and, being seized with panic, cut the traces of the horses and mules, and fell back tumultuously on the main body. It turned out that the intercepting force was only a detachment from Jackson's army, and Banks, forming his troops anew, made his way through the opposing line, and arrived at Winchester on the evening of the 24th. He was no safer here, however, than in his former position, and the retreat was continued under very dispiriting circumstances. The Federal regiments had lost all their steadiness: the explosion of a shell in their midst would cause them to fling away their rifles, bayonets, knapsacks, and cartridge-boxes, and to scatter in every direction. An encounter with the Confederates, which took place on the morning of the 25th, outside the town of Winchester, ended in the defeat of the Federals, who were driven as far as Martinsburg, whence they continued their course to the Potomac. Since the commencement of the retreat, the Federals had marched fifty-three miles, thirty-five of which were performed in one day. It was fortunate for them that they were not pursued by their opponents as far as the river-bank, for the means of crossing were insufficient, and, although all got eventually to the other side, it was a work of considerable difficulty, and was not completed until mid-day on the 26th. On reaching the Maryland shore, some of the regiments were almost destitute of knapsacks and accoutrements, which had been thrown away in the retreat, and a large amount of stores had been either burned or left behind. A feeling of panic prevailed through a large part of the Federal army. General Geary, who had been guarding the Manassas Gap Railway, moved to Manassas Junction in consequence of the attack on Colonel Kenly at Front Royal; but his troops, fearing a similar fate for themselves, burned their tents, and destroyed a quantity of arms. The forces in that neighbourhood, and in other localities not far off, were in a state of unreasoning alarm for two days, and at night the troops were continually firing at stumps of trees, or bushes stirred by the wind, which they mistook for guerillas. Even at Washington, great apprehension was felt. Secretary Stanton issued orders calling upon the militia of the loyal States to defend the capital of the Union, and the whole North was vehemently agitated by a danger which was in some degree real, though not nearly so serious, or so immediately threatening, as it appeared at the moment. General Jackson was less strong in numbers than his enemies had imagined, and he did not venture upon crossing the Potomac. The fears prevailing at Washington calmed down in a few days, when it was found that nothing more was attempted; and reinforcements were sent to General Banks. It was hoped that Jackson might be cut off by combined movements on the part of McDowell and Fremont; and the former was ordered to march into the Shenandoah Valley, with this view. As, however, the effect of that movement was to weaken McClellan's position before Richmond, without promoting the desired object, the demonstration was more serviceable to the Confederates than to the Federals.

At this period, the position of the slaves towards the Federal Government, as modified by the state of war, was exciting considerable attention. Mr. Bates, the Attorney-General, was required to give a legal opinion as to whether men of colour were citizens of the United States. In the document which he prepared on this subject, he observed that the Constitution did not define the word citizen. He was therefore compelled to examine history and civil law, from the days of the Roman Empire to our own times; and his conclusion was, that all free persons, without reference to race or colour, were citizens, if native-born. A distinction was made between the inherent rights of citizens and the political privileges of certain classes. All citizens, argued Mr. Bates, had a right to protection; but only certain classes enjoyed the privileges of voting and holding office. The celebrated Dred Scott decision was declared null and of no authority; and the negro, who by that decision had been pronounced devoid of any rights which the white man was bound to respect, was thus placed—as far as the opinion of Mr. Bates could place him—on the same footing as the whites, excepting as regarded the exercise of political power. On the other hand, the Circuit Court of Illinois decided that negroes were *not* citizens; but the general tendency of opinion, all over the Northern States, was in favour of giving them this character. In Massachusetts, Governor Andrew ordered that negroes should be enrolled, as well as white persons, among those qualified to act as soldiers. The negroes who flocked into the Federal camps in various parts of the country, were in most instances emancipated, on the ground that they had worked for the Confederate Government by consent of their masters; and General Hunter, commanding in the Department of South Carolina, issued an order, confiscating and emancipating all the slaves in his military district, which included not merely South Carolina,

but Georgia and Florida. This order was countermanded by the President; and indeed the whole question was in a state of the utmost uncertainty and confusion. Still, it was obvious to all intelligent observers that events were marching steadily and inevitably towards the manumission of the whole black race within the dominion of the United States. The District of Columbia was full of coloured fugitives from the Southern States, and it was out of the question that they could, under any circumstances, be sent back into bondage. They were forming the nucleus of a free negro community, and would in time become the standard for the whole of their fellow-sufferers, and not simply a discordant exception to a rule which was rapidly becoming impossible. In a message sent to Congress on the 6th of March, Mr. Lincoln proposed a scheme for aiding, by pecuniary assistance, any State which might adopt the gradual abolition of slavery. By this measure it was avowedly hoped to detach the Border States from those of the South; but nothing was done in the matter at that time. On the 16th of April, a Bill providing for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia received the sanction of the President; and both Houses of Congress passed resolutions affirming the principle of compensated emancipation laid down by Mr. Lincoln in his message of March 6th. The conflict between municipal law at Washington and the recent declarations of the Federal Government on this perplexed and irritating subject, led to a collision between the police and the soldiery. The civil officers endeavoured to arrest some fugitive slaves; the soldiers of the 76th New York Regiment opposed them. The constables were compelled to desist by threats of violence, and the negroes were thus saved from their clutches, though by a process of doubtful legality. Agencies were set on foot for civilising the escaped negroes, and imbuing them with notions of order, industry, and economy. The general direction of these efforts was confided to Mr. Edward L. Pierce, who reported to the Government as to what had been accomplished. His accounts were not hopeful. The negroes, accustomed to a life of slavery, could not acquire habits of self-reliance, and in a little while fell back upon the Government for support. In South Carolina a negro regiment was raised, and General Hunter spoke favourably as to their military virtues. In other quarters, however, the same attempt entirely failed, and to many it appeared that the negro would never be a useful citizen of the United States, and was in truth an encumbrance and a danger. It was proposed by the President to convey not only the fugitive slaves, but the whole black race, to Chiriqui, in Central America, and Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, received a general permission to settle them at any suitable point within the tropics, where they were "to maintain the honour of the Republic." On the 14th of July, Mr. Lincoln had an interview with a number of coloured men whom he had invited to meet him, and to whom he expounded his views, with a request that they would consider them at their leisure. After some progress had been made in organising this enterprise, the scheme broke down, and was entirely abandoned. It was foreseen that the blacks would maintain neither the honour of the Republic nor their own, and would speedily perish with hunger, or degenerate into a state of savagery. Complete emancipation within the United States themselves was the only road out of the difficulty; but the day of complete emancipation had not yet arrived.

During the progress of these events in America, the affairs of the United States formed a frequent subject of remark in the English Parliament. In the year 1862, no inconsiderable portion of time was consumed in the Houses of Lords and Commons by questions, motions, and desultory debates, touching the civil war on the other side of the Atlantic. The Confederacy had a very zealous representative in Mr. Gregory, the member for Galway, who was not without several supporters. On the other hand, the North enjoyed the advocacy of two eminent politicians—Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—and of other distinguished Liberals, who perceived that the cause of the Union was the cause of freedom everywhere. The Government stood midway between these contending sets of partisans, and of course pleased neither. In both Houses, the blockade was made the theme of vehement complaints by members of Southern inclinations. Its efficiency was denied; its legality was disputed; and Lords Palmerston and Russell were urged, with all the resources of rhetoric, to treat it as non-existent. Ministers had the good sense to resist this advice; but the influential classes out of doors clamoured for a recognition of the Confederate States. "Mediation" was also a favourite idea with the friends of Secession. Mr. Lindsay, the member for Sunderland—a gentleman largely connected with the shipping interest—brought forward, on the 18th of July, a resolution expressing the opinion that the seceding States had so long maintained themselves under a separate and established Government, and had given such proof of their determination and ability to support their independence, that the propriety of offering mediation, with a view to the termination of hostilities, was worthy of the serious and immediate attention

of her Majesty's Government. The motion led to a long debate; but Lord Palmerston refused to entertain the suggestion which Mr. Lindsay had put into a tangible form. England, argued the Premier, would not be justified in assuming that the independence of the South had been permanently established. The struggle in America was not to be paralleled by any similar example; and it was advisable to leave the matter in the hands of Government. This, fortunately, was the opinion of the House; and the Confederates remained unrecognised to the end, notwithstanding the frequent attempts of a faction to embroil England with the United States. In the latter part of the autumn, proposals were made by the French Government to the Governments of Great Britain and Russia to join in an effort at mediation between the opposing sections in America; but neither of the Powers addressed had any inclination to enter on so difficult a task.

The position of General Beauregard at Corinth, Mississippi, became extremely perilous after the capture of Island No. 10, the Confederate defeat at Pittsburg Landing, and the fall of New Orleans. The Federals had now possession of the Mississippi, and large forces were gathering in different directions to crush the rebels. Annoyed at the discomfiture of the Western Army on the 6th of April —though the reverse had been repaired on the following day—the Washington Administration superseded General Grant in his command, and the army was strengthened by the division of General Pope. An advance on Corinth was commenced at the close of April, and each successive camp on the

"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

road was fortified at an immense expenditure of labour. Seven of these lines of fortifications—one of them twelve miles in length—were erected between Pittsburg Landing and Corinth; and towards the end of May the town was evacuated by the Confederates. General Halleck, in command of the Federal troops, entered Corinth on the 29th; but the enemy had escaped. General Pope (who a few weeks before had been defeated while attempting to capture Farmington, and to destroy the railway at that point) was sent forward to pursue the retreating columns, and extravagant reports were despatched to Washington with reference to his success in cutting up the ranks of the fugitives, capturing many thousands of their number, and spreading dismay far and wide. What degree of truth may have been contained in these reports, it would be difficult to say with any precision; but it was probably not much. Beauregard had indeed suffered some losses on the road of his retreat; but he succeeded in saving by far the greater part of his army, and in establishing himself at Tupelo, about fifty miles south of Corinth. The Federals, however, though disappointed in their hoped-for annihilation of the Southern Army, had acquired a command over the Mobile and Ohio Railway, and were thus in a much better position than before. Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, was abandoned by the Confederates on the 4th of June, and the Federal gunboats at once descended the river, and anchored next day off Island No. 45, close to the city of Memphis, Tennessee. Here the Confederate fleet, though at a great disadvantage as to strength, engaged the naval forces of the enemy on the morning of June 6th, and, after a sharp encounter, was defeated with heavy loss. The surrender of Memphis followed as a matter of course, for the city had now no means of defence. It was one of the principal places of export for the produce of those regions; but its prosperity was ruined for a time, and it was evident that there had been a great destruction of cotton before the entry of the conquerors.

The Union forces now determined to attack Vicksburg, situated on a sharp bend of the Mississippi, in the State similarly named. The position was important, as it enabled those holding it to bar the passage of the river; it was also strong, not merely by reason of its fortifications, but because of the vast swamps and forests, and the numerous creeks and tributary streams, which presented so many obstacles to a land force proceeding against it. On the present occasion, however, it was to be attacked from the river. Commodore Farragut, advancing up the Mississippi after the surrender of New Orleans, had by the 24th of June come within sight of Commodore Davis, descending the stream from Memphis. With the fall of Vicksburg, the river would be opened to the commerce of the Western States; but as long as the town and fortifications remained in the hands of the Confederates, the great water-highway would be effectually blocked. Siege was therefore laid to the place, and the bombardment opened on the 25th of June. It continued, with occasional intermissions, for a month; yet the storm of shot and shell failed to produce any serious effects. By the labour of more than a thousand negroes, a canal was dug through the small peninsula, formed by the bend of the river, which fronts the town. It was hoped in this manner to open a channel by which ships could pass up and down, out of reach of the batteries; but the work proved a failure. An exciting incident occurred on the 15th of July. The small Confederate steamer, *Arkansas*, which had been roughly and hastily coated with iron, and had for some time been lying hidden in the Yazoo—an affluent of the Mississippi, which it enters a little above Vicksburg—issued forth from its place of concealment, drove away three Federal gunboats which had been sent to make a reconnaissance, and, entering the larger river, boldly passed through the whole of Davis's fleet, inflicting much damage, and finally anchored under the guns of Vicksburg. The *Arkansas* was itself a good deal injured by the enemy's fire; but a subsequent attempt to sink her failed in its object. On the 24th of July, the siege of Vicksburg was abandoned for a time, and Farragut's vessels returned to Bâton Rouge. Another repulse of the Federals in the summer of 1862 was in the neighbourhood of Charleston, South Carolina. Landing on the south-eastern end of James Island, in Charleston Harbour, a strong body of Union troops endeavoured, on the 15th of June, to storm a fortified position which, had they succeeded in taking it, would have enabled them to bring their guns to bear in the most effective manner on Charleston itself. But the attack, after entailing a large expenditure of life, was relinquished, owing to the unexpected difficulties of the task, and further operations against the city were indefinitely postponed.

The success of General Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley embarrassed the operations of McClellan in his advance on Richmond. It deprived him of the assistance of McDowell's corps, and introduced an element of uncertainty into the whole campaign. President Lincoln, however, thought that the Confederate movement evinced a disposition to waive any desperate defence of Richmond, and he

therefore pressed on McClellan the advisability of attacking that city at once, or giving up his plan altogether. McClellan was not inclined to relinquish his long-meditated scheme, and he ordered a reconnaissance in force to be pushed forward in the direction of Hanover Court House. At the head of the fifth corps, General Porter marched from his camp on the right of McClellan's position at daybreak on the 27th of May. The Confederates were shortly afterwards attacked, and retreated, followed by the Federal cavalry and a portion of the infantry. The bridges over the Pamunkey were burned, and the adjacent railway was destroyed, after an action, in which seven hundred of the Confederates were brought in prisoners. The main body of McClellan's army was thus enabled to advance, and at the close of May the several corps were stationed on a curved line not far from Richmond. Two of these corps, forming the left of the chief army, had been pushed beyond the river Chickahominy, and the situation was such as to expose them to a dangerous attack in the absence of their comrades, from whom they were separated by the stream at their back. General Joseph Johnston, the Southern leader, had under his orders an army consisting of four divisions, commanded by Generals Longstreet, Smith, D. H. Hill, and Huger, all of whom had formerly served in the army of the United States. It was determined to attack the left wing of the Federals on the morning of May 31st; but the excessive rains which prevailed at that time made the roads so heavy and difficult that one division of the Southern army was unable to reach the post to which it had been assigned, and was therefore prevented from taking part in the action. General Longstreet nevertheless ordered Hill's division to commence the attack at two P.M. General Casey's division of the Federal army was that which first bore the brunt of the assault. Several of the troops fell back with precipitation, and the camp was captured, together with the hospital and baggage-waggons. A stand was subsequently made, and Casey sent word to his colleagues on the other side of the Chickahominy that he was being hard-pressed, and stood in need of reinforcements. Some time elapsed before General Sumner could effect the passage of the stream; but he at length did so by means of two hastily-constructed bridges. The battle in the meanwhile had become hot, and the right of the Federal left wing was driven back with great loss. General Johnston personally directed the attack, until, having been wounded by the splinter of a shell, he fell from his horse, and broke two of his ribs, when the command devolved on General Smith. Jefferson Davis was himself upon the field, but of course took no active part in the conduct of affairs. The arrival of General Sumner did little to change the relative position of the combatants. The Federals continued to fall back; the Confederates continued to advance; and it was only night which put an end to the combat. Had Huger's division, which had been delayed by the state of the roads, reached the battle-field in time, the Federals would probably have been entirely crushed. As it was, they had been forced to retreat two miles, and had lost nine guns, and a vast amount of camp-equipage and stores, including those of the medical department.

The Federal right wing had remained on the left bank of the Chickahominy during the whole of that day, and General McClellan appears not to have been aware of the check which his advanced corps had received, until nine o'clock in the evening. He had ridden as far as Despatch Station, on the Richmond and Westport Railway, where he found trains filled with wounded, and heaps of stores blocking up the station. The moment was one of the most anxious that he had had to endure since the earliest days of his command. He was suffering from chronic dysentery, and was worn out with fatigue and watchfulness. The precise position of the Confederates was not easily to be determined. The night was pitch-dark. The only accounts of the day's operations which could be collected at the time were confused and contradictory, and it was by no means certain that the next day would not be signalised by an overwhelming disaster to the Federal arms. The two armies bivouacked that night on the field for which they had so furiously contended, and the Confederates were reinforced by the division of General Huger, which had at length overcome the difficulties of the muddy and forest-cumbered roads. The engagement was renewed in the early morning of June 1st. It was now the Federals that attacked, and the Confederates, finding themselves opposed by large bodies of fresh troops, fought with considerable languor and hesitation, and, after a struggle of five hours' duration, were repulsed along the whole line. The Federals again stood on the ground they had occupied before the first day's operations, and one of the guns which had been taken from General Casey's division was recaptured. General McClellan arrived on the ground towards the close of the battle. The difficulty of crossing the Chickahominy had prevented his appearing at an earlier hour; and when he reached the scene of action, there was little for him to do. There was much, however, for him to see, and that of the most distressing nature. The

woodland paths were thronged with soldiers carrying off the wounded, and the neighbouring farm-houses were filled with miserable sufferers, whose necessities were being attended to as far as the difficulties of the situation would admit. "The ambulances," says the Prince de Joinville, who was present on the occasion, "had something about them particularly horrible. The houses were too few to contain more than a proportion of the wounded, and the others were compelled to lie outside. But, although they did not make any complaints, and bore their fate with stoical courage, their exposure in one position beneath the rays of the sun soon became intolerable."

The Confederates had suffered equally with their adversaries, and in addition they had to endure the mortification of losing the battle. Their retreat was facilitated by the wide and shadowy forests which in that region cover the face of the country; and even had the land been more open, it is probable that little would have been done in the way of pursuit, owing to the exhausted state of the conquerors. The Federals lay down on the ground which they had won, and McClellan, riding along the lines from right to left, was received with hearty enthusiasm. The Southern troops were so much disorganised that if the 35,000 fresh troops who were still on the other side of the Chickahominy could have made their appearance on the scene of battle, it is probable that the Confederate disaster would have been even worse. The interposing river, however, was still more swollen than on the previous day, and the divisions of Generals Franklin and Porter either could not or would not attempt its passage. The contest had been of a very sanguinary nature. During the two days' fighting, the North (on McClellan's own admission) lost 7,000 men; the South also suffered terribly; yet this obstinately-contested battle was attended by no definite or decisive result. The only difference between the relative positions of the armies before and after the struggle was that an additional Federal corps stood at the later date on the right bank of the Chickahominy. McClellan's right wing still lay on the further side of the river; the Confederates still occupied the woods in front of Richmond; and the probability of taking that city seemed no nearer than before. The left wing of the Federals now encamped upon the battle-ground; but it was not long before the health of the men was affected by their terrible surroundings. The swamps were rendered doubly pestiferous by unburied bodies; the waters of the streams, from which alone the soldiers could slake their thirst, were poisoned by the abominations which drained into them; the air was hot and oppressive; the vapours of the marshes and the humid woods were a burden and a danger to life; and there was nothing in the existing situation, or in the prospects of the immediate future, to counteract these deadly influences. Both armies entrenched themselves in the positions they had assumed at the close of the battle, which has been designated, from two localities on the field, that of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines. The field-works of McClellan, which were of a rather elaborate character, extended in a semi-circle from the White Oak Swamp to the Chickahominy, and were so arranged as to enclose within their sweep the line of railway, and the several roads and bridges communicating with the right wing of the Federals. The Commander-in-Chief applied to Washington for reinforcements; but the necessity of checking General Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley prevented the President from sending any fresh troops to the neighbourhood of Richmond.

The Confederates sustained a loss in the temporary withdrawal from active service of General Johnston, whose injuries were so severe as to compel his retirement into private life until he had recovered from their effects. The chief command now devolved on General Lee, an officer of high reputation and known ability. Lee was not merely an educated soldier, but a man of decided character, simple habits, and stern resolution. While many of the commanders on both sides were prone to self-indulgence and indolent carelessness, Lee was one of those watchful chiefs who never take anything for granted, but maintain a sleepless vigilance over the whole operations of the field. During all the campaigns of the civil war, he invariably occupied a tent, and refused to sleep under a roof, even in the severest winter. Taking note of minute details, he did much to improve the discipline of the forces committed to his charge; and the licentiousness of the camp was checked, not merely by the stringency of his orders, but by the excellence of his personal example.* In many respects, the opposing armies were equally matched. Any advantage possessed by either side in one direction was counterbalanced by some other advantage enjoyed by the adversary in another direction. Richmond was still the great object of contention, and sanguinary encounters were yet to be fought, before it could be determined whether that city should succumb to the Federals, or remain as the head-quarters of the Southern League.

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War, Vol. II., chap. 2.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Mr. Lincoln's Plans with regard to McDowell's Corps—McDowell ordered to co-operate with Banks and Fremont in the Shenandoah Valley—Dangerous Position of General Jackson—His Retreat up the Shenandoah Valley, followed by the combined Federal Armies—Actions on the Road—Battle at Port Republic—Defeat of the Federals, and Escape of Jackson—Fighting in the Mountain Department, West Virginia—Creation of the Army of Virginia—General Pope appointed to the Command—Character and Career of that Officer—Position of the Army of the Potomac on the Chickahominy—Incursion in its Rear by the Confederate Leader, General Stuart—Successful Operations, and Return to Richmond—McClellan anxious for the Safety of his Army—His Determination to shift his Base of Operations from the Pamunkey to the James River—The Confederates cross the Chickahominy—Severe Fighting in the Vicinity of the Bridges—The Federal Army united on the Right Bank of the Chickahominy—McClellan retreats towards the James River—Perilous Position of Richmond—The Confederates in hot Pursuit of the Enemy—Sanguinary Actions in the Final Days of June—Attack on the Federals at Malvern Hill, and Repulse of the Confederates—The Army of the Potomac established at Harrison's Landing, on the James River—Results of the Seven Days' Fighting—The Command of all the United States Armies conferred on General Halleck—Departure of the Orleans Princes—Halleck's Plans for the Future—Hesitation of McClellan—Arbitrary Orders of General Pope—Retaliatory Measures authorised by Jefferson Davis—Renewed Fighting before Washington—The Battle of Cedar Mountain—Removal of the Army of the Potomac from the Yorktown Peninsula—President Lincoln's Call for fresh Levies.

WHETHER or not the President had sufficient reason for diverting the corps of General McDowell from the Army of the Potomac, it is certain that the absence of that corps affected the operations of McClellan before Richmond. In some testimony before a court-martial on the former of those Generals, in December, 1862, the latter gave it as his decided opinion that the Army of the Potomac would have taken Richmond, had not McDowell's corps been separated from it; and he added that if the troops of that officer had joined the main body of the forces in the month of May, by way of Hanover Court House from Fredericksburg, they would have been in the Confederate capital in a week after the junction. However this may have been, it is clear that McClellan hesitated from the moment he knew he was not to have the support of his coadjutor; though it may be that a more daring General would have done without. It will be recollected that fear for the safety of Washington induced Mr. Lincoln to detain McDowell, and to place him at the head of a new military department—that of the Rappahannock. When the alarm with respect to the Federal metropolis had passed away, it was determined by the President to employ McDowell in a series of operations which should collaterally support McClellan in his great expedition; and the former was accordingly directed by Mr. Stanton, in a communication dated May 17th, to move upon Richmond by the general route of the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railway, and to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac, then advancing on the line of the Pamunkey and York Rivers. At the same time, however, he was always to hold himself in such a position as to be able to cover Washington against any sudden incursion of the Confederate forces. In the execution of these designs, he was to be aided by the division of General Shields, which was to be detached from Banks's command for that purpose.

But this plan was as quickly set aside as some which had preceded it. On the 24th of May, General McDowell was ordered to suspend for the present the movement on Richmond, and at once to put in motion 20,000 men, for operating in the valley of the Shenandoah. General Fremont had just been directed to move towards Franklin and Harrisonburg, in order to relieve General Banks, and to capture or destroy the forces of Jackson and Ewell; and McDowell was to co-operate personally with the project, so as to render its success more likely. Though bitterly deploring these orders, which he believed would prejudice the advance on Richmond without accomplishing any useful end, McDowell loyally obeyed the commands of his chief. Nevertheless, he addressed a remonstrance to the Government, in which he represented that he could better cut off General Jackson's retreat by an advance on the railway between Gordonsville and Richmond than by a march into the Shenandoah Valley. His extreme left had already begun to touch the extreme right of General McClellan, and it was therefore excessively mortifying to be obliged to move a portion of his army in another direction. The Government, however, was resolved on the prosecution of its scheme, and McDowell accordingly marched to the north-west, with the division of General Shields, and some other regiments. He was to move on Strasburg, which was at the same time to be approached from the opposite direction by Fremont. Thus it was hoped to close in upon the Confederate leader, Jackson, and to overwhelm him by preponderance of numbers.

It cannot be questioned that Jackson was in a position of danger. In pursuing the forces of General Banks on the 24th and 25th of May, he had imperilled his line of communications, and his retreat from the vicinity of the Potomac was now threatened by the combined movements of McDowell and Fremont. Moreover, in executing that retreat he would have General Banks in his rear. But he calculated on the marching powers of his men, on their courage, and on his own strategical ability. After making a feigned demonstration against Harper's Ferry on the 30th of May, he retreated up the Shenandoah Valley on the 31st, followed by Banks as far as Martinsburg. Fremont had left Franklin on the 25th, and next day was at Petersburg, thirty miles distant. Leaving behind them their baggage, tents, and knapsacks, that they might march with the greater celerity, Fremont's men pursued their eastward course, and on the night of the 31st halted at the intersection of the Strasburg and Winchester roads. The march was resumed on June 1st; and as the advanced guard was crossing the last of the outlying ranges of hills forming the eastern spurs of the Shenandoah mountain-chain, the rear-guard of General Jackson was perceived, moving south. The main body of the Confederate army was already out of view, and Fremont hurried forward on its track. Jackson, however, had got the start, and, marching with great rapidity—his rear protected against any attack by the cavalry under Colonel Ashby—he pursued the road leading south from Strasburg. He was encumbered with a long train conveying the plunder and spoils of Banks's army, and with two thousand prisoners; yet his movements were remarkably quick, and he delayed the progress of his enemy by burning the bridges behind him. Some few skirmishes between the rear of the retreating and the front ranks of the pursuing forces occurred from time to time; but the main body kept well in advance, and on the 2nd of June was beyond Woodstock. On the following day, Fremont crossed Stony Creek, and on the 4th found the army of General Jackson drawn up at Mount Jackson. A mile beyond the place so called, the north fork of the Shenandoah crosses the road, and it was necessary for Jackson to cover the passage of his infantry and train over the long wooden bridge by which the opposite bank is reached. This was effectually accomplished by the artillery and cavalry, and, when all were over, the bridge was set on fire. As the river was too deep to be forded, Fremont—whose regiments had been unable to prevent either the passage of Jackson's troops or the subsequent destruction of the way—was compelled to repair the bridge before his men could resume their march. This entailed the loss of a day, and it was not until noon on the 5th that Fremont's army was again in motion. By the 6th, Harrisonburg had been reached, and on the evening of that day a skirmish of some importance took place between a body of Federal cavalry and infantry, in advance of the other troops, and the Confederate rear-guard. The cavalry, pushing forward incautiously, fell into an ambuscade, and were severely handled, together with the infantry who came to their support. In the end, the Union troops were withdrawn, and their opponents remained masters of the field; but the latter had sustained a great loss in the death of Colonel Ashby, of the cavalry division of Jackson's corps. He was a member of an old Virginian family, long connected with the army, and, although not himself a professional soldier, had exhibited, on joining the Confederate ranks, remarkable aptitude as a leader of horse, together with the most brilliant courage. After the death of his brother, in one of the early encounters of the civil war, he appears to have been seized with a melancholy resolve to perish in the same fashion. He exposed himself with reckless gallantry to the bullets of the enemy, and at length, after many narrow escapes, fell at the head of his soldiers in the collision of the 6th of June.

The check received by Fremont on that occasion was sufficiently serious to stop his further progress for more than a day. At six o'clock on the morning of June 8th, he led his army out of Harrisonburg, and a few hours later came up with about half of the enemy's forces, stationed in a strong position under the command of General Ewell. The Confederates were posted on hilly and broken ground, thickly covered with dwarf-oaks and pines; but Fremont was now in strength, having been joined by several other bodies of troops which had been sent on the track of the fugitives. Shields had been following Jackson by a road parallel to that which Fremont had traversed, and a brigade of his army, under Colonel Carroll, was not far off. The whole of Fremont's line advanced at eleven o'clock in the morning. The fighting was severe and prolonged, and, after a brief promise of success, ended in the retreat of the Federals, about four o'clock in the afternoon. Having been fought near a small hamlet called Cross Keys, the battle is known by that designation. On both sides the losses were heavy; but the Confederates had had the best of the action, and the Federals were no longer in a position to prevent General Jackson from falling on the division of General Shields. The advanced brigade of

ON THE SHENANDOAH.

that division (Colonel Carroll's) was by this time at Port Republic, a few miles to the south-east of the ground, outside Harrisonburg, where General Ewell successfully resisted the whole of Fremont's army. During the 8th, General Jackson, who with half his force had crossed one of the forks of the Shenandoah, was engaged with Carroll's brigade; but the action was little more than an artillery duel, and resulted in the Federals being compelled to retire. Still, the position of Jackson was fraught with peril. In the course of the afternoon, General Tyler, of Shields's division, arrived to the assistance of Carroll, and the Confederate commander had the army of General Fremont in his rear, while the detachment under Tyler and Carroll barred his onward path, being a little in advance of his forces on the road which they would have to traverse. Jackson, however, felt himself equal to the exigencies of the situation. On the morning of the 9th of June, he conveyed the greater part of his army across the intervening river by a bridge formed of planks laid on waggons that had been pushed into the stream; and the action became general as the day advanced. The scene of the encounter was an open plain crossed by the main road. On a small knoll, the Federals had posted a large proportion of their artillery; but several of the guns were captured by a sudden charge of the Louisiana brigade. This serious loss had so dispiriting an effect on the Federals that their line was utterly broken, and the regiments took shelter in the surrounding woods. Fremont had been unable to go to the assistance of Shields's division, owing to the partial destruction of the bridge over the river. This he attempted to repair; but his men were speedily driven off by the Confederate artillery planted on the opposite bank. For the same reason he was unable to pursue his opponent, who retreated at his leisure to Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, where he obtained possession of the Gordonsville and Staunton Railway, and was thus in direct communication with Richmond. Jackson had by this time received reinforcements, and Fremont was apprehensive of being overpowered, should he follow on his rear. He therefore turned back towards Harrisonburg, which was reached in the midst of a violent storm on the afternoon of June 10th. The retrograde movement was continued on subsequent days, and the division of General Shields was also ordered to fall back. Jackson, by the excellence of his arrangements, and the cool audacity of himself and his men, had escaped from a very dangerous position, and the combined forces of the Federals, which for a moment seemed on the point of closing him in, were compelled to give up their expedition without achieving the smallest tittle of success. The movement had in fact been productive of unfortunate results as regarded the operations of McClelland before Richmond. The Union forces had been separated and weakened; and if Jackson had done nothing else, he had at least diverted a part of the enemy's strength from the main operation of the war. The Confederate star was once more in the ascendant, and the recent triumphs of the Federals were rendered to some extent nugatory by the bad management which first provoked the advance of Jackson, and afterwards contributed to his successful retreat.

An action of a comparatively unimportant character had been fought on the 23rd of May in the western part of what was called the Mountain Department, West Virginia, where General Heath, at the head of nearly 3,000 Confederates, attacked Colonel Crook at Greenbriar Bridge, nine miles from Camp Alleghany. The attack was vigorously resisted, and the forces of General Heath were speedily defeated, with the loss of four pieces of artillery, three hundred stand of arms, and several prisoners, together with a hundred and fifty killed and wounded. On retreating, Heath burned the Greenbriar Bridge in order to prevent pursuit, and he appears not to have been followed. Had the Confederate General been successful, and penetrated farther east, it would have been incumbent on Fremont to weaken his division by sending a detachment against him; but under the circumstances this was not necessary. Fremont, Banks, and Shields, were originally in a most favourable position for dealing with Jackson, who was considerably out-numbered, and placed in a dilemma from which he should never have been suffered to escape; but the three Union officers mismanaged their concerted plan, and the single Confederate General achieved, with a very trifling loss, a triumph which, all things considered, must be characterised as brilliant.

Towards the close of June, the armies of Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, were consolidated into one, and called the Army of Virginia. Several of McDowell's regiments, however, were sent as reinforcements to General McClellan, who had always complained bitterly of being deprived of his expected supports. The command of the Army of Virginia was conferred on Major-General Pope, who had recently been acting in the west. Fremont, considering himself aggrieved, resigned his post, and was succeeded by General Sigel. On the 14th of July, Pope addressed his officers and soldiers in a proclamation characterised by the boastful

tone too commonly adopted in those days of excited feeling. "Let us understand each other," he said. "I have come to you from the west, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek an adversary, and beat him when found; whose policy has been attack, and not defence. I presume I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily." Pope was a native of Kentucky, but a citizen of Illinois. He had graduated at West Point in 1842, had served in the Mexican war, and was now nearly forty years of age. In 1849 he conducted the Minnesota exploring expedition, afterwards acted as topographical engineer in New Mexico, and in 1853 was appointed to the command of one of the expeditions for surveying the route of the Pacific Railway. At that time he professed very Southern opinions in politics, but on the breaking out of the civil war accepted the position of a Brigadier-General of Volunteers. For some time he held command in Missouri, and subsequently (as already described) co-operated with Halleck in the reduction of Corinth, Mississippi. Whether justly or not, Pope was detested in the South, where he was characterised as a braggart, a coward, and a bloodthirsty tyrant. His successes in the West had certainly not been equal to what he himself alleged in his address to the Army of Virginia, and we shall see that in his new position he did not add to his reputation, such as it was.

All this while, the Army of the Potomac remained in a state of inactivity within its lines on the Chickahominy. Here, about the middle of June, they were startled by a sudden exploit of the Confederates under General J. E. Stuart. McClellan had not expected any attack by the Confederates on his rear, and the line of railway running from his camp to the White House, situated on the Pamunkey River, was left almost entirely unguarded. The depôts at the White House were equally unprotected, being held only by a very small force. It is singular that so cautious a commander as McClellan should have allowed such important points to be so much exposed; but he seems to have considered that, if attacked at all, he would be attacked in his front. The watchful Confederates, however, knew where he was weakest, and Stuart, after leaving Richmond on June 13th, moved along the line of rail communicating with Fredericksburg. Having penetrated as far as Kilby's Station, the forces turned eastward, and bivouacked in the vicinity of Hanover Court House, twenty-two miles north of Richmond. The expedition was conducted with the most entire secresy. The men themselves did not know where they were going; no trumpets were to sound, and as little noise as possible was to be made, lest the Federal pickets should discover the presence of their enemy. The thickness of the forest favoured the execution of this design; and at daybreak on the 14th the troops marched on Hanover Court House, where they drove in a small force of cavalry, and afterwards defeated another and a larger body of mounted troops. The camp was burned, and Stuart then determined to get into the rear of the Federal army, by making a circuitous march. He pursued his way along the south-western bank of the Pamunkey in the direction of Turnstall's Station, on the Richmond and Westport Railway. At Garlick's Landing, on the river, he detached a squadron of cavalry, to burn whatever stores they might find, together with the vessels lying close by; and, while this was being accomplished, he himself hurried forward to Turnstall's Station, cut the telegraph wires, and surprised the small guard by which the place was held. Colonel Ingalls, in command at the White House, was soon afterwards informed of what was happening, by a train conveying troops which had been fired into by the Confederates. He at once took measures for defending the stores; and the shipping in the river prepared to escape to Yorktown, if the necessity should arise. In another direction, the main body of the Confederate cavalry captured a large train of forty waggons, took several prisoners, burned a railway bridge, and then, about midnight, made for the Chickahominy on their homeward march. It was necessary to construct an extemporary bridge over that river; but, notwithstanding all obstacles, Richmond was safely gained in about two days after the expedition had set forth. The incursion had inflicted a certain loss on the Federals, and at the same time increased the self-reliance of the Confederate cavalry; and all had been obtained with the loss of only one man.

Jackson was now beginning to excite uneasiness in the mind of McClellan. His position and designs were shrouded in considerable mystery, and gave occasion to many conflicting rumours; but on the whole it seemed probable that he was concentrating a force at Gordonsville, on the railway leading to Richmond, and that he was preparing to attack the Federal rear on the 28th of June. McClellan therefore determined to anticipate any such movement by making an advance along the Williamsburg road, in the vicinity of the Seven Pines. This was done on the 25th, by which time the bridges over the Chickahominy

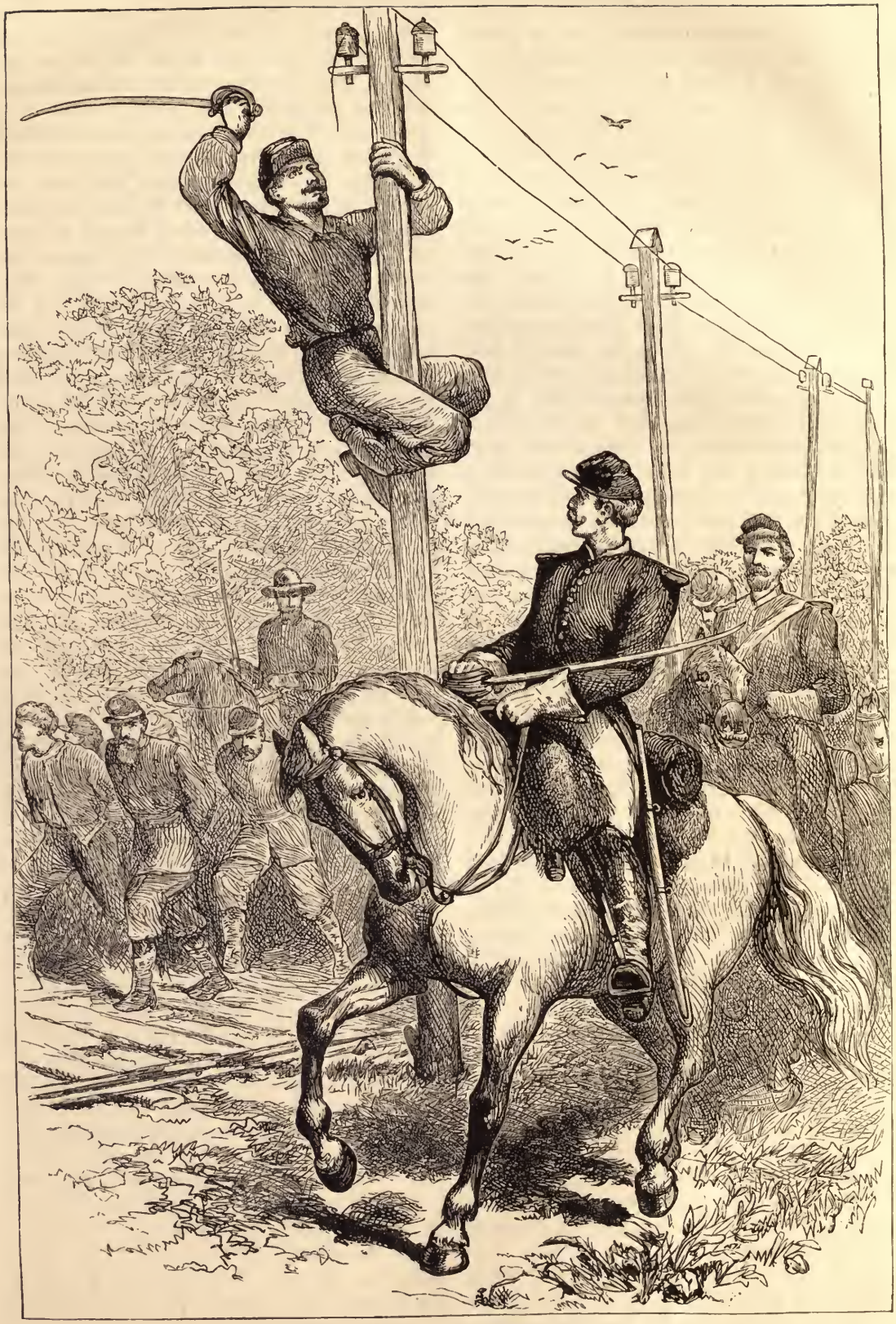
had been completed, and the lines of entrenchment finished. After a very arduous engagement, the Federals at the close of the day found themselves half a mile in advance of the positions they had quitted in the morning. It was determined to make the grand attack on the enemy's lines next day; but that very night McClellan received a confirmation of the rumours respecting General Jackson. He at once wrote a despatch to the Secretary of War, stating that the rebel force was believed to be 200,000 in number, including Jackson and Beauregard; that he (McClellan) would have to contend against vastly superior odds, if those reports were true; but that his troops would do all in the power of men to hold their position, and repulse any attack. He regretted his great inferiority in numbers, but affirmed that he was in no way responsible for the fact, as he had repeatedly represented the necessity of obtaining reinforcements, and had pointed out that Richmond was the decisive point, and that all the available means of the Government should be concentrated there. "I will do all that a general can do," he proceeded, "with the splendid army I have the honour to command, and, if it is destroyed by overwhelming numbers, can at least die with it, and share its fate. But if the result of the action is a disaster, the responsibility cannot be thrown on my shoulders; it must rest where it belongs." So apprehensive did McClellan feel for the safety of his position that on the 26th of June he determined to abandon his base of operations on the Pamunkey for one on the James River. He had been contemplating such a plan for a long time, and was now moved to adopt it by what he considered the relative strength of himself and his adversaries, and by the fear of being attacked by Jackson on his right flank. The Confederate forces were indeed making very threatening movements. Jackson was marching through the country lying between the Chickahominy and the Pamunkey, whilst other divisions had crossed the former of those rivers, and were proceeding down the stream on the left or north-eastern bank—that is, on the side farthest from Richmond. General D. H. Hill, in command of one of these divisions, attacked the village of Mechanicsville, and, taking possession of it, posted himself on the road to the Confederate capital. In conjunction with General Branch, he then assaulted the Federal lines at Beaver Dam Creek. Descending the right bank of that creek, which runs into the Chickahominy, the two commanders confronted the ranks of their enemies, who were stationed on the opposite side. The attacking forces endeavoured to cross, but were driven back by the terrific fire opened on them from the breastworks crowning the left bank. Foiled in this attempt, they occupied a position on the right bank, and at nine o'clock at night the combat terminated without any definite results. It would seem to have been the intention of General Lee, who commanded in person, to cut off that portion of the Federal army which was encamped on the left bank of the Chickahominy; but, if so, he failed in the accomplishment of his design. Still, General McClellan felt extremely insecure, and during the ensuing night withdrew his troops to a position some two miles lower down the Chickahominy. Earlier in the day which closed with this movement, the Federal commander had telegraphed to Colonel Ingalls, at the White House, certain instructions having in view the possibility of a rapid retreat. He was told to load the railway cars with provisions and ammunition, to fill all the waggons he had with subsistence, and to send them to Savage's Station by way of Bottom's Bridge. If obliged to abandon the White House, he was to burn everything he could not carry off, and in that case the depôts were to be established on the James River without delay. These orders were carried out by Colonel Ingalls with great promptitude; but the situation, though menacing, was not quite so bad as had been supposed. McClellan was mistaken in assuming that he had 200,000 men in his front. The Confederate forces were in truth not more than half that strength; and, as McClellan himself had command of about 95,000 troops, his inferiority to the enemy was but slight.

On the night of June 26th, General McCall, on the extreme right of the Federal position, was ordered to fall back on the bridges across the Chickahominy near Gaines's Mill, to join the other troops of General Porter's corps, and to make a stand in that locality, in order to give the army time to carry out its change of position. General Porter was not to cross the bridges until evening, and was then to destroy them. Early on the morning of the 27th, the Confederate division under General D. H. Hill, which had been held in check the previous day, opened a heavy fire of artillery on the front ranks of General McCall, who retreated farther down the stream. Other Confederate troops now crossed the Chickahominy near Mechanicsville, and shortly afterwards the whole of the Southern line, except the right wing under General Magruder, was ordered to advance. The operations of General Lee had for some time been embarrassed by the apprehension that McDowell was approaching to the relief of McClellan; but, on discovering his mistake, the

Confederate commander resolved upon a general attack. The retreating corps of General Porter, which was now stationed in the immediate proximity of the bridges, was presently assaulted. The Federals stood firm, and, after a fierce and doubtful encounter, the Confederate troops gave way in considerable disorder. Being reinforced and formed anew, they again advanced to the attack, but as yet with no better success than before. The 19th North Carolina Regiment is said to have lost eight standard-bearers, and most of the officers were either killed or wounded. Towards nightfall, the Confederates brought up large bodies of reserves, and the Federal left, where the men had been fighting all day, and were exhausted, receded with precipitation. The alarm soon extended to the centre of the Federal lines, which also fell back in confusion, until supported by fresh brigades under Generals Meagher and French. The presence of these troops, and the opening of a battery which had been placed in position, checked the pursuit of the enemy, and darkness soon afterwards closed over the scene. The independence of the American soldier was almost drolly exhibited on this occasion. When the fugitives were reproved by their officers, they replied that they were weary, and had had enough of fighting for that day. Some alleged that they were in want of ammunition, and it appears that in many instances this was really the case, and that there was no proper organisation for supplying them with powder and shot as the action proceeded. Attempts were made by squadrons of cavalry to intercept the flying corps, and the officers even threatened the men with their pistols; but the torrent was not to be stayed. The cavalry then endeavoured to retrieve the fortunes of the day by engaging a body of Confederate infantry which came pouring out of the woods; but the Confederate fire was so severe that the horsemen, after losing many of their number, galloped wildly back towards Sumner's Upper Bridge, whence they had started. Dashing past through their own artillery, they caused a panic among the gunners, who believed them to be the enemy, and, under the influence of that impression, took to flight, with the exception of some few, who stood bravely to their guns until shot down by the advancing infantry. The majority of the fugitives succeeded in getting over the bridge on to the right bank of the Chickahominy; but more than twenty pieces of artillery remained on the field of battle.

During the ensuing night, the train of 5,000 waggons, the siege-train, 2,500 oxen, and other material, were in motion for the James River. The bridges over the Chickahominy were then destroyed, and the corps of General Keyes took possession of the road across the White Oak Swamp, and of the principal lines of communication by which the Federal army could be annoyed by the enemy. The wounded it was found necessary to abandon where they lay, and many must have perished in the woods and swamps, uncared for and alone. The Confederates had flattered themselves that McClellan would be cut off from all power of retreat, and that the capture or destruction of the entire Federal army was almost certain. They were disappointed, however, on finding that the immense stores accumulated at the White House had been partly removed and partly destroyed, according to McClellan's instructions to Colonel Ingalls, and that the several divisions had crossed the river. No further steps could be taken on the 28th, owing to the necessity of burying the dead, attending to the wounded, and allowing an interval of repose to the others; but it was hoped to pursue the retreating adversary on the following day. The two armies were now divided by the line of the Chickahominy. The greater number of the Confederates were on the left bank, and the whole of McClellan's army had been united on the right bank. Before the Confederates could cross, the bridges must be rebuilt, or the several divisions must go considerably out of their way, in order to gain the bridge at Mechanicsville, which had not been in the power of the Federals, and was therefore untouched. It was the afternoon of the 28th before General Lee understood the real state of the case—namely, that his opponent was on his road to the James River, to form a junction with the fleet. It was believed, however, that this design could be easily frustrated, and measures were immediately taken for intercepting the Federal army, and cutting off its communications with the river. The morning of the 29th was spent by McClellan's troops in destroying all that could not be carried away. Among other things, a complete railway-train, with locomotive, tender, and cars, which had been left on the track, was sent headlong over the broken bridge into the river.* The corps of Generals Sumner and Franklin were left at Fair Oaks, with instructions to protect the baggage and supply-trains on their way to the James River; and, having made these arrangements, McClellan pursued his course with the main body of the army. He was in a position of much gravity; but, strange to say, the Confederates at Richmond were equally exposed to a reverse. After the action of the 27th, the Federals were much nearer to the Southern

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion.



STUART'S CAVALRY CUTTING TELEGRAPH WIRES.

capital than the chief divisions of the Confederates. The latter were posted on the farther side of the Chickahominy; the Federals had been compelled to cross the stream, and were now on the side where Richmond itself is situated. The idea of attacking the city appears to have occurred to McClellan, as a project not unworthy of consideration; but he soon abandoned it, for reasons which he has stated in his report on the operations of that time. "It may be asked," he writes, "why, after had fallen before our arms, the enemy could still have occupied our supply-communications between that place and our gunboats, and turned their disaster into victory. If, on the other hand, the enemy had concentrated all his forces at Richmond during the progress of our attack, and we had been defeated, we must in all probability have lost our trains before reaching the flotilla." Want of caution was certainly not the military defect of General McClellan.

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH WAGGON. *(After Gardner, "Photo. Sketch-Book of the War.")*

the concentration of our forces on the right bank of the Chickahominy, with a large part of the enemy drawn away from Richmond on the opposite side, I did not, instead of striking for James River, fifteen miles below that place, at once march directly on Richmond. It will be remembered that at this juncture the enemy was in our rear, and there was every reason to believe that he would sever our communications with our supply-depôt at the White House. We had on hand but a limited amount of rations, and, if we had advanced directly on Richmond, it would have required considerable time to carry the strong works around that place, during which our men would have been destitute of food; and even if Richmond

As the corps of Sumner and Franklin, which had been left at Fair Oaks, were about to quit that position on the 29th, they were assailed by the Confederates. The battle which ensued lasted from two in the afternoon until late in the evening; but the Confederates were finally repulsed, after suffering severely, and during the night Generals Sumner and Franklin effected their retreat in the direction of the James River. The corps of these officers acted as a rear-guard, and held the passage of the White Oak Swamp while the rest of the army pursued its way, accompanied by the siege-trains and other impedimenta. In performing this duty, they were attacked, on the 30th of June, by the left wing of the Confederates, under General Jackson,

but succeeded in maintaining their ground, and in preventing the further advance of the enemy. Later on the same day, a battle was fought between the forces under General Heintzelman and the main body of the Confederates, who were attempting to advance by the Charles City road, so as to cut off the Federal retreat. The Southerners were led by Generals Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Huger, and a conflict of the most furious and desperate nature took place between the opposing armies. General Hill charged the Federal masses several times; but for a while it seemed as if the Northern troops would have driven their opponents back upon Richmond, and have entered that city at the head of their victorious legions. The cry of "On to Richmond!" was raised by the Federals, and the imminent danger of losing their metropolis appears to have excited the Confederates to the pitch of madness. The contending ranks were mixed together in a dark, bloody, and tumultuous affray. Fighting hand to hand, in the rage of mortal hate, they neither asked nor gave quarter, but seemed bent on mutual extermination, if that were a thing possible. On no previous occasion had the two sides fought with such unmitigated ferocity. The hot and murderous encounter swayed to and fro with varying success; the ground was strewn with dead; and the horrible conflict did not terminate even with the approach of night. When at length the combatants ceased from sheer exhaustion, no substantial advantage had been obtained by either. The Confederates were checked, but not repulsed; the Federals held their ground, but were not delivered from the threatened peril.

The retreat had been conducted by McClellan himself, who consequently had not been present at any of the actions in which the Southern troops endeavoured to hinder the movements of their enemy. He was in constant fear lest the Confederates should occupy the roads in his front, and place themselves in a position to sever his communications with the James River. During all those anxious days he was received with extraordinary coldness by his soldiers, with whom he had previously been a great favourite. This may have been owing simply to fatigue and exhaustion of spirits on the part of the men; still, it must have added a poignant element to the misery of the time. The Federal commander was anxious to save his baggage if he could; but orders were given to burn the whole, if it appeared likely to fall into the hands of the Confederates. Eventually, most of the baggage was preserved, together with the greater part of the artillery; yet there were moments when it seemed likely that all would be lost. On the afternoon of the 30th, the long lines of baggage-waggons reached the height called Malvern Hill, not far from the James River; and here they were in a position of some strength, besides being in communication with their transports and supplies. The roads were firm and hard, so that the waggons were able to move with facility; but a great deal of confusion prevailed, and at any moment a disastrous panic might have occurred. The sound of artillery in the rear, and of rifles on the flanks, caused a sudden spasm of apprehension to strike every now and then through the whole line; but nothing serious ensued, and the presence of the river was reassuring. At four P.M., General McClellan went on board the gunboat of Commodore Rodgers, to confer with that officer on the condition of the supply-vessels. The defence of Malvern Heights was left to General Porter, who unfortunately was ill at the time; and everything fell into disorder. The Confederates had brought a battery to bear on the position, and the bursting of a few shells sufficed to break up whatever form had previously been maintained in the Federal ranks. The gunboats on the James, however, came to their assistance, and probably saved a crushing defeat. The army was in a state of chaos as the evening deepened, and the absence of McClellan until a somewhat late hour increased the general sense of helplessness. Nevertheless, all the Federal divisions were united at Malvern Hill during the ensuing night, and the worst dangers had now been overcome. The Confederates were still close at hand; but the position occupied by the Northern troops was favourable to defence, and in any case the river was available for retreat.

Malvern Hill has been described by McClellan as an elevated plateau, well cleared of timber, and with several converging roads passing over it. In front are numerous defensible ravines; the ground slopes gradually towards the north and east, giving clear ranges for artillery in those directions; and an abrupt gorge, extending to the James River, lies towards the north-west of the plateau. By mid-day on the 1st of July, the hunted troops had partially recovered from their fatigue. Their flanks were protected by the gunboats, and the roads leading from Richmond could be swept by the heavy artillery which had by this time been placed in position. The several corps had their backs to the river, and the left flank, held by Porter, was strengthened as much as possible, since it was in that direction that the enemy would be most likely to attack, supposing him to have resolved upon any further movement. That such was really his intention became manifest as the day proceeded.

Some skirmishing took place before noon, but nothing like a general action occurred until three P.M., when the Confederate artillery opened on Kearney's division of Heintzelman's corps, and on other portions of the army stationed towards the right of the line. The Confederate infantry advanced at the charge, but were driven back by the steady fire which was poured into their columns. The attempt to carry the position was frequently renewed, and the Confederates re-formed their shattered ranks in the shelter of the surrounding woods. In this encounter, the troops engaged on the Southern side were from General Magruder's corps, which on the previous night had supported the divisions of Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Huger, in their desperate attack on the forces of General Heintzelman. Towards the evening of July 1st, Magruder's regiments were reinforced by those of General Jackson, who arrived from the White Oak Swamp, but too late to render any important service. When darkness put an end to the strife, the Federals were still in undisturbed possession of the ground, and the Confederates had been worsted, with a serious loss in dead and wounded. The latter, finding that the adversary was now beyond their power, withdrew to Richmond, and the Army of the Potomac took up a position at Harrison's Landing, a situation on the James River, which had been selected by the engineers and naval officers as the most favourable spot for defence, and for receiving supplies. By the night of the 3rd, all McClellan's divisions were in safety, and the General believed he had acquired a base of operations from which another advance on Richmond might in time be made.

The movements executed by McClellan from the 25th of June to the 1st of July had cost him dear, and had left him in a worse position than before. He estimated his losses at 15,249 men, and 25 guns; but according to the Confederates they were very much higher. General Lee, in a proclamation from Richmond issued on July 9th, said that the immediate fruits of the Confederate triumph were—"the relief of Richmond from a state of siege; the rout of the great army that so long menaced its safety; many thousand prisoners, including officers of high rank; the capture and destruction of stores to the value of millions; and the acquisition of thousands of arms, and fifty-one pieces of superior artillery." It is probable that the truth lay somewhere between the two statements, but in any case it is clear that McClellan had reaped nothing but disaster. Still, it must be recollected that his opponents were unfortunate as well as himself. The Confederates had lost a large number of men, and, although the enemy had withdrawn farther from the threatened capital, he was not vanquished, nor completely driven away. The forces of McClellan had not been surrounded and cut off; they were still in a position to keep Richmond in alarm, and it seemed probable that the operations of the last few months would be renewed, with a more resolute determination than before. In an address to his army, dated July 4th, General McClellan said:—"On this, our nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; that our national constitution shall prevail; and that the Union, which can alone insure internal peace and external security to each State, must and shall be preserved, cost what it may in time, treasure, and blood." The official and other circles at Washington had undergone a time of terrible anxiety during the period of the seven days' battles. Communication with the army was for a time completely at an end, and the most gloomy apprehensions prevailed in the absence of positive knowledge. When at length Mr. Lincoln received information that the Army of the Potomac was established in a safe position on the James River, he telegraphed a reply which gave frank expression to the feeling of relief he had experienced. "If you can hold your present position," he said, with that admirable elasticity of spirits by which he was distinguished, "we shall have the enemy yet." He promised further reinforcements, in addition to those he had already sent; and with these assurances McClellan was forced to be satisfied, since the event could be no better. A feeling of great depression, however, passed over the whole North, and the money market was more violently agitated than it had been since the battle of Bull Run. The President was now persuaded that in doing away with the office of Commander-in-Chief of all the United States armies, and assuming the general control of military operations with the assistance of his Secretary of War, he had made a great mistake. The position, it will be remembered, had been held by McClellan from the resignation of General Scott to the commencement of the movement on the Yorktown peninsula. McClellan attributed his misfortunes since then to the meddling of the President and the Secretary, and it is not impossible that this may have been one of the causes of the recent failures. The supreme direction of all the forces was assumed on the 23rd of July, by General Halleck, who had quitted the Army of the West to fulfil his new and larger duties.

About this period, the French princes took leave of General McClellan, and departed for Europe.

At a somewhat earlier date, before the misfortunes of the Army of the Potomac had commenced, the princes were anxious to return to the Old World, mainly because the younger brother (the Duc de Chartres) was suffering much from the climate. General McClellan begged the Comte de Paris to remain a few days longer, so that he might witness the attack on Richmond, whilst the Duc de Chartres returned to Washington for medical advice. On the very day when the latter had arranged to go, it became known at head-quarters that General Jackson had attacked the right wing of the Federals, and on this account the Duc de Chartres refused to leave the army. He and his brother continued to act as aides-de-camp during the remainder of the campaign, and both distinguished themselves by great gallantry in General Porter's corps at the battle of Gaines's Mill. It was not until the army was safe on the James River that they quitted America for Europe, leaving behind them a reputation for courage and good conduct which was not speedily forgotten.*

The first thing to which the attention of General Halleck was directed, on his arrival at Washington, was the condition of the army at Harrison's Landing. He visited General McClellan at his head-quarters, and entered into consultation with him, towards the end of July. His desire was to ascertain if there was any possibility of an advance upon Richmond in the position which the Army of the Potomac then held, and, if not, to discuss some plan for uniting the armies of Generals McClellan and Pope on another line. McClellan gave it as his opinion that for any ulterior operations he should require at least 50,000 additional troops. Halleck replied that so large a number could not possibly be sent, that he was not authorised to promise more than 20,000, and that he did not clearly see how even that number could safely be drawn from other places. After a night's consideration, McClellan said that he would make the attempt upon Richmond with the additional 20,000; but, immediately after Halleck's return to Washington (which was on the 27th of July), he telegraphed that he should want 35,000. As so considerable a force could not be spared, without leaving Washington and Baltimore almost defenceless, it appeared to Halleck that the only alternative left was to withdraw the Army of the Potomac to some position where it could unite with that of Pope, and cover Washington, at the same time that it operated against the enemy. It was finally determined to attempt this junction on the Rappahannock, by bringing McClellan's forces to Aquia Creek. The withdrawal of those forces was ordered by telegraph on the 3rd of August, and, that the transfer to Aquia Creek might be made as rapidly as possible, Halleck authorised General McClellan to assume control of all the vessels on the James River and Chesapeake Bay. McClellan was extremely annoyed at the course which it was determined to adopt, and wrote to General Halleck, on the 4th of August, that the removal of his forces would prove disastrous in the extreme. He feared, indeed, that it would be a fatal blow. The nearness of the army to Richmond, and its advantageous position on the banks of a navigable river, were pointed out; the distance of Aquia Creek from the Confederate capital was strongly insisted on; and it was added that the troops would be demoralised by the contemplated change, that the people of the North would be proportionately depressed, and that foreign Powers would in this way be induced to recognise the Southern Government. McClellan once more dwelt with emphasis on his favourite idea that the very heart of the rebellion was at Richmond, and that it would be wiser to withdraw the Federal armies from outlying regions, so as to reinforce the Army of the Potomac, than to maintain those divisions where they were little needed, and thus starve the operations in Virginia. Halleck replied to these representations by maintaining the greater advisability of his own plans, and by arguing that it was necessary to re-combine the Virginian forces, which had been dangerously divided, but which in his opinion could not be brought together again by any scheme so free from danger as that which he had recommended. Halleck was supported by the President, and McClellan was ordered to unite his army with that of General Pope south-east of Washington, and to act under his commands.

The spirit in which Pope proposed to deal with the enemy was evinced shortly after his appointment to the control of the newly-created Army of Virginia, and consequently a little before his succession to the more enlarged command with which he was now entrusted. In a General Order, issued from Washington on the 18th of July, he stated that thenceforward, as far as was practicable, his troops were to subsist upon the country in which their operations were carried on. In all cases, supplies for that purpose would be taken by the officers to whose departments such matters properly belonged. Vouchers would be given to the owners of the commodities thus seized, stating on their face that they would be payable at the

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War, Vol. II., chap. 4.

conclusion of the war, though only, it appeared, upon sufficient testimony being furnished that such owners had been loyal citizens of the United States since the date of the vouchers. In another General Order, it was stated that no supply or baggage-trains of any description would accompany the cavalry forces in that command, unless so stated in the order for the movement. Two days' cooked rations would be carried on the persons of the men, and all villages and neighbourhoods through which they might pass would be laid under contribution in the manner already specified. This was a heavy blow against the people of the Confederate States, as distinguished from the armies themselves, and was the extreme measure of a man of extreme opinions, bent on striking terror as a means of ensuring victory. Another order made the people along the railways and telegraphic lines responsible for any damage done to them, and liable to be called upon for their repair. If a soldier was fired upon from any house, that house was to be razed to the ground. All disloyal citizens within the power of the army were to be arrested at once, and, unless they took the oath of allegiance, and gave sufficient security for its observance, were to be conducted beyond the extreme pickets. If again found within the lines, they were to be treated as spies, and subjected to the extreme rigour of military law. These and similar orders led to much pillaging of private property, and to some arbitrary and cruel acts, that exasperated instead of quelling the South. The Confederate Government retaliated by an order declaring that General Pope, and the commissioned officers serving under him, were not entitled to be considered as soldiers, and would therefore not be admitted to the benefit of cartel for the parole of future prisoners of war. In the event of an unarmed citizen or inhabitant of the Confederacy being murdered by virtue of the orders issued by General Pope, it was declared to be the duty of the General commanding the forces of the Confederacy to cause to be immediately hanged, out of the commissioned officers of the Federal army who might happen to be prisoners at the time, a number equal to that of the Southern citizens or inhabitants who had in this way been put to death. By his ill-judged orders, Pope had contrived to give the struggle a character of deliberate ferocity, such as it had not hitherto possessed.

The main divisions of General Pope's army were now stationed partly at Culpepper Court House (distant about seventy miles both from Washington and Richmond), and partly at Fredericksburg, which was connected with Washington by steamboat navigation and railway. The total strength of his army he estimated at 38,000 men, and one part of his design was to cover Washington, while at the same time he diverted a portion of the Confederate army then threatening McClellan. His line extended from the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, on the right, to the lower fords of the Rappahannock, on the left; and on the 14th of July he pushed forward his cavalry towards Gordonsville, on the Virginia Central Railway, at the same time directing General King, at Falmouth, to make a reconnaissance in force along the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railway. Very little resulted from these movements, and for a while nothing of importance was attempted on either side. But at the beginning of August the Federal out-pickets reported that the enemy was advancing in the direction of Madison Court House, and also from Gordonsville towards Culpepper Court House. On the 8th of that month, Jackson crossed the Rapidan, and took up a position near the main road from Gordonsville to Culpepper. Fighting did not occur until the following day, but an obstinately-contested action then took place in the vicinity of a hill called Cedar Mountain. The battle commenced at five P.M., and continued until late in the evening, by which time the Federals had been driven back about a mile. The action might perhaps have been resumed on the following day, but for a disastrous incident which occurred late at night. The light of a bright moon showed the Confederate artillerymen that their adversaries, as they bivouacked on the ground, were within range of their guns. They at once opened fire, and a panic spread through a portion of the Federal army. Some of the Confederate cavalry then charged the weary and dispirited troops, and Pope himself, with the officers of his staff, narrowly escaped capture. The loss on both sides was very serious, especially on that of the Federals; but, the latter having been reinforced, General Jackson retreated during the night of the 11th, and, re-crossing the Rapidan, got safely off. The Federal Government was so much alarmed at this exploit of the redoubtable "Stonewall" Jackson, that McClellan was ordered to detach the divisions under General Burnside (who had recently been recalled from North Carolina), and send them to Aquia Creek. At the same time, McClellan himself was to retreat to Yorktown and Fortress Monroe with a view to ulterior movements. The stores, baggage, and sick, belonging to the sometime Army of the Potomac, were shipped on board the transports at Harrison's Landing, and from the 17th to the 20th of August the army marched by way of Williamsburg to Yorktown and Newport News. The defences at

Yorktown were strengthened, and the campaign in the Peninsula was now at an end, after a series of operations extending over about four months, involving an immense expenditure of life, yet productive of no results commensurate with the efforts that had been made.

The favourable prospects for the North with in the earlier days of the war, were advancing northward; and the Cabinet at Washington had to consider, not how they should vanquish the enemy, but how they should protect themselves. The slaughter during the last few months had been so enormous that the armies urgently needed recruiting. It was for a time somewhat doubtful

HORACE GREELEY.

which the year had opened, had completely passed away. Matters were looking worse than they had looked for nearly a year. So far from Richmond being threatened, it seemed not improbable that Washington itself would be once more placed in danger. The offensive had again been exchanged for the defensive. By his abandonment of the Yorktown peninsula, President Lincoln had openly confessed to a mistake. The Confederates, flushed with success, and reanimated by some portion of the spirit which had characterised their actions whether the self-reliance of the Northern people had not been shaken by the pressure of their misfortunes; but Mr. Lincoln always had faith in the cause of which he was the champion. Cheerful at the worst of times—merry even, when others were oppressed with gloom and doubt—he "put his foot down" all the firmer whenever dismay and ruin seemed confronting the Northern ranks. On the 2nd of July, he called for 300,000 volunteers. On the 4th of August, he issued an order calling into the service of the United States

MARCH PAST OF THE GARIBALDI GUARD BEFORE PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

for nine months, unless sooner discharged, a body of 300,000 militia. It was at the same time decreed that if any State should not by the 15th of August have furnished its quota of the additional 300,000 men thus authorised, the deficiency in that State would be made up by special draft. It was likewise ordered that regulations should be prepared by the War Department, with the object of securing the promotion of officers for meritorious and distinguished services, of preventing the nomination and appointment of unworthy officers, and of ridding the service of such incompetent persons as then held commissions, of whom, it is to be feared, there were at that time not a few. President Lincoln was resolved to win, if only the people were alike determined. He believed their determination was equal to his own, and, after many trials, the end justified his view.

CHAPTER XLV.

Position of Parties in the Summer of 1862—Proposals for Employing Negroes in Connection with the United States Armies—Measures for the Partial Emancipation of the Blacks—Letter of President Lincoln to Mr. Horace Greeley on the Principle of Emancipation—Disingenuous Criticisms on the Policy of the North—Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22nd, 1862—Effect of the Document in America—Distinction between the Proclamation and the Law of July 17th—Exasperation in the Southern States at the Policy of Mr. Lincoln—Sanguinary Threats of Vengeance—Money Costs of the War to the Union—Enormous Paper Currency, and its Difficulties—Meeting of the Confederate Congress—Message of Mr. Jefferson Davis—Martial Law, and Suspension of *Habeas Corpus*, at the South and at the North—Employment of Negroes in the Confederate States on the Making of Fortifications—Partial Decline of the War Feeling in the Two Sections of the Country—The State Elections at the North—President Lincoln's Message to Congress of December 1st, 1862—State of the Finances—Mr. Lincoln's Remarks on the Necessity of Subduing the Southern League—The Future of the Coloured Race—Admirable Character of the President's Plans for the Termination of Slavery—Opinion in England—The Cotton Famine in Lancashire and other Northern Counties—Enormous Importance of the Cotton Interest to Great Britain—Progress of Distress in the Northern Counties—Subscriptions and Acts of Parliament in Aid of the Sufferers—Decline and Cessation of the Famine.

In the conflict of embattled hosts now going on over a large part of what had once been the American Union, the contentions of party were to a great extent allayed. Yet this can never be entirely the case in countries that are governed on the representative system; and although, in the political circles of the United States, there was no longer the broad distinction of North and South, the Democratic and Republican parties yet existed, and made themselves felt in the conduct of affairs. The Government was in truth influenced by both, and stood in a sort of medium position which gave satisfaction to neither. Mr. Lincoln, although elected by the Republicans, leant so far towards the policy of their rivals as to be unwilling to handle, in any bold or revolutionary style, the institution of the South out of which the civil war had grown. On the other hand, he acknowledged the pressure of the political bodies who had sent him to the White House, by approximating in some degree towards their views, so as to be constantly meddling with the question of slavery in a tentative and hesitating way. On the 7th of April, Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, and Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Washington, had signed a treaty (ratified and exchanged at London on the 20th of May) by which provision was made for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and a mutual right of search, as respected merchant-vessels, was established. In home affairs, the position of the negro was constantly receiving some favourable interpretation. Taken altogether, as regarded their influence on the President, the Republicans were in the more powerful position, and especially the extreme section of that party—the Abolitionists. The future was clearly theirs, for they alone stood on the ground of broad and intelligible principles. All the highest forces of modern opinion fought on their side, and guaranteed their ultimate success; yet they had still to overcome the jealousy of the Democrats, the fears of the timid, and the conservative inclinations of the office-holders. The Democrats were beginning to get alarmed, and on the 1st of July held a meeting at the Cooper Institute, New York, at which "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," were declared to be the objects of the party. It was desired to conciliate the South; but the South was not to be conciliated, except at the price of granting every one of her demands,—and in that case what had the North been fighting for? The day of compromises was past, and it was manifest that the Union could never be reconstructed on the old lines.

People now began to talk of employing the negro in the making of entrenchments, and the execution of other laborious works, as, indeed, the Southerners had already done. To this effect, measures were passed through Congress in the summer of 1862; but that was not all. A Bill to amend the Militia Act of 1795 was discussed about the same time, when it was proposed to include men of colour in the ranks of the non-professional army; but the suggestion met with much opposition. Still, the views of the extreme party found plain expression, and one member of the Senate went so far as to say that he would organise a great army of black men, and desolate every Southern State, rather than that the Union should be destroyed. By an Act which came into operation on the 17th of July, it was decreed that any coloured man or boy rendering service to the Federal armies, and belonging to a rebel owner, should at once and for ever be made free, together with his mother, wife, and children, supposing the latter to belong also to active enemies of the Union. Another Bill approved on the same day, and entitled "An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," enacted that all slaves of rebels who might come within the power of the Federal authorities should receive their freedom, and that no fugitive negro should be hindered of his liberty, unless it could be shown that his owner was loyal to the Government of the United States. The President was at the same time empowered to employ as many persons of African descent as he might deem necessary for the suppression of the rebellion, and might organise and use them in such manner as he should judge best for the public welfare. The feeling, however, was so strong against making soldiers of black men, that little was then done in the way of recruiting. With respect to the last-named Act there was some difficulty. Mr. Lincoln objected that it was beyond the power of Congress to free a slave within a Slave State; but ultimately, on a clause being introduced, somewhat qualifying the original measure, yet leaving untouched the provisions having reference to the slaves of rebel proprietors, the President signed the Bill, and it became law.

Nevertheless, the President was far from being a convert to Abolitionism. His views on this subject were tersely expressed in a letter to the late Mr. Horace Greeley, written on the 22nd of August in reply to some remarks addressed to him by that gentleman in the columns of his journal, the *New York Tribune*. Mr. Lincoln here said:—"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be—the Union as it was. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. *My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.* If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free." Nothing could be clearer than the statement of principles here set forth. Mr. Lincoln was, so to speak, in charge of the United States, and he made it his first of duties not to be false to his trust.

It was commonly objected at the time, by those who were eager to say anything that might damage the Northern cause, and help the fortunes of the Confederacy, that the President exhibited in this letter an almost cynical indifference to the future of the slaves, and made the preservation of the Union his one great end; and it was insinuated that, such being the case, the quarrel of the North was no better than that of the South. These writers put entirely out of view the highly important fact that Mr. Lincoln, like all his predecessors, had been elected to the Presidency for the very purpose of upholding the Union during his term of office, and not at all for the purpose of doing away with slavery. The progress of events—the pressure of absolute necessity—might compel him to adopt the latter course as a revolutionary measure; indeed, it was evident that everything was tending to that result at the time when the President wrote his letter to Mr. Greeley. But, as a constitutional ruler, he was bound to forbear from revolutionary acts as long as he could—until, in

short, it became clear beyond a doubt that only in that way could the Union, which he was elected to preserve, be saved from dismemberment. Another favourite censure of the day—that the Constitution was being violated in order to coerce the South, and that the Northern Americans were renouncing their liberties for the vanity of subduing a rival—was equally futile and equally disingenuous. The political system of every country, and that of the United States as much as any, contains within itself the means of evoking exceptional powers to meet exceptional perils. When rightly used, upon a just occasion, such powers are as constitutional as those which are more habitually exercised; and least of all in a country like the United States is there any danger of a dictatorship being perpetuated beyond the need which called it forth. These objections were for the most part urged by critics who were not commonly distinguished by zeal for popular liberties or popular sway. What was really dreaded was not that freedom would suffer, but that a slave-holding oligarchy might be vanquished. What was truly deprecated was not that emancipation was being sacrificed, but that every augmentation of Federal power made emancipation more probable. Even if slavery were not violently suppressed, it was known to all political observers that the principle on which Mr. Lincoln had been elected—the exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States—would surely lead in time to the dying out of the system over the whole Union, by the mere preponderance of ever-increasing free communities; while the success of the Southern Confederacy would entail an indefinite extension and prolongation of the evil. But the latter was the very thing desired by the Southern sympathisers, though it was necessary to cloak such a wish under some pretence of a regard for human rights.

When Mr. Lincoln told Mr. Greeley, on the 22nd of August, that he should do more than he was then doing towards the manumission of the negroes whenever he believed that doing more would help the cause of the Union, it is probable that he had the next step already in contemplation. At any rate, the next step came exactly a month later. On the 22nd of September, the President issued a proclamation setting forth that on the 1st of January in the year ensuing (1863) all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof should then be in rebellion against the United States, should be then, thenceforward, and for ever free; and that the civil, military, and naval authorities of the United States were to recognise and maintain the freedom of all such persons, and were to do nothing to repress them in any efforts they might make to obtain their freedom. At the end of this proclamation it was added that the Executive would in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who had remained loyal throughout the rebellion should (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, where that relation had been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves. For thus emancipating the slaves in rebel States, no Act of Congress was necessary. The President, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, was empowered to make the decree in question, as a necessary war-measure for the suppression of the armed rebellion then actually existing. Such, at least, was his own view, and that of his supporters; but there were those who questioned it. The members of the Democratic party considered the edict unconstitutional, and were displeased with the policy proposed to be followed, as well as with the means by which it was to be brought about. When Congress reassembled, Mr. Yeaman, of Kentucky, submitted to the House of Representatives, on the 11th of December, two resolutions declaring that the President's proclamation was not warranted by the Constitution, and that the policy of emancipation was not calculated to hasten the restoration of peace, was not well chosen as a war-measure, and was an assumption of power dangerous to the rights of citizens, and to the perpetuity of a free people. In the first of these resolutions the Senate concurred; and both were affirmed in the Lower House by 94 to 45 votes. Four days later, however, the same House adopted, by 78 votes to 51, two resolutions in direct contradiction of those of December 11th. The policy of the President was for the most part approved in the North, and it was felt to be an earnest of the approaching extinction of slavery over the whole extent of the Union.

Although the proclamation of September 22nd did not in effect go far beyond the law of July 17th, it went a good deal farther in theory. The Act of Congress declared that the slaves of rebel proprietors, wherever the authorities of the United States could get at them, should be made free. This, as a matter of fact, would doubtless have emancipated pretty nearly all the slaves in the seceded States, as soon as the Northern armies could establish themselves there; for the disloyalty was general. But the framers of the Act seem to have contemplated the possibility, or perhaps even the probability, of the South containing a large

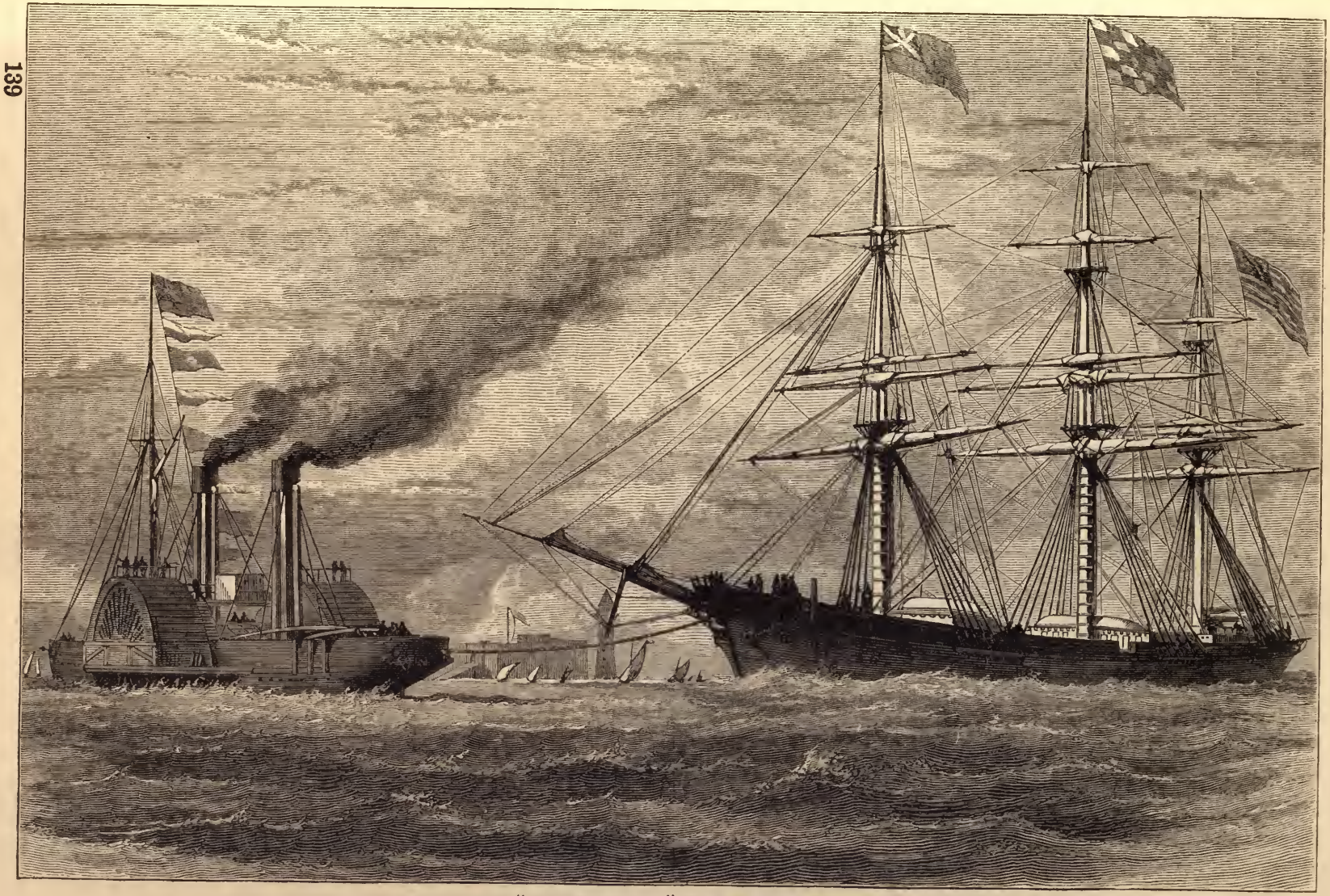
population well-affected to the Union—a favourite belief at the North, so long as it could be held with any show of reason; and the statute therefore abstained from decreeing emancipation over the whole of the several States affected. The proclamation, on the other hand, struck the fetters off every slave in the States, or portions of States, which, on the 1st of January, 1863, should be in rebellion against the authority of the Union. It made, so far, no distinction between loyal and disloyal individuals: both alike, within the compass of a rebellious State, were to lose their human property; only that the loyal were to receive compensation for their loss, and the disloyal were to have none. The President, as we have stated, demurred to the Act of Congress (though he finally sanctioned it), for the reason that it went beyond the powers of the Federal Legislature in dealing with the internal arrangements of States; yet his own proclamation went farther. Mr. Lincoln, however, made a distinction between the ordinary powers of Congress, and his own exceptional powers as head of the Executive, called upon to confront a state of war and rebellion. For this distinction he seems to have had some warrant; at any rate, it is certain that the majority of his fellow-countrymen approved of his efforts to save the Union, and to restore the integrity of the national possessions.

The Abolitionists were, of course, pleased with the President's decree, and saw that the freedom of negroes in the rebel States must inevitably be followed, at no great distance of time, by that of their brethren in the States which had preserved their loyalty. Indeed, the proclamation itself contained an intimation of Mr. Lincoln's purpose, at the next meeting of Congress, to recommend once more the adoption of a measure tendering pecuniary aid to those loyal States which should voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery. The greater part of the long and painful road had therefore been traversed, and the rest would be speedily got over. In England, the determination of the President was received with the most enthusiastic expressions of satisfaction on the part of those who had from the first supported the North, while the partisans of the South still found grounds of objection. The people of the Confederate States were at once alarmed and exasperated. The *Richmond Whig*, of October 1st, spoke of the edict as ordaining a servile insurrection in the South, with the assurance of aid from the whole military and naval power of the United States. By a dash of the pen, it was averred, four thousand millions of Southern property had been destroyed, and the operations of the war were from that time forward to assume a very grave character. In the Confederate House of Representatives, Mr. Lyons, of Virginia, introduced a series of resolutions denouncing the character of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation; exhorting the people of the Southern States to kill every officer, soldier, or sailor of the United States found within their borders; declaring that after the 1st of January, 1863, no Union officer ought to be captured alive, or, if recaptured, should be immediately hanged; and offering a bounty of twenty dollars, and an annuity of twenty dollars for life, to every slave or free negro who should, after January 1st, kill a Unionist. These savage resolutions were referred to the committee on foreign affairs; and on the 3rd of October a joint resolution was adopted by the State Legislature of Virginia, providing that no person within that State should be tried or imprisoned for driving therefrom, or putting to death by any means, any person, with or without arms, who might be found on that soil aiding, or abetting, or in any other way giving effect, in that State or its borders, to "the lawless and fiendish proclamation" of President Lincoln. Such was the sanguinary spirit excited at the South by the decree of September 22nd—a spirit which found further expression in a proclamation of Jefferson Davis, dated December 23rd, where the policy of the Northern Government in respect of the slaves was made one of the grounds for authorising deadly reprisals on officers of the Federal army. The fear of a servile insurrection was greatly exaggerated. It was certainly no part of Mr. Lincoln's intention, in issuing his edict, to provoke a rising of the blacks, nor was it probable that such a result would ensue. The negroes looked to the arrival of the Northern armies for their release, and were not likely to risk any movement on a large scale in the midst of an adverse population armed to the teeth, and animated by all the pride of race and old dominion.

As in all wars, some of the greatest difficulties which both sides had to encounter lay in the region of finance. The North had certainly far larger resources than the South; yet even at the North much pressure was experienced. A Tax Bill was passed through Congress in the first half of 1862; but its provisions were so unpopular that the Government shrank from enforcing it during the whole of that year. The cost of the struggle, however, was fearful. Mr. Stephens, of Pennsylvania, stated in the House of Representatives, in a speech which he delivered on the Tax Bill, that the public debt on the 1st of July would probably be 800,000,000 dollars. The daily expenses of the country at that time he set down at

more than three millions a day. The interest on the national debt would be about sixty millions annually, and there was every prospect of the debt increasing. The Treasury, indeed, depended almost entirely on loans and an excessive issue of paper money. Notes were circulated to an enormous amount, and were popularly designated "greenbacks" or "shin-plasters." Gold ran up to an extravagant premium, and the value of the notes rapidly underwent that process of depreciation which is inseparable from currencies that have little or no intrinsic worth. The *New York Times*, in the month of July, 1862, said that the discount on a dollar bill, or a five-dollar bill, was often greater than the value of the article purchased, so that the vendor, in furnishing gold, silver, or nickel change, actually lost more than the value of the goods sold. The want of small coins for daily use had induced Congress to authorise Mr. Chase, the Minister of Finance, to issue 25,000,000 dollars of paper money in sums of one, two, and three dollars each. These bills formed part of the general issue of 150,000,000 dollars of Treasury notes which Congress sanctioned at the request of Mr. Chase; but the demand for small change was only very partially satisfied by the expedient that had been adopted. Various devices of an unsatisfactory nature were commonly employed for meeting the difficulty. In many cases, slips of paper in the nature of an I O U were given in exchange for larger sums, paid in purchasing articles of small value. Orders on shops, theatre-tickets, tickets for omnibuses and ferries, postage-stamps, and other representatives of coin, were taken in lieu of coin itself; though many of these had only a local value —that is to say, a value that would be recognised simply at the place of issue—and were therefore not adapted for general circulation. In Chicago, the barbers gave their customers tickets of the value of a dollar each; and every time the holder was shaved, the barber punched a hole in the cardboard, to mark that it had depreciated ten cents in value. "Postage-stamps for change," said the *New York Times*, "are a great annoyance, particularly in the dog-days, as they stick to the fingers, to the *porte-monnaie*, and to everything, and quickly get torn, dirty, wasted, uncurrent, and worthless." Such were some of the more trivial aspects of the existing money difficulties.

Mr. Jefferson Davis again met his Congress on the 18th of August, when he delivered a Message reviewing the circumstances of the time. The recent successes of the Confederate arms were acknowledged with gratitude and pride, and the Northern people were accused of waging war in a spirit of ruthless ferocity. "Confiscation Bills," said Mr. Davis, "of a character so atrocious as to ensure, if executed, the utter ruin of the entire population of these States, are passed by their Congress and approved by their Executive. The moneyed obligations of the Confederate Government are forged by citizens of the United States, and publicly advertised for sale in their cities, with a notoriety that sufficiently attests the knowledge of their Government; and its complicity in the crime is further evinced by the fact that the soldiers of the invading armies are found supplied with large quantities of these forged notes, as a means of despoiling the country people, by fraud, out of such portions of their property as armed violence may fail to reach. Two at least of the Generals of the United States are engaged, unchecked by their Government, in exciting servile insurrection, and in arming and training slaves for warfare against their masters, citizens of the Confederacy. Another has been found, of instincts so brutal as to invite the violence of his soldiery against the women of a captured city." Mr. Davis was enabled to adopt a more cheerful tone than in his previous Message, when the fortunes of the Confederate armies were at a very low ebb. Yet there was much in the condition of the Southern States which might well inspire doubt. The slave-holding league was threatened by enormous hosts, the discipline and efficiency of which were becoming greater every day; and it had also to keep watch over the internal danger of a servile and disaffected population. It is curious to find the same exceptional measures which were so loudly condemned at the North, practised also at the South. In March, 1862, Jefferson Davis proclaimed martial law in Richmond and the adjoining country to the extent of ten miles; prohibited all distillation of spirituous liquors; directed that the distilleries and liquor-shops be forthwith closed; and arrested and imprisoned many Union men. In April, he issued a proclamation extending martial law over East Tennessee, and suspending all civil jurisdiction and the writ of *habeas corpus*. In May, he published a similar proclamation with reference to certain counties in Virginia; and in August he sanctioned a proclamation of banishment directed against citizens of the United States at that time residing in the Confederacy. The writ of *habeas corpus* had already been suspended in certain parts of the United States; but it was not until the autumn of 1862 that the suspension was extended so as to affect the liberties of a large part of the population. On the 24th of September, President Lincoln issued a proclamation ordering that during the existing



THE "GEORGE GRISWOLD" ENTERING THE MERSEY.

insurrection all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging enlistments, resisting military drafts, or affording aid and comfort to the rebels, should be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commission; and that the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended in respect to all persons arrested or imprisoned by the act of any military officer, or by the sentence of a court-martial or military commission. Such were the stern necessities of civil war; and they cannot be imputed as a special vice to either belligerent.

Not content with what Mr. Davis had already done by means of proclamations, the Confederate Congress passed a Bill, in October, to authorise the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in certain cases; and by the House of Representatives punishment of death was decreed to all Union soldiers who might have in their possession, or might endeavour to pass, counterfeit notes of the Confederate Treasury. Congress also passed a Military Exemption Act, which afterwards caused great discontent, and by which it was decreed that the police for sections of the country where there was a dense negro population should be exempt from conscription, together with various other classes of the population, including one man to every five hundred head of cattle. Negroes were by this time largely employed on the fortifications, and were obtained either by impressment, or by the voluntary contributions of their owners. Some of the planters objected to the use of their negroes; and it was probably dreaded by many that in this way an approach would be made towards placing the black population in a better position than they had yet occupied. To give the black man any standing as a servant of the State, was in some degree to give him the character of a citizen; and this was so dangerous a principle in a slave-holding community that it not unnaturally provoked some opposition in certain quarters, though the refusal to furnish the negroes appears to have been nominally based on the assertion that they were wanted at home. Still, these unfortunate beings were in numerous instances forced into the military service of their taskmasters, not indeed as soldiers, with weapons in their hands, but as labourers employed in the digging of trenches, or the rearing of stone walls. The internal condition of the country grew worse with the progress of time. Provisions were extravagantly dear, and the wretched paper currency of the States was so inordinately depreciated that nothing could be purchased except at ruinous prices. The Treasury notes were frequently forged; and, as regarded financial matters, it would be difficult to conceive a state of disruption more complete than that which prevailed throughout the Confederacy in the latter part of 1862. Even in military affairs, the recent victories of the Southerners had not entirely succeeded in restoring the spirit which prevailed at the commencement of the war. Desertions were numerous, and, despite the florid utterances of Mr. Davis, it was evident that a feeling of despondency was creeping over the population of the South.

In the loyal States also there were difficulties to be encountered, and in some quarters sentiments of reluctance to be overcome; yet, as a rule, there was a more solid and permanent feeling of devotion to the national cause at the North than at the South. A draft for troops was indeed necessary to some extent, and for awhile it seemed as if its enforcement would be resisted; but all occasion for doubt on this score was speedily removed. Large bounties were paid to volunteers, not only by the Federal Government, but often by individual States and cities, and the required quota of men was obtained within a small number, so that the draft was resorted to in comparatively few instances. Even to that extent, it was doubtless unpopular, but it had been rendered compulsory by the failure in obtaining a sufficient number of volunteers, and, after the first outburst of impatience had passed away, it was seen that such a measure was inevitable in the existing condition of the country. The infliction was therefore borne with patience, and with a few exceptions did not lead to those scenes of violence which were at one time feared. It was found necessary, however, to introduce the system of passports as a means of preventing the escape from the country of men subject to the draft. The enrolment included all able-bodied male citizens between eighteen and forty-five, and was apportioned according to representative population. The war was unquestionably not so popular as it had been in the early days of 1861, when it was believed that the South would be crushed in a campaign of a few weeks' duration. Yet it cannot be said that there was anything like a general disposition at the North to give up the struggle. Warlike enthusiasm seldom lasts any great length of time in its first intensity. The sacrifices which a state of war imposes are certain, after awhile, to cause some revulsion of feeling on the part of the less resolute; but the interests and the pride of the North were too deeply concerned to allow any relinquishment of the great task which had been taken in hand. In both sections of what were once the United States, there had undoubtedly

been a mitigation of the war-fever; but in neither was there any conscious intention or desire to abandon the struggle while hopes of victory remained.

The State elections which took place throughout the North during the autumn were mostly favourable to the Democratic party, and were in some degree a testimony that the country at that particular time was inclined to a conciliatory policy towards the South. The effect of these elections was seen shortly afterwards in a relaxation of the Government policy towards political offenders. Several persons who had for a time been imprisoned without trial in certain fortresses were released, and the powers conferred on the President by the partial suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* were more considerately exercised. It was under these circumstances that Congress met for its winter session. The Message of President Lincoln was sent to the two Houses on the 1st of December, and the events of the time gave to this document a more than usual degree of interest. The condition of the finances, Mr. Lincoln observed, would claim the most diligent consideration of the national representatives. The continuance of the war, and the increased disbursements rendered necessary by the augmented forces then in the field, demanded much reflection as to the best modes of providing the required revenue without injury to business, and with the least possible burdens upon labour. The suspension of specie payments by the banks had made large issues of United States notes unavoidable. A return to specie payments, however, at the earliest period compatible with due regard to all interests, should, in the opinion of the President, be always kept in view. Mr. Lincoln then made some suggestions for effecting the prompt and certain convertibility into coin of all notes issued by the Government of the United States; and, having sketched in detail the existing financial condition of the Republic, passed on to other matters. The most important of these was the proclamation of the 22nd of September. "In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper," said the President, "I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called 'compensated emancipation.' A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more." After glancing at the chief territorial characteristics of the United States, and referring more particularly to the great interior region bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British Dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, Mr. Lincoln argued that if his countrymen were divided into two nations, as designed by the rebellion, every man of that interior region would thereby be cut off from some one or more of the great national outlets which lead to Europe, to South America, to Africa, and to Asia. They might not, indeed, be divided by any physical barrier; but they would be hindered by perplexing and onerous trade regulations. "This," he added, "is true wherever the dividing or boundary-line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains, that none south of it can trade to any place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a Government foreign to them. . . . . Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. . . . . Our strife pertains to ourselves, to the passing generations of men; and it cannot, without convulsion, be hushed for ever with the passing of one generation." Under these circumstances, Mr. Lincoln recommended to Congress the adoption of a resolution, and of certain articles amendatory of the Constitution of the United States, the object of which was to grant money compensation to every slave-holding State which should abolish the practice of slavery at any time or times before the 1st of January, 1900; and also to appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonising free coloured persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States. On two occasions, the President had had interviews with representatives of the loyal slave-holding States, in order to discuss with them this question of compensated emancipation; and although the majority did not support his proposal, he now returned to it with none the less conviction of its efficacy. Referring to the decennial increase in the population of the country from 1790 to 1860, Mr. Lincoln observed that, assuming the increase to go on in the same proportion during the ensuing seventy years, the United States would, in the year 1930, have a population of 251,680,914. They would reach that point, he said, if they did not themselves relinquish the chance by the folly and evils of disunion, or by long and exhausting wars springing

from the only great element of national discord among them. The proposed emancipation, he felt convinced, would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, and ensure the anticipated increase of population, together with a proportionate augmentation of the national wealth. The adoption of the plan would lessen the expenditure of money and of blood; and the question was not, "Could any one imagine better?" but "Could they all do better?" The President concluded by a few earnest sentences, which carried with them the fire of a natural and exalted eloquence. "The dogmas of the quiet past," he said, "are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulties, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honour or dishonour to the latest generation. . . . . In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free; honourable alike in what we give, and in what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of the earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will for ever applaud, and God must for ever bless."

Whatever the previous hesitations of the President on the subject of slavery, it cannot in fairness be denied that here was a broad and liberal policy, characterised by a high sense of what was due to humanity, yet restrained within practical bounds by the wisdom of a statesman. The proclamation of September 22nd, and the proposals contained in the Message of December 1st, must be considered with relation to one another, as forming two parts of a scheme which taken together ensured the cessation of slavery over the whole of the United States within a period of no very great duration. In the rebel States the negroes were to be emancipated by an act of force, though not without compensation to those (if any) who had remained loyal to the Federal Government. In the slave-holding communities which had at no time forsaken the Union, the blacks were to be freed by the consent of the State Legislatures, and the Government of the United States was to take upon itself the large pecuniary expenditure which that reform involved. Thus, by the close of the century, supposing everything to occur as the President hoped and desired, not a slave would remain within the dominions of the Republic, and yet no injury would have been inflicted on any, excepting those who, on account of their desire to ruin that Republic, for the sake of permanently enslaving the miserable African race whom they had long oppressed, deserved almost any punishment that it is within the power of a Government to inflict. Mr. Lincoln had been hampered by the unexampled difficulties of the problem with which he had to deal. He had perhaps equivocated too long between the demands of morality and the exigencies of political power; but he had at last risen above all meaner considerations, and had taken his stand on the broadest platform of right consistent with a reasonable regard for the social system into which he had been born. A ruler cannot be expected to be a revolutionist. It is enough if he acknowledges great evils, and prepares the way for their peaceful and gradual extinction. For the first time in history, a President of the United States had confessed the fact that slavery was a perpetual source of danger and division, and must be made to cease. From that time forth, it was certain that the system was doomed. It had long been staggering to and fro in the bewilderment of impending change; only this final blow was needed to complete the ruin that had been commenced. There are certain false things which preserve a semblance of truth until some one in authority pronounces that they are lies. Multitudes in every part of the United States—even in those Southern States which were now in rebellion for the sake of slavery—had felt for years that negro bondage had in it no principle of perpetuity or of right. But it required some high acknowledgment of the fact to bring the long mistake, not indeed to an end, but to the prospect of an end. The worth of the President's double proposition was that it forced this terrible question to a sharp and definite issue. Thenceforward there could be no more compromises. Men must support the President, or must oppose him; they must say distinctly whether slavery was to continue, and to be for ever a cause of disruption and civil strife, or whether it was to cease, and by ceasing to lead the way to another Union more valid than the old.

An enthusiastic meeting—a meeting which, for the numbers attending it, the high character of some of the speakers, and the extraordinary degree of feeling it evoked, has rarely been equalled—was held in London on the 29th of January, 1863, to express the satisfaction of the more advanced Liberal party in England at the policy now adopted by President Lincoln. Those who had always supported the South, supported it still; but the believers in

the North had acquired a more intelligible ground from which to appeal to the masses of their fellow-countrymen. There had, no doubt, been errors and faults enough in the action of the Federal Government; but a better time was dawning. The English party which owned Mr. Bright as its most eloquent spokesman was in a far better position than it had occupied in those dark and perilous days when the affair of the *Trent* so nearly precipitated the two countries into war. Captious objectors, who did not wish to see slavery put an end to at all, still carped at the American Government because it did not put an end to slavery at once. Even so true a friend of liberty as Earl Russell could, with extraordinary ignorance of the powers of an American President, write to Lord Lyons, at Washington, complaining that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, while it professed to emancipate all slaves in places where the United States authorities could not exercise any jurisdiction, nor make emancipation a reality, did not release the negroes in any States or parts of States occupied by Federal troops and subject to United States jurisdiction, and where, therefore, emancipation, if decreed, might have been carried into effect *—that is to say, in those parts of the Union which were not in a state of rebellion, and where, consequently, a war-measure could not be constitutionally applied. But the people of England, in the largest sense of that phrase, began to see the matter in its true light. They insisted with more firmness than ever that there should be no recognition of the South; and yet, had they consulted only their immediate and material interests, they might well have demanded that the league of slave-holders should be placed on the footing of an acknowledged and independent Power. At that period, many thousands of English men and women were suffering in no common degree for want of that raw material which the Northern fleets blockaded, and the Southern torch consumed. The history of the Cotton Famine in Lancashire and other northern counties presents a record of endurance for the sake of principle which the annals of the world may be challenged to surpass. The cotton which enters so largely into the manufactures of Great Britain has for many years been imported almost exclusively from the Southern States of America. Some little is derived from India, from Egypt, and other countries; but the proportion is slight indeed compared with that which reaches the Old World from the shores of the New. In May, 1862, Mr. Thomas Bazley stated that, through the failure of the cotton usually received from America, the loss to the labouring and employing classes of Great Britain was nearly £40,000,000 a year. An author who has made this subject his especial study† tells us that there were in Great Britain, in 1860, 2,650 cotton-factories, worked by a population of about 440,000 persons, whose wages amounted to £11,500,000. The actual consumption of cotton for the year, including waste, was 1,083,600,000 lbs., and the total quantity imported was 1,390,938,752 lbs. About 350,000 power-looms were engaged in the manufacture of this raw material, and the consumption of the United Kingdom, in the article of cotton manufactures, amounted to about £24,000,000 in annual value, and 180,000,000 lbs. in weight. The capital invested reached the extraordinary sum of £65,000,000 sterling, and the total declared value of the cotton exports of England for the year in question was £52,012,380. This was just before the breaking out of the American civil war, and the figures, in their startling vastness, will give some idea of the immense proportions of that interest which the civil war for a time destroyed.

The pinch was not felt at first; on the contrary, the English markets were absolutely glutted with cotton in the earlier half of 1861. The planters of the Southern States had brought forward the crop of 1860 with unusual haste, in order that the Confederacy might have the benefit of all the money that could be derived from England. The imports from America for the first five months of 1861 were 1,650,000 bales—an amount never before reached, and which came in addition to a stock of 594,505 bales remaining in England at the end of 1860. An unusual amount of cotton, moreover, had lately arrived from the East Indies, where the planters seem to have anticipated the probability of America being no longer in a position to furnish her wonted supply. The country, therefore, was enabled to get on for some time with the stock in hand; but the pressure came at last. In September, 1862, according to a statement made by the late Earl of Derby on the 2nd of December, 163,498 operatives in the Lancashire district were receiving parish relief. Parish relief alone, however, was not sufficient to meet the requirements of the time. A Cotton District Relief Fund was therefore opened in London, and liberal subscriptions flowed in from all parts of the country. Even this was not enough, so great was the distress in one of the most thickly populated regions of the land. The subject was frequently brought before the attention of Parliament, and Mr. C. P. Villiers, President of the Poor Law Board in the Government of Lord Palmerston, moved, on the 22nd of July, for leave to bring in a

* Despatch of Jan. 17th, 1863.

† Mr. Arthur Arnold: History of the Cotton Famine. London, 1864.

Bill to enable the Boards of Guardians in certain counties of England to meet by special provisions any extraordinary demands for relief. The Act was passed in August, and, being only temporary in its operations, was twice renewed in 1863, when the need, though less, was still considerable. Another measure, called the Public Works Act, was passed in 1863, the object of which was to enable local boards to borrow money to be expended in works of utility, which works were to be executed by the unemployed operatives. Such a resource was of course better than nothing. It saved many of the artisans from sinking to the actual level of pauperism; but it had the disadvantage of compelling them to adopt forms of labour for which their whole previous lives had totally unfitted them. The cotton-worker toils with his hands, it is true; but the nature of his work demands delicacy of touch, and a certain refined nervous sensibility, which comes of training and practice. A long course of navigator's work with the shovel and the pickaxe was likely to destroy the artisan's capability of resuming his proper vocation, whenever the opportunity should arise. This was felt at the time, and it was also seen that the physical strength of the operative was unequal to the rougher labours which he had now to encounter. Yet the men cheerfully performed those labours, and it was acknowledged to be better than the degradation of living upon charity.

GENERAL LONGSTREET.

The maximum of distress in Lancashire, Cheshire, and the adjoining counties, was attained a little before Christmas, 1862. In the month of December, the number of persons receiving regular relief is said to have been little short of 500,000. The weekly loss of wages at the same time was estimated at about £168,000. A partial improvement took place in the last two or three weeks of the year, and in June, 1863, the numbers relieved were 256,230, or not much more than half the numbers of the previous December.* Some amount of cotton from the Southern States of America reached England from time to time in ships that had managed to run the blockade. Other supplies came from different parts of the world, where the culture of cotton had been stimulated by the civil war in America. Manufacturing on a small scale was therefore by this time resumed; nevertheless, Lancashire was a mere shadow of what it had been. Several of the operatives had been absorbed into other employments; large numbers, too, had emigrated, and were probably lost to their country for ever. The aspect of the great manufacturing towns, where cotton goods had long been the staple production, was melancholy in the extreme. Vast ranges of closed mills gave an appearance of desolation to localities which had once been loud with active labour; sharp poverty was visible in the faces of many of the lower orders, and a general gloom overspread every class of life. The manufacturers suffered as capitalists, and suffered very severely; but of course the worst effects of the Cotton Famine were visible in the homes of poverty. Yet for the most part the miseries of the Northern operatives were borne with dignity, composure, and resignation. It might have been anticipated that there would be many and frightful riots; but in fact there was only one. That one occurred at Staleybridge, adjoining Ashton-under-Lyne, in the month of March, 1863. It arose out of an alteration which the Local Relief Committee had determined to adopt in the administration of its funds, and it resulted in the sacking of several shops, in the breaking open of the Relief Committee's clothing stores, and in a collision with the police and military. The disturbances lasted two or three days, and spread to some of the small

HARPER'S FERRY.

* Annual Register for 1863.

neighbouring towns; but, as compared with the riots of an earlier time, they were trifling. Many of the persons taken into custody were not factory operatives at all, but unskilled labourers, mostly coming from Ireland. At any rate, this disagreeable episode should detract very little from the credit due to the Northern artisans for their really magnificent attitude throughout the crisis. They were Liberals in politics, in by far the greater number of instances; as Liberals, not of the official order, they regarded the United States with admiration, and believed that the triumph of the Confederacy would involve the degradation and oppression of the working classes, wherever its power should spread or its example operate; and so thinking they refused to be false to their principles by requiring the recognition of the slave-holding Republic, though its recognition would probably have restored them to their lost prosperity. They suffered in quiet, and were content to suffer; they influenced the conduct of Government, and did not grudge the price. The hearts of England and America have been drawn closer since that date.

The degree of poverty fluctuated during the remainder of the Cotton Famine. In October, 1864, much distress still existed; 90,000 more paupers than ordinary were then to be found in the cotton districts, and great fears were entertained for the approaching winter; but when the winter came, the civil war was nearly at an end, and in June, 1865, the famine was officially declared to have reached its termination. The executive of the Central Relief Fund held their last meeting on December 4th, 1865, and the account of the Fund was made up in 1873. A pleasing fact, as touching the relations between America and England, should not be omitted from the record. On the 9th of February, 1863, the *George Griswold* arrived at Liverpool with contributions of provisions and other articles, collected in North America for the relief of the sufferers in Lancashire; and other vessels came on similar errands. Such are the interchanges of kindness which bind nation to nation; which neutralise the errors of statesmen, and build up the alliances of free peoples on the natural instincts of their common humanity.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Position of General Pope on the Rapidan—New Line taken up on the Rappahannock—Bold Policy of the Confederates—March of General Jackson through Thoroughfare Gap—The Federals surprised in their Rear—Perplexity of the Union Commanders—The Confederates pursued—Scattered Actions with Jackson's Corps—General Jackson forms his Line of Battle from Centreville to the Warrenton Road—The Second Battle of Bull Run—Severe Fighting on the 29th and 30th of August—Defeat of the Federals, and Retirement within the Lines round Centreville—Demonstration of the Confederates against the Right Flank of the Federals—Further Retreat within the Lines of Washington—The National Capital in Danger—McClellan appointed to succeed Pope—Charges against General McDowell—Lee resolved on invading Maryland—Advance of Jackson on Frederick City—The Marylanders not disposed to welcome the Invaders—Confederate Statement of the Objects of the Invasion—Harper's Ferry, Virginia, invested by the Confederates—McClellan starts in Pursuit of General Lee—Forces sent to the Relief of Harper's Ferry—Fall of that Position on the 15th of September—Action on South Mountain—Incomplete Results of the Battle—Retreat of Lee beyond Antietam Creek—Battle of September 17th—Position of the Two Armies at the Close of the Day—Defective Generalship of McClellan—Shattered and Disorganised Condition of Federals and Confederates—General Lee retreats into Virginia—Failure of the Attempt on Maryland—The Confederate Conscription—Discontent in the South—Inconsistency in the Advocates of State Rights.

General Pope, after his defeat at Cedar Mountain on the 9th of August, 1862—a defeat rendered none the less mortifying by the enemy considering it prudent to retire across the Rapidan two days later—had to consider how best to carry on the campaign, in view of the manifest fact that the Confederates were again assuming the offensive, and threatening the safety of Washington itself. He finally determined on occupying the line of the Rapidan, from Robertson's River on the right, across Cedar Mountain as the centre, to Racoon Ford on the left. It was in this direction that he considered the Southerners most likely to advance; it was there, consequently, that the most need existed for protecting the Federal capital. At the same time, he was enabled, while holding that line, to keep open his communications with Fredericksburg (lying beyond the extreme left), so as to be in a position to receive reinforcements from the army of McClellan, as it arrived by Aquia Creek from the Potomac. His plans, however, were speedily frustrated by a report that General Lee was rapidly transferring his army to Gordonsville, a little to the south of his own line. He believed that his opponent was in much greater force than was really the case; and he accordingly retreated to

the farther side of the Rappahannock, north of his abandoned positions. The movement was effected on the night of the 18th of August, and the new line extended from Sulphur Springs, on the right, to Marsh River on the left. Communication with Fredericksburg was still kept open, and on the 21st Pope was joined by Reynolds's and Kearney's divisions from the army which had recently been operating before Richmond.

The Federals were followed closely by their adversaries under General Lee. Unluckily for the former, the people of the country were entirely opposed to the Northerners, and Pope's ill-advised order, permitting his troops to support themselves by taking whatever they chose, had increased this feeling of animosity in the highest degree. The General had found it necessary to explain away the purport of that order, and to adopt measures to prevent wanton depredations; but the evil effect remained. On the other hand, the Confederate forces were extremely popular, and whatever information they required was freely offered, while it was systematically withheld from the Federals. Great activity and boldness were evinced by the Southern troops, and on the 22nd of August General Stuart marched into the rear of the Federals, seized a good deal of the head-quarters' baggage (including letters and plans of the chief commander), and got safely off. It was now determined to execute a flank march round the right wing of General Pope's army. The corps under "Stonewall" Jackson was concentrated at Jefferson, opposite the Sulphur Springs, and on the 25th of August set out for Thoroughfare Gap. The men were badly clothed, and so ill-provided with food that they were compelled to feed on grain which they plucked in the open fields, and on the offerings of the peasantry. But they had confidence in themselves and in their commander, and thus inspirited they made their way through the mountain-pass which conducted them to the rear of their opponents. Pope had by this time been joined by most of the divisions under McClellan, and the combined army was both numerically strong and well appointed. But the soldiers were not pleased with their chief, and were wanting in the military qualities of subordination and self-reliance. These facts are sufficient to explain the disasters which ensued.

Jackson was favoured with his usual success in the daring enterprise on which he had entered. Thoroughfare Gap was so entirely free of Union soldiers that his troops encountered no opposition whatever in passing through it, and on the evening of the 26th they struck the line of rail in Pope's rear at Bristow Station. The great depôt at Manassas Junction was captured and set on fire the following day, and for some time the Federal commanders seem to have been bewildered as to the exact locality of their opponents, and the precise combinations they ought to make in order to repel so threatening a movement. Taking advantage of this perplexity on the part of the Northern chiefs, the Southerners continued to advance, and to get still farther in the rear of General Pope. Some of them pushed forward to the old battle-ground of Bull Run, while others proceeded to Centreville. The corps of General Jackson was now actually between the Federal army and Washington. A large amount of stores had been destroyed; the telegraph-wires had been severed, and the rails torn up; so that the forces of General Pope were at once discomfited and cut off from succour. When, however, the Federals had recovered from their astonishment, they took measures for attacking the enemy, and, if possible, crushing him in his exposed position. Hooker's division had an encounter with Jackson's rear-guard, at Bristow Station, on the evening of the 27th. Pope marched along the Orange and Alexandria Railway, while McDowell, at the head of another large force, moved from Warrenton, with the intention of interposing between Jackson and his line of retreat by Thoroughfare Gap. Jackson was certainly in considerable danger of being annihilated. It is true that the remainder of General Lee's army was marching to his assistance; but it was still in the defiles of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and might not arrive in time. The efforts of the Federals, however, were thwarted by the want of concentrated supervision, by the scattered positions of the several corps, and by the confused and contradictory orders which were sent out from head-quarters.

Jackson appeared still confident of success. He now reversed his course, and moved south, to meet the Federals who were following on his track. On the 28th, General Kearney attacked the rear of Jackson's corps, and, occupying Centreville, re-opened the communication with Alexandria, which the Southerners had momentarily closed. Towards the end of the same day, a portion of Sigel's corps had an engagement with the Confederates, which resulted in the latter gaining possession of a ridge of hills near Sudley Springs, on the north-eastern bank of Bull Run. By the morning of the 29th, a large part of Jackson's corps had reached the other side of the stream, and the Southern General took up a position similar to that of McDowell when, in the same locality, he advanced against the rebels on the 21st of July, 1861. The left of the Con-

federate line was now stationed near Centreville, on the ridge of hills which had been seized the previous night; the right and centre were on the opposite bank of the little river, and stretched along the Manassas Gap Railway towards the main road from Warrenton. The several divisions, consequently, faced towards the south-east, and from that direction were attacked during the day by the Federals, who had united their forces on the old battle-ground of more than a year before. General Pope reached the field about noon, after the action had been going on for some time; but he doubted the propriety of ordering an advance along the whole line, as many of his troops had suffered severely from the fire of their antagonists. He was expecting the arrival of McDowell and Porter; but Jackson himself was reinforced by the appearance, towards sunset, of the leading division of Longstreet's corps, which, after overcoming the resistance offered to its progress through the defile of Thoroughfare Gap, joined the regiments that had been contending since morning on the banks of Bull Run. Previous to this welcome advent, the Confederates, though inflicting serious loss on their opponents, had been compelled to give ground slightly; and Pope, in the spirit of rash boastfulness which he frequently displayed, telegraphed a victory to Washington. In the afternoon he had been reinforced by General McDowell; but Porter's corps did not arrive during the 29th. Its commander was afterwards tried for disobedience of orders, and dismissed the service; and certainly he appears to have done nothing towards helping the operations of the day. When darkness put an end to the combat, no decisive result had been achieved. The advantage, on the whole, was with the Federals, for the Southerners had receded somewhat from the ground they first occupied; but the Northern troops had been very sharply received, and were out of spirits with respect to their commanders. The divisions had been led forward separately, as they arrived from different points, and there was evidently a complete want of concert between the chief General and his subordinates. On the other hand, the Confederates were full of confidence, and eager for renewed action on the morrow.

By the early morning of the 30th of August, the remaining divisions of Longstreet's corps, which had been arriving all through the night, had joined the corps under Jackson, and the Confederate army was now very strong. Longstreet took the right of the line, and the united forces covered a distance of five miles. Porter's corps was in position on this second day, and indeed commenced the battle by attacking some of the forces under Longstreet. A general action followed, and continued for several hours, with terrible slaughter on both sides; and, towards evening, General Lee, who was now commanding in person, ordered an advance. The Federals, who had already begun to lose form under the devastating fire of some batteries of artillery posted in commanding positions, were driven back in confusion, and, under cover of darkness, crossed Bull Run, and took refuge behind the field-works at Centreville, where they were supported by the corps under Sumner and Franklin, which had arrived from Alexandria and the lines round Washington. The losses of the two previous days had been immense, and they were not due solely to death and injury in the field. Skulking had gone on to an extraordinary extent, on the admission of the Federal Generals themselves; and in many instances these fugitives could not be recovered. Banks, who had lingered behind at Bristow Station, in order to guard the railway, now hastily marched to join his comrades, having previously destroyed large quantities of stores and railway stock. When all Pope's divisions were concentrated behind the entrenchments at Centreville, the army felt tolerably secure against further mischances, though its confidence soon proved to be misplaced. Lee hesitated about attacking the enemy in front, now that he occupied so strong a position; but a demonstration against the right flank was made on the 1st of September, and Pope, finding the Confederates on the road to Fairfax Court House, and actually threatening Washington, began to retreat with precipitation. Night closed in on the disheartened and scared ranks of the Northern army; a violent thunderstorm broke over them; and the rear was harassed by frequent attacks. On the morning of the 2nd, the whole of the Federal legions (including the divisions at Fredericksburg and Aquia Creek) entered the fortifications immediately protecting Washington. The discomfiture of Pope had been signal and disastrous, and his reverses were rendered the more conspicuous and humiliating by the ridiculous vaunts by which they had been preceded. It was painfully evident that Mr. Lincoln had committed a serious error in appointing such a man to the command of vast armies and the conduct of important operations. The campaign had been an utter failure; and not only that, but the safety of Washington itself was endangered. The streets of the city were filled with long trains of the wounded, and with all kinds of carriages loaded with blankets and stores of lint for the succour of the unfortunate men who had bled for their country, and, so far as then appeared, had bled in vain. Consternation prevailed on every side, and the

Government hardly knew what to do in so pressing an emergency.

One thing was clear—that Pope must be at once removed from the position to which he had been appointed under a total misapprehension of his abilities. The determination to take this step was formed on the 1st of September, and on the following day McClellan intimated to Pope that he had been appointed to succeed him in the command of the army assigned to the protection of Washington. For such a purpose there could hardly have been a better man than McClellan. His genius lay much more in defence than in attack. Where an enemy was to be assaulted or out-manœuvred, a certain moral timidity always restrained him, so that his golden opportunities were allowed to slip by again and again. But he was an admirable organiser, a strict disciplinarian, a watchful observer of what was going on in his front. He had saved Washington once before, and might save it again by his prudence and caution. The President therefore did well in confiding the safety of the national capital to this tried commander; but, in conferring on McClellan the control of the Washington army, he did not restore him to the position he had held from the beginning of November, 1861, to the early part of March, 1862. General Halleck still remained at the head of the entire military forces of the United States, and McClellan came under his directions. On the 4th of September, the latter issued an order, assuming the command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all troops designated for the defence of the capital. He was in a position that might naturally have made any man anxious. His soldiers were disorganised, crest-fallen, and greatly reduced in number by the recent battles. The recruiting for fresh troops did not go on very briskly, and it was feared that some important step might be taken by the enemy before the wasted regiments could be filled up. What made the position of McClellan all the more difficult, was the fact that his appointment was informally conferred on him by a mere verbal request from General Halleck, acting, of course, with the assent of the President. The official appointment was indefinitely delayed, and for some time McClellan exercised important powers to which he had not been legally called.*

General Pope was now invested with a command in Minnesota, where he would only have to wage war against predatory tribes of Indians. It was thought he might do well enough for such kind of operations, and that at any rate, if he failed, he would not endanger vital interests. But to oppose him to such men as Lee, Jackson, Longstreet, and Stuart, was a blunder not likely to be repeated. Strange to say, however, the popular indignation for what had recently happened was directed not so much against Pope as against McDowell. Pope himself seems to have been inclined to blame McClellan for not having sent forward reinforcements with sufficient rapidity, although he had probably done all that it was in his power to do. But the nation generally selected McDowell as a victim. He was accused of imbecility, treachery, and cowardice, and considered his honour so seriously impugned that he resigned his command, and required a court-martial. It was thought that he might have done more to aid McClellan during the days of his command; that he might have resisted the advance of Jackson's corps, when it got into the rear of General Pope by way of Thoroughfare Gap. But it was never proved against him that he was guilty of any unsoldierly conduct, and his misfortune was apparently the result of that confused and ill-organised state of affairs which paralysed so many of the Federal efforts, and contributed to so many of the Confederate victories.

Flushed with success, General Lee began to consider the propriety of carrying the war on to the enemy's soil, and of invading Maryland. The project was undoubtedly one of great boldness. Supposing the Southern forces to cross the Potomac, and to advance northward, they would have the fortified city of Washington at their back, together with whatever armies might at that time be concentrated there; and it was by no means certain that the population of Maryland would be in favour of the Confederate invasion, or disposed to join their fortunes with those of the rebel States. Still, a bold initiative is often the most successful policy in war, and there appeared to be a unanimous desire on the part of the Southern people for some such enterprise. This being Lee's own feeling, President Davis sanctioned an advance into Maryland, and the conversion of a defensive into an offensive campaign. The river below Washington being guarded by gunboats, it was necessary to cross farther up. The passage was effected on the 5th of September, and on the 6th Jackson's corps entered Frederick City, Maryland, situated on the western bank of the Monocacy, a tributary of the Potomac. Frederick is the second city of Maryland in wealth and commercial importance. A large number of the inhabitants fled towards Pennsylvania and Baltimore upon hearing that the Confederates were

* Captain Chesney, R.E.: Military View of Recent Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland. London, 1863.

approaching, and the military force at Frederick was too small to offer any resistance. The people and the authorities were completely taken by surprise. It had not been anticipated that the enemy would carry the war into Northern territory, and no preparations had been made to resist a danger which was never dreaded. The invaders calculated upon meeting with the most hearty reception from the Marylanders; but no such enthusiasm was evinced. On gaining possession of Frederick City, the Confederates issued a proclamation, stating that the army came as friends, and not as enemies, to relieve the people of Maryland from the tyranny by which they were oppressed; that they did not purpose to interfere with any non-combatants, to disturb private property, or to inquire into the opinions of citizens; and that whatever stores they wanted would be paid for either in Confederate paper, or United States Treasury notes, as the seller might prefer. At night, the soldiers were all ordered to their camps outside the city, and their orderly and decent behaviour relieved the civilians of any fears they may have entertained as to their intentions or demeanour. It is admitted by Northern writers that their discipline was admirable. They were in a most destitute condition as regarded many of the necessaries of life; yet no depredations were committed. Hungry and wayworn, many of them barefoot, and all of them more or less ragged, they nevertheless respected private property; and the people of Frederick had no cause to complain of ill-usage, though they were doubtless mortified at the appearance of an enemy in their midst.

The main body of the army encamped for some days on a line between the town and the Potomac. Citizens were invited to enlist in the invading hosts, but very few accepted the invitation. On the 8th of September, General Lee published an address to the people of Maryland, that they might know the purpose which had brought his army within the limits of their State. The members of the Confederation, it was here alleged, had long watched with the deepest sympathy the wrongs and outrages that had been inflicted upon the citizens of that commonwealth. The government of the chief city had been usurped by armed strangers; the Legislature had been dissolved by the unlawful arrest of its members; freedom of speech and of the press had been denied, and citizens had been tried by military commissions for what they had dared to utter. On this account, the people of the South had long wished to aid the Marylanders in throwing off what General Lee described as a foreign yoke. Therefore had the Confederate army come amongst them; but no restraint was to be placed upon their free will. Marylanders were once more to enjoy their ancient freedom of thought and speech, and whatever they might decide would be respected. All this sounded fair enough; but the Southerners, according to their own principles, had no right to invade Maryland for any purpose whatever. They had received no invitation from any authoritative body in that State, begging their assistance in throwing off an alien despotism. It was a mere groundless assumption on their part to say that an alien despotism existed there at all; and when we have stripped the facts of the case bare of all these flowery pretensions, it will be found that the sole motive for the invasion was the hope of damaging the Federal Government, and promoting the Southern cause. The people of Maryland understood this well enough, and did not request General Lee to help them in establishing a new Government, and uniting their fortunes with those of Mr. Jefferson Davis and his colleagues.

Whilst General Lee continued his march into Maryland, General Jackson was ordered to advance up the left or northern bank of the Potomac, and, re-crossing the river into Virginia, to occupy Martinsburg—a position on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway where a large quantity of stores had been collected. These were seized by the Confederates, who subsequently took possession of North Mountain depôt, nearer to Harper's Ferry. Immediately afterwards, Harper's Ferry itself was invested by General Jackson, and on both sides of the Potomac squadrons of cavalry guarded the direct road to Pennsylvania. So far, Lee had been entirely successful; but it was not to be supposed that the Federals would allow him to remain long undisturbed. Shortly after his re-appointment, McClellan was ordered to pursue the Confederate invaders with all the troops not required for the defence of Washington. He had had but little time for re-organising the shattered regiments which had so recently fled from the ill-omened field of Bull Run; but he had done somewhat towards giving them better discipline than they had known for a long time past. The sale of spirits had been restricted; new recruits had been judiciously mingled with veterans; and the self-respect of the army was in some degree restored. As far as mere numbers were concerned, McClellan had nothing to complain of. He had under his orders from 90,000 to 100,000 men, irrespective of the garrisons of Washington and Harper's Ferry; and to meet this immense array the Confederates could not rely on more than 75,000, if indeed they

had so many. Lee was therefore put to no little difficulty in avoiding the consequences of his spirited and daring movement. He abandoned the line of the Monocacy; sent a portion of his force, under Longstreet, to Boonesborough, north-west of Frederick; and directed General D. H. Hill to guard the passes through South Mountain, and to cover the siege of Harper's Ferry. Written orders were despatched by Lee to Hill, who was stationed at Frederick, and the paper containing them fell, by a curious accident, into the hands of McClellan. Hill, it appears, was annoyed at the duties assigned him, and impatiently flung the document on the ground, where, after the occupation of the town by the Federals, it was picked up by a Union soldier, and forwarded to his General, who was thus enabled to shape his own movements by a knowledge of those which his adversary designed to execute. Before obtaining this important information, McClellan had set out for Frederick, which was occupied by his right column, under General Burnside, on the 12th of September.

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It was on the following day that General Lee's order fell into the hands of the Federal Commander-in-Chief. From this it appeared that Lee's immediate aim was to obtain possession of Harper's Ferry, where a Federal garrison of 11,000 men was posted, under the command of Colonel Miles.

The position was strongly entrenched on heights overlooking the ferry, and commanding the main road from the Shenandoah Valley to Frederick and Baltimore. It seemed unlikely, therefore, that the place would be reduced at once; yet it was desirable to lose no time in relieving a post of so much importance. McClellan directed General Franklin to force a passage through South Mountain at Crampton's Gap, situated a few miles to the north of the Potomac, and east of the Maryland Heights, which are exactly opposite Harper's Ferry. Burnside was to co-operate with him by an attack on Turner's Gap, farther north, the object of which was to engage the divisions of Lee's army then at Boonesborough, so as to prevent their giving any assistance to the forces besieging Harper's Ferry. The shorter route to the Ferry along the Potomac was considered impassable, owing to its being commanded by the Confederate guns on the Virginian shore. Three distinct portions of Lee's army were now gathered round the position held by Colonel Miles. Jackson had arrived from the west, McLaws from the north, and Walker from the east. By the evening of the 13th of September, the Federals had been driven from the Maryland Heights, on the northern side of the Potomac, and had been forced into the angle formed by the junction of that river with the Shenandoah. A stand was made by Colonel Miles on Bolivar Heights, overlooking the ferry from the side of Virginia; and here, on the afternoon of the 14th, he was vehemently attacked by the three divisions of Jackson's corps, whilst McLaws and Walker blocked the avenues of escape. Powerful batteries were erected on the banks of the Potomac and the Shenandoah during the night of the 14th, and a cross fire of terrible intensity was poured into the Federal entrenchments early on the following morning. Colonel Miles's batteries were not equal to those of his opponents, and in a little while he considered himself unable any longer to hold the position. The white flag was run up, and the next moment a shell, bursting near the colonel, inflicted a mortal wound. A small body of cavalry escaped into Pennsylvania; the rest were made prisoners of war; and seventy-three pieces of artillery, 13,000 small arms, and other stores, fell into the hands of the victors. A court of inquiry into the surrender of the post, which was held some time after, declared that the defence had been characterised by imbecility, and that the behaviour of the whole of one of the regiments was disgraceful. Two of the commanding officers of battalions were accordingly dismissed the service.

What, it may be asked, was McClellan doing all this time? His troops, as we have seen, were moving to the relief of Harper's Ferry; but they had obstacles to overcome. The passage of South Mountain was stoutly disputed by the Confederates, both at Turner's Gap and Crampton's Gap. The eastern slopes of the mountain—which is rather a long elevated ridge than what is commonly understood by the term mountain, when used in the singular—were occupied on the morning of the 14th of September by a strong body under General D. H. Hill. Extreme dilatoriness appears to have been shown by McClellan's subordinates in bringing up their respective divisions, and the afternoon had arrived before the main body of the Federals could come into action. Ultimately, however, the Confederates were driven back, and pressed towards a higher ridge, lying behind that on which the fighting had been previously conducted. There they were reinforced by Longstreet, and the contest was resumed with much energy. At nightfall, no direct advantage had been gained on either side, but the Confederates had at any rate succeeded in delaying the progress of their enemy. As the Federals were about to renew the attack on the morning of the 15th, they perceived, by the cessation of firing in the direction of Harper's Ferry, that the position had been surrendered. No fighting of importance took place that day; but McClellan telegraphed a boastful message to Washington, in which he stated, on the faith of a report from General Hooker (who had succeeded to the command of McDowell's corps), that the enemy was "making for the river in a perfect panic," and that General Lee had publicly admitted on the previous night that they had been "shockingly whipped." It is most unlikely that Lee made any such admission, because it would have been greatly in excess of the truth. The Confederates had certainly been compelled to withdraw from South Mountain; but they did so only when they had attained their sole object in making a stand at that spot—namely, the retarding of the Federal advance until it was no longer possible to prevent the surrender of the entrenched position at Harper's Ferry.

Nevertheless, Lee was in a very awkward dilemma, although he had sustained no decided reverse. Different portions of his force were separated from each other, not only by the Potomac, but by McClellan's army, which was moving forward in a north-westerly direction by roads leading from the two "gaps" or passes through which the troops had forced their way. There was no time to be lost. On withdrawing from the western slopes of South Mountain, Lee took up a position on a range of hills, extending in

a semi-circle from the lower part of Antietam Creek to an angle of the Potomac, a little nearer to the north-west. The movement was carried out on the 15th of September, and during its execution there was occasional skirmishing with the Federals, but nothing like a general action. General Lee was now established on the western side of Antietam Creek, the lower part of which, near its junction with the Potomac, protected the right of his line. He had his back to a bend of the Potomac, with his face turned to the north-east; and the centre of his line, or nearly so, was marked by the small town of Sharpsburg. The Antietam is crossed by four bridges, and at that part of its course is too deep to be forded by troops. General Jackson was summoned by Lee from Harper's Ferry, and at once marched with the whole of his corps, excepting A. P. Hill's division, which was left to receive the parole of the prisoners, and to collect the captured stores. Lee's object was to concentrate nearly all his forces on the hills about Antietam Creek, as he knew he would soon be attacked by a greatly superior force. But Jackson's troops were so much exhausted by their previous exertions that many of them straggled and fell out, and only a portion of their number had joined Lee on the 16th. Fortunately for the Southerners, the Union troops also were slow in their proceedings. Their march was extremely sluggish, and McClellan waited for the arrival of all his divisions on the eastern side of Antietam Creek before he ventured on offering battle to the enemy. As they came up one by one, he massed them on both sides of the road leading to Sharpsburg. Three of the bridges across the creek were in front of him; but they were covered by the Confederate batteries. McClellan would attempt nothing before he had planted his own batteries, and fighting did not commence until the morning of the 17th.

In the early hours of that day, the Federal batteries on the left bank of the creek opened fire on the opposing lines drawn up beyond the bridges. Thus aided, three divisions crossed the stream, and, facing to the west, began a vigorous attack on the left of the Confederate line, that being the weakest point. Excepting as regarded position, McClellan was much better off than his opponent. He had on that occasion not far short of 95,000 men at his disposal. Lee, owing to the non-arrival of a large part of his army, could not reckon on more than 35,000 at the beginning of the engagement. That small force, however, was animated by the courage of desperation. The three Federal divisions under Hooker—a man boastful, intemperate, but courageous—established themselves upon the other side of the creek, and erected field-batteries in a belt of wood which at that part covered the land. A sanguinary conflict ensued; but the Confederates held their ground for some hours, though more than half the brigades forming the first line were either killed or wounded, together with nearly every regimental commander. At length they were borne down by sheer weight of numbers, and the Federals, pressing forward, cleared the woods of their opponents, and took possession of Dunker Church, situated to the north of Sharpsburg. Beyond this point, the Confederates made a fresh stand, and, presently changing their defence into attack, produced so much effect on the Federal line as to cause it in some places to break and recede. Reinforcements of Lee's army shortly afterwards arrived; the attack was pressed with renewed confidence and energy, and nearly all the ground that had previously been lost was in time regained. Hooker's corps was so completely routed, that, upon General Sumner sending one of his staff officers to discover where it had gone, General Ricketts, the only officer he could find, confessed that he could not bring together three hundred men out of the whole body.* Portions of Sumner's corps were also considerably shaken; but the artillery in the first line of woods now came once more into play, and the Confederate pursuit was checked. Fresh divisions of the Federal army were hurried up, to retrieve the fortunes of the day; but they did little to alter the general posture of affairs. During the action on the left of the Confederate line, McClellan visited the field in person, and appears to have felt no little uneasiness as to the result of the several operations. The attack made by his right had to a great extent failed, and he was uncertain whether the enemy would not attack his centre, and break his whole line of battle into fragments.

On the Federal left, General Burnside's corps had been ordered at an early hour of the day to carry the lower bridge over the Antietam. To accomplish this purpose was no easy task. The approaches were swept by the enemy's batteries, and it was only after a severe struggle that the opposite bank of the creek was gained. The heights were not in Burnside's possession until the afternoon; but by that time the Confederates had been driven back. After a while they rallied, and, bringing up fresh troops, recommenced the combat. Burnside's advance had carried him almost to the village of Sharpsburg, near the centre of the Con-

* Evidence of General Sumner before the Committee on the Conduct of the War.

federate line; but the Southerners, on the arrival of their reinforcements, had opened new batteries on the hills, and were shortly afterwards enabled to drive back Burnside from the positions he had carried, so that it was as much as he could do to hold the bridge. McClellan, who had been annoyed throughout the day by the slowness of Burnside's movements, now feared he would be as unfortunate on his left as he had already been on his right. He therefore despatched urgent orders to Burnside to retain the bridge at all risks, but did nothing to help him by sending up fresh troops. Reserves under General Porter were posted between the two wings; but McClellan feared to employ them, lest the Confederates should break through his centre in their absence. Nevertheless, Burnside was able so far to check the Confederate advance as to maintain his ground on the right bank of the Antietam, and, when night came on, both wings of the attacking force were still on that side of the stream, though in positions not so far advanced as those which they had occupied in the earlier hours of the day. The Federal troops bivouacked on the ground that night, and General McClellan telegraphed to Washington that he had gained a victory. It was a victory, however, of a doubtful character, for the Confederates were still in force immediately in front, and the temporary successes of the morning had not been fully maintained. The action, indeed, seems to have been very badly conducted. It has been remarked by a military critic that the power of the Federal army was frittered away in successive attacks; that McClellan refrained from employing his reserve at the decisive moment; that from 15,000 to 20,000 of his best troops under Porter were not engaged at all; and that the division under General Couch did not reach the field until the following morning.* The Federal Commander-in-Chief had been in a specially good position for overwhelming his antagonists. At the commencement of the action, his numbers were considerably more than two to one; and even after the arrival of the Confederate reinforcements, General Lee had not nearly so many men as his opponent. Moreover, McClellan had by a rare stroke of luck acquired a knowledge beforehand of Lee's designs, and of the disposition of his several corps; and the component parts of the Confederate army had for a time been separated by the advancing forces of the North. Yet, owing to that extraordinary hesitation and want of enterprise which neutralised all McClellan's better qualities, every opportunity had been thrown away, and the general result was little short of failure. There had been no attack along the whole line, and the right and left wings had been checked in detail by operations which the Confederates had had time to transfer from one part of the field to another, as occasion required.

The losses of the day had been most severe. On the Federal side, the killed and wounded amounted to about 12,500, and among them were many general and superior officers. The Confederates also had suffered in no slight degree, and had to mourn the loss of 9,000 men, together with some of their divisional commanders; and for all this expenditure of life it cannot be said that either side could show any result of equal value. The following day was passed in inactivity, for both armies were too much exhausted to renew the battle. McClellan afterwards admitted that, with the exception of Porter's corps, no part of his army was in a state to be led forward on the 18th. The Southerners likewise were sadly weakened by the fighting which they had had to conduct against such vastly superior forces, and it appears that their total strength was now reduced to less than 60,000 men. Disorganisation existed on both sides. The Confederates, though fighting heroically, and under commanders who had distinguished themselves by military genius, were nevertheless wanting in discipline, and could not be relied on for continued steadiness, however great their enthusiasm in moments of excitement. Their commissariat was so bad that men and horses were often without food, and the supply of ammunition was so deficient as to be sometimes entirely wanting in the very crisis of a battle. When evening closed in, on the 17th of September, Lee's wings were completely exhausted, and his centre had never been strong enough to do more than just hold the advantageous ground on which it was posted. As regarded the Federals, one of their corps—that of General Hooker—had been totally shattered. McClellan himself, in evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry previously alluded to, said that on the morning of the 18th he found his losses so great, and the disorganisation in some of his commands so extreme, that he considered it improper to renew the attack at once, especially as he was sure of the arrival, during the day, of two fresh divisions, amounting to about 15,000 men. It appeared also that some thousands of his troops absented themselves after the battle of the 17th. Those who remained were overcome by fatigue. The supply-trains, both of food and ammunition, were still lingering on the roads; and McClellan, perhaps, can scarcely be blamed, under the circumstances, for not endeavouring to pursue the slight advantages he had gained on the previous

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War.

day; though, had he been better informed as to the position and resources of his adversary, it would have been the height of imbecility to refrain from challenging him to another trial of strength.

It was evident to General Lee that he could not remain much longer where he was. He was cut off by the Potomac from the other Confederate armies, and he was standing on territory where the people had shown no inclination to support the cause he represented. To retire into Virginia was therefore an imperative necessity; yet he did not see any occasion for hurrying his movement. Though making his preparations on the 18th, he did not begin to quit his positions until the morning of the following day, when he crossed the Potomac under cover of batteries posted on the opposite bank. The passage of the river was effected at Shepherdstown, on the Virginian shore, and a new position was taken up not far off. General Lee established his head-quarters between Martinsburg and Shepherdstown; and a strong Federal reconnaissance, pushed forward on the 20th, was driven back across the Potomac, with considerable loss. Maryland was now free from Confederate soldiers, excepting that occasionally General Stuart, at the head of his cavalry, would make a dash across the river, destroy or capture stores, and ride back into Virginia, with scarcely any interruption from the Federal troops. The invasion of Northern territory, although daringly conceived, and in many respects very ably conducted, had recoiled upon the heads of those who ordered it. It had entailed considerable losses on the army of General Lee, and had brought home to the Confederates the unwelcome knowledge that Maryland was loyal to the Union, and that the rebellion had no chance of spreading north of the Potomac. Lee had been foiled, not so much by McClellan as by the adverse circumstances with which he had to deal. The Southern armies, it is true, had achieved renown by the valour they had shown, and by the military capacity of their leaders; but the Southern cause was roughly shaken by the failure of the campaign in Maryland. The alarm at Washington, which for a time was grievous, now began to subside. The Government pressed McClellan to pursue the invaders into Virginia; but that cautious commander feared to cross the Potomac, and, contenting himself with defensive measures, guarded the river against the probability of any renewed attempt of the Confederates to penetrate into the North.

The exhaustion of war was now being felt strongly by both sections of the country, but especially by the South. The Confederation had resorted to a Conscription Act as early as the 16th of April, and this Act made all men under the age of thirty-five years, and over eighteen years, soldiers for the war, or until they attained the age of thirty-five. It removed every male citizen within the prescribed ages from the control of the State to which he belonged, and placed him at the disposal of the Southern President during the continuance of hostilities. When the companies were filled up, the privates, as before, were to have the privilege of electing their officers; but the commissions were to be issued by the President. All previous contracts made with volunteers were annulled, and those under eighteen years of age, or over thirty-five, were required to remain in the service ninety days after the passage of the Act, without regard to their term of enlistment. This provision was construed by the persons concerned as entitling them to a discharge on the 16th of July; but previously to that date an order was issued by the War Department, placing them on the same footing as conscripts, and requiring them to continue in the service. Even men of fifty were not permitted to withdraw, and the Government retained every soldier it had in the field, besides adding as many as it could obtain by calling upon all classes of the population, including physicians. The utmost dissatisfaction was expressed in various quarters at the character of the law. This feeling found particular expression in Georgia, and Mr. Davis considered it necessary to address the Government of that State in vindication of his policy. He alleged that the law was absolutely indispensable; that numerous regiments of twelve months' men were on the eve of being disbanded; that their places could not be supplied by new levies, in face of the superior numbers of the foe, without entailing the most disastrous results; that the position of the Confederate armies was so critical as to fill the bosom of every patriot with the liveliest apprehension; and that the provisions of the law were effective in warding off pressing danger.* It must, no doubt, be conceded that the law was necessary, and that it produced the desired results; but it brings two facts into very noticeable prominence. It shows, in the first place, that in the spring of 1862 the enthusiasm of the Southern people had fallen to a very low ebb. In the second place, it proves that the cry about State Rights, out of which the civil war had arisen, had been insincerely raised by the great leaders of Southern opinion. The Conscription Act created a military despotism, which under the circumstances may have been the only resource left open to the chiefs of the rebellion,

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion.

but which none the less convicted them of inconsistency of the grossest order. Power of the most serious kind was concentrated in the Confederacy, as distinguished from the individual State Governments. The separate existence of those Governments was almost annulled, and the Confederacy assumed to itself greater prerogatives than were exercised by the Union against which it had rebelled on the alleged ground of tyranny. Mr. Davis, in his letter to Governor Brown, of Georgia, was constrained to

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argue at some length that the Act was really constitutional, in spite of its invasion of State Rights. "There seems to me," he said, "to be a conclusive test on the whole subject. By our Constitution, Congress may declare war, offensive as well as defensive. It may acquire territory. Now, suppose that, for good cause, and to right unprovoked injuries, Congress should declare war against Mexico, and invade Sonora. The militia could not be called forth in such case, the right to call it being limited to 'repel invasion.' Is it not plain that the law now under discussion, if passed under such circumstances, could by no possibility be aught else than a law to 'raise an army'? . . . . . At some future day, after our independence shall have been established, it is no improbable supposition that our enemy may be tempted to abuse his moral power by depredations on our commerce, and that we may be compelled to assert our rights by offensive war. How is this to be carried on? Of what is the army to be composed? If this Government cannot call on its arms-bearing population, more than as militia, and if the militia can only be called forth to repel invasion, we should be utterly helpless to vindicate our honour, or protect our rights. War has been well styled 'the terrible litigation of nations.' Have we so formed our Government that in litigation we may never be plaintiff?" The argument in itself was conclusive; but it brought confusion on the advocates for extreme State Rights, of whom Mr. Jefferson Davis had always been one of the most conspicuous. The favourite doctrine of those politicians was that the States were to be supreme; that their will and pleasure was to be the final law; that even their very whims were to be respected. They were for reducing the Federal power to the lowest degree, and were constantly crying out that any

McCLELLAN AT THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

tendency in the opposite direction was a repetition by Americans of those vices of Imperial Government which had induced the colonists to cast off the rule of England. Their theory, if carried out to the full extent, would have rendered Federal Government impossible, and would have set every State upon a perfectly distinct footing. In the War of Independence itself, there were not wanting signs of a disposition to push matters to this extremity; and nothing crippled the operations of the colonial armies so much as the tendency of several of the States, especially in the South, to dispute the authority of Congress. It was often a difficult matter for the administrators of those days to keep together anything like an army, or to provide money to meet the daily necessities of Government. The first Constitution of the United States was tainted by the same fatal error. That error had been repeated in many shapes by the Democratic party from the date of its formation to the epoch of Secession; but a year of practical work in the difficult art of government had already convinced Mr. Jefferson Davis and his colleagues that in some important respects the will of the Federation must be supreme, and that in such cases it is the duty of the members to obey, at whatever injury to the principle of State Rights. Why could they not have discovered this truth in time to save the agony and ruin of civil commotion? There can be but one answer to the question. They had their selfish ends to pursue, and scrupled not to pursue them by asserting a principle at one time, and denying it at another. They had slavery to maintain; and the one consistency of devotion to that interest explains all the minor contradictions which the cause involved.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Building of Confederate Privateers in England—Career of the *Oreto*—Negligence of the British Government in respect of such Vessels—Building of the *Alabama* at Birkenhead—Immense Destruction of Federal Property at Sea—Correspondence on the Subject between Mr. Adams and Earl Russell—Confederate Campaign in the West—Incursions of Irregular Troops into Kentucky and Tennessee—Operations of General Morgan—"Tapping the Telegraph"—Results of Morgan's Raid—Expedition of General Forrest—Murder of General McCook—Sanguinary Retaliations—Development of a Ferocious Spirit on both Sides—Ineffectual Attempt of the Confederates to take Bâton Rouge—Blowing up of the *Arkansas*—Campaign in Eastern Kentucky—Federal Defeat at Richmond—Further Successes of the Confederates—Advance of General Bragg—His Pursuit by Buell—The Federals regain their Ground—Battle near Harrodsburg—Bragg retreats into Tennessee—Fighting in Mississippi—Desperate Endeavour to take Corinth—The Western Campaign unattended by any important Results.

Impressed with the desirability of strengthening themselves at sea, in order to inflict the greatest amount of damage on the commerce of the Union, the Confederates took measures for procuring vessels in England. In the early part of 1862, it became known to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, that several ships were in process of construction at the Liverpool ship-yards, and the attention of the British Government was called to the fact. In the month of April, Mr. Adams addressed Earl Russell relative to a steam-corvette called the *Oreto* (afterwards the *Florida*), then in a forward state; and the Government undertook to look into the matter. On being completed, the *Oreto* sailed for Nassau, in the Bahamas, where she was immediately seized by the British steamer *Greyhound*, but shortly afterwards released. The same process, followed by the same result, again took place, and the authorities were either really doubtful as to the character and destination of the vessel, or disinclined to stop her progress. At any rate, she got away, and on the 4th of September appeared off Mobile harbour, which was at that time blockaded by a steamer under Commander Preble. The stranger approached flying the English flag, and Preble, who had received emphatic instructions against giving offence to foreign nations, hesitated to fire, lest the vessel should actually be what it professed. Other Federal vessels fired into her, but without producing any serious damage. The *Oreto* accordingly got into Mobile Bay with her freight, and Commander Preble was afterwards dismissed the service without a hearing. The Confederate vessel now received her armament, and, issuing forth on the 27th of December, commenced a course of depredations on American commerce. Her commander was a person named John Newland Maffitt, an Irishman settled in the United States since his youth, and connected with the navy for thirty years.

Another of the Confederate privateers — the *Sumter*—had recently been sold. She had been chased to Gibraltar, in the course of 1861, by the Federal ship *Tuscarora*, and, being so closely watched as to be unable to escape, became valueless for the purposes which she had been designed to serve. Captain Semmes, the commander, then went to England, and took steps for building a new vessel. This was the famous *Alabama*. As in the case of the *Oreto*, complaint was made to the British Government that the neutrality laws were being infringed, and, after a long judicial inquiry, orders were sent to prevent the departure of the vessel; but they were not despatched until the 29th of July—the day after the *Alabama* had sailed. It is impossible to doubt that culpable negligence was shown by the Government of Lord Palmerston, and by its subordinate agents, with respect to these ships. There was no hearty desire that they should be hindered; in many quarters, there was a scarcely-disguised wish that they should escape. The most obvious facts were accordingly passed over; repeated warnings were disregarded; every legal quibble was seized on with avidity to delay effective action; and when orders for detention were sent out, it generally happened that they arrived too late. Thus it came to pass that, to gratify an old feeling of dislike towards America, entertained by Whigs and Conservatives, by the nobility, the plutocracy, and the office-holders, the people of England had to pay upwards of three millions sterling for damages effected by piratical vessels built in English ports, armed by English assistance, manned to some extent by English subjects, and allowed to depart with the connivance of English authorities. Hard-working men and women were taxed, because a faction, or a combination of factions, had made a secret attempt, not merely against the commerce, but against the very life, of the United States. The record is humiliating; but it would be a worse humiliation to deny the guilt.

The *Alabama* was a steamer of 900 tons burden, with engines of 300 horse-power, constructed by Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead. She was launched on the 15th of May, 1862, but it was not until more than two months later that she was able to sail. In order to avoid the *Tuscarora*, which was waiting for her appearance, the *Alabama* made in the first instance for the Azores. Shortly before, a barque loaded with arms had left the Thames, and this arrived at the Western Islands soon after the appearance of the *Alabama*. The latter hauled alongside of the barque, and the work of transferring the cargo at once commenced. The Portuguese authorities protested against what was in fact an infringement of quarantine rules; but the Confederate officers replied that the barque was sinking, and that it was necessary to save the cargo. The following day, when the transfer was nearly completed, the British screw-steamer, *Bahama*, arrived, bringing Captain Semmes and other officers formerly belonging to the *Sumter*, the remainder of the armament, and twenty more of the crew. All three vessels were now ordered by the Portuguese officials to depart immediately, and they left for Angra Bay, where they were again refused permission to remain. The barque then left for Cardiff, to load coal for the *Alabama;* and the captain of that vessel—which had hitherto gone by the grotesque designation of the "290," in consequence of the ship having been built by the subscriptions of 290 British merchants—mustered the crew, and read his commission as post-captain in the Confederate navy. He also read his sealed instructions from President Davis, which were to the effect that he was to "sink, burn, and destroy everything which flew the ensign of the so-called United States of America." A gun was fired, the Confederate flag and pennant were run up, and Captain Semmes declared the vessel to have been duly commissioned. This having been done, the men were told that any who felt dissatisfied could leave in the *Bahama* for England. No one expressed willingness to accept this offer, and the two vessels parted company.*

The career of the *Alabama* was one long series of acts of plunder, pursued without glory (for there could be none in attacking defenceless merchant-vessels), and resulting in no solid benefit to the Confederate cause. As the Confederate States were not recognised by foreign Powers, the prizes made by this marine highwayman could not be taken into any port, and there condemned according to international custom. Most of the prizes were consequently burned, and the destruction of property was enormous. The *Alabama* has been described as having neither register nor record, neither ship's papers nor evidence of transfer. Her character and position were most irregular; but this irregularity was no sort of hindrance to the peculiar species of work for which she had been constructed. The captured crews and officers were often put in irons and roughly treated, and to the commander of one of these unfortunate vessels, who remonstrated with his enemies, Captain Semmes replied, "You Northerners are destroying our property, and New Bedford people are having their war-meetings, offering two hundred dollars bounty for volunteers, and sending out

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion.

their stone-fleets to block up our harbours. I am going to retaliate." The retaliation was on so large a scale that the New York merchants were alarmed and distressed at the damage done to their property. It was a favourite device to get British consular certificates for the goods; but they were not always respected. The insurance companies advanced their rates for war-risk, and after awhile freights were placed in British bottoms, rather than in American. The American carrying trade has never recovered since those days. Much of it has come permanently into British hands, and the anticipation that such would probably be the case may have had much to do with the eagerness of the 290 British merchants who subscribed for the *Alabama*. English property, however, was in many instances destroyed together with American, so that the gain was not without a corresponding drawback. The Government of the United States sent out several vessels in search of the *Alabama*, in addition to the flying squadron of Admiral Wilkes in the West Indies, and other ships of war on the European coast. But, unfortunately, they looked for the privateer where it was not to be found, and it was June, 1864, before Captain Semmes's vessel was destroyed. In some cases, the *Alabama* released her prizes on a ransom-bill being signed by the captain; but these were the exceptions.

A long correspondence took place between Mr. Adams and Earl Russell in regard to these matters; but the representations of the former with respect to the building of the *Oreto* and the *Alabama* produced, as we have seen, no effect. On the 30th of September, the American Minister wrote to the English Foreign Secretary, detailing the injuries inflicted by the latter of those vessels, and adding that he had strong reasons to believe that other enterprises of the same kind were in progress in the ports of Great Britain at that moment. They had indeed attained so much notoriety as to be openly announced in the newspapers of Liverpool and London. Earl Russell, in acknowledging this letter, said:—"I have to state to you that, much as her Majesty's Government desire to prevent such occurrences, they are unable to go beyond the law, municipal and international." On the 16th of October, Mr. Adams wrote home to Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State:—"It is very manifest that no disposition exists here to apply the powers of the Government to the investigation of the acts complained of, flagrant as they are, or to the prosecution of the offenders. The main object must now be to make a record which may be of use at some future day." Amongst other papers laid before Earl Russell by the American Minister was the affidavit of a person who sailed from Liverpool in the *Alabama*, stating that arms were furnished to her in or near Angra Bay. To this the reply was obvious—that the transaction had taken place, not in British, but in Portuguese dominions. In other respects, however, where there was a better *primâ facie* case, Earl Russell seems to have been disinclined to take restrictive measures, or even to institute inquiries. The feeling of the upper classes was heartily in favour of the Confederates, and the Government wished to retain the support of those on whom it principally relied.

The summer and autumn of 1862 did not pass without some operations in the West, by which the Confederates hoped to recover the ground they had lost in that part of the country. A scheme of gigantic dimensions was elaborated: it was proposed to attack the Federals at Bâton Rouge, at Corinth (Mississippi), and in Eastern Kentucky. These three localities formed the two extremities and the centre of the line; and three armies were assembled under the orders of Generals Breckinridge, Van Dorn, and Braxton Bragg, in Louisiana, in Upper Mississippi, and in Eastern Tennessee. Bragg had by this time succeeded to Beauregard in the command of the West, and by far the largest of the three armies was that which the Southern Government confided to his care. He had been an officer of the United States army, and was well known as a strict disciplinarian. Van Dorn had on previous occasions given signs of ability; but of Breckinridge there was not much to be said. The campaign was opened by some dashing incursions made by Generals Morgan and Forrest into Kentucky and Tennessee. Morgan had already acquired distinction as a species of guerilla chief. He was a purely amateur soldier, but had won the respect of his superiors by enterprise and skill. His force consisted of volunteers, raised principally among the wealthy classes of Kentucky and Tennessee; and their number was small. Reckoning on popular support in the invaded districts, Morgan and his comrades entered Kentucky at the commencement of July, taking with them a portable electric battery, which was placed in charge of Mr. Ellsworth, a telegraphic operator.

The use to which this battery was applied presents a perfectly new feature in warfare, showing how the operations of modern armies may be assisted by the inventions of science. The small town of Glasgow having been seized, Mr. Ellsworth took down the telegraphic wire, and connected it with his pocket instrument, so that he was enabled to intercept and read the messages passing between

Nashville and Louisville—that is to say, between one Federal station and another. Mr. Ellsworth represented himself as the telegraphic operator at Louisville, and of course received a great deal of important information which was intended for very different recipients. In return, the Confederates sent messages of a nature to deceive and mislead the Union Generals. At Lebanon, the same process (which was called "tapping the telegraph") was repeated, and Mr. Ellsworth despatched messages to General Boyle, commanding the Federal troops at Louisville, who, supposing that he was in communication with Colonel Johnson, of the Federal garrison at Lebanon, then a prisoner in Morgan's hands, replied without reserve. Morgan continued his march in a north-easterly direction, tearing up railways, destroying bridges, and burning Government stores. After defeating a body of Federals at a place called Cynthiana, he proceeded first to Paris, afterwards to Richmond, and then to Somerset. He was now returning south, and was about on a line with Glasgow, only considerably to the east of it. One of his objects had been to raise the population; but he had done little or nothing in this way, and was being pursued by large bodies of cavalry. At Somerset, the portable electric battery was again called into requisition, and General Boyle's orders for intercepting the invaders were countermanded. Morgan then sent some mocking and boastful despatches to several of the Federals, revealing the true nature and origin of the late communications. His campaign, if it deserves to be dignified by such a term, was at an end. He continued his retreat to Monticello, and thence to Sparta, where he encamped. The expedition had in truth been nothing more than a cleverly-conceived and daringly-executed raid, resulting in the destruction of property to an immense extent, and attended by the temporary submission of seventeen villages, which Morgan, for his greater glorification, described as towns. Exploits of this kind are certain to be magnified by fear and idle rumour. In a little while, Morgan was credited by his foes with almost superhuman intelligence and rapidity of movement. He had certainly exhibited some of the best qualities of a guerilla chief; but of important results he had achieved none.

At the same time that Morgan was making his way through Kentucky, Forrest was marching with a cavalry force into Western Tennessee. His methods of procedure were similar to those of other guerilla chiefs. Detached posts were attacked with success; convoys were captured; and Murfreesborough was surprised, together with the garrison, who were all taken prisoners. Brigadier-General Crittenden, who had lately been appointed to the command, was one of those who on that occasion fell into the hands of the enemy. Scarcely any resistance was offered to the Confederate forces, nor had any precaution been taken against surprise. General Buell, who was in command of that district, reflected strongly on the conduct of the officers and men whose duty it was to defend Murfreesborough, and his strictures do not appear to have gone beyond the justice of the case. These irregular movements were often the occasion of lamentable acts. One such was the death of General McCook, a Federal commander of some distinction. The General was proceeding with his brigade from Athens, in Alabama, towards Tennessee, on the 6th of August, and, being ill, was conveyed in an ambulance about three miles in front of his men. In this exposed position, the escort was attacked, and the General shot, by a small band of guerillas. There is some reason for supposing that McCook was attempting to escape when the fatal shot was fired; but in any case the act must be regarded as one of deliberate ferocity. The unfortunate officer's death was revenged by his soldiers with that indiscriminating fury which is too apt to be exhibited under such circumstances. Property was destroyed in all the wantonness of retaliation, and many persons were killed on mere suspicion of having been concerned in the murder. Among these was a Confederate lieutenant, then on furlough, who was believed to have been connected with the guerillas. Such incidents are deplorable, but their origin is to be found in the very nature of partisan warfare, which is not restrained by the laws usually observed in organised armies. Morgan and Forrest were a species of buccaneers, and, although personally actuated by honourable motives, were the first cause of numerous excesses, leading to similar acts committed by the opposite side. Commanders whose chief object is to lay waste large districts, and to burn whatever they find it impossible to carry off, encourage in their men, even when not intending it, a spirit such as that which was exhibited in the murder of General McCook. In Missouri, a Confederate partisan, named Quantrel, committed many atrocities, in the way of burning houses and towns where the people were suspected of Unionist sympathies; and the Federals retorted with merciless severity. An adherent of the Union having disappeared, and it being thought that he would be murdered, General McNeil (formerly a hatter at St. Louis, in the same State) threatened to shoot ten prisoners belonging to Colonel Porter's guerilla force, if the man were not returned within ten days. No tidings were received of the missing

person, and the ten guerillas were accordingly executed on the 18th of October. Jefferson Davis threatened reprisals, but does not seem to have carried them out. His conceptions on the subject appear to have had a very extensive range. By a general order, dated August 21st, it was directed that Generals Hunter and Phelps, and other officers engaged in the military organisation of negro slaves, should be executed, if taken prisoners. The ferocious instincts of both sides had been roused, and it is the height of injustice to visit the blame on either side exclusively.

While the above events were taking place, the Confederate commander, General Breckinridge, was engaged in an attempt to gain possession of Bâton Rouge. The design was to obtain some position on the Lower Mississippi, that the river might not be so much in the hands of the Federals. The land operations were to be facilitated by the action of the iron-clad, *Arkansas*, which had been repaired after her engagement with the Federal gunboats at Vicksburg. It was hoped that a simultaneous attack by land and water would take place on the 5th of August; but the *Arkansas* broke down, when about fifteen miles above Bâton Rouge. The regiments under Breckinridge had suffered terribly from heat and scarcity of water in the sandy regions through which they had marched, and, when they reached the object of their attack, were not in the best condition for fighting. The Federals also had been reduced by sickness; but they had obtained some information as to the movements of their adversary, and Breckinridge, on arriving at Bâton Rouge, found them drawn up in force outside the town. The invaders attacked with great spirit in the early morning of August 5th; overwhelmed the first of the Federal lines, captured the camp, and were proceeding to attack the second line, when a heavy fire from the batteries checked their advance. The pause, however, was only momentary. Forming their ranks afresh, they dashed forward, and drove the Union troops into the town. The Federal commander, General Williams, was killed at the head of his troops, and many other officers were stretched upon the field. The assailants had the best of the encounter, but, owing to the absence of the iron-clad, were unable to maintain their position. The Federal gunboats in the river severely galled their ranks, and from the houses came a continual fire of rifles. Breckinridge was therefore compelled to order a retreat, which, however, was not commenced until the enemy's camp had been set on fire. In the meanwhile, the *Arkansas* had been attacked by the opposing gunboats, but was too much disabled to offer any resistance. She was therefore run ashore, fired, and abandoned, when she blew up, and reached the termination of her career after a somewhat inglorious fashion. On the 10th of August, Admiral Farragut bombarded and partially destroyed the town of Donaldsonville, between New Orleans and Bâton Rouge; but the Confederates afterwards fortified a position at Port Hudson, nearer Vicksburg, and were thus enabled to exercise some control over the great water-highway for which both parties were contending.

The campaign in Eastern Kentucky began early in August, when General Kirby Smith issued from the passes of the Cumberland Mountains, pushed forward through a difficult country, and appeared in front of Richmond on the 29th of the month. The town was defended by a force of 8,000 men, under command of General Manson. They were mostly raw levies, and had been so recently supplied with arms that it might fairly be a matter of doubt whether they knew how to handle them properly. Manson had posted them upon rising ground, crossed by the road from Barboursville to Richmond; and here they were attacked at daybreak of the 30th of August, and compelled, after some temporary success, to shift their position to a line somewhat nearer the town. The Confederates renewed the assault with fresh energy, and the Union troops were driven in confusion to a line of hills in the immediate vicinity of Richmond. Though rallied for a while, and covered by artillery, the Federals continued to lose ground, and a vehement attack of the adversary finally swept them into the town itself. At the same time, a body of Confederate cavalry, marching round Richmond, fell upon the waggons which had been sent to the rear, and captured almost the whole train. Finding themselves encountered by enemies on two sides, the unhappy soldiers of the Union, whose experience of war had in numerous instances commenced that day, saw no choice before them but to surrender. Some of the cavalry escaped by jumping off their horses, and running into the woods; but the greater portion of the force, including General Manson himself, fell into the grasp of the enemy. The triumph was sufficient to intoxicate the Confederates with a sense of their own invincibility. As the result of this one conflict, they had taken 5,000 prisoners, and had possessed themselves of nine pieces of artillery, 10,000 stand of arms, and a large amount of supplies. The capture of Richmond was followed by that of Lexington on the 2nd of September, and that of Frankfort on the 17th. Louisville and Cincinnati were now hastily fortified by General Wright, the Federal officer

CHARGE OF THE FEDERALS AT CORINTH.

commanding the Department of the Ohio. Frantic endeavours were made to organise volunteer corps to meet the victorious legions of Kirby Smith. But the prospects of the Union in that Western State were extremely dark; for the main army, under Bragg, was now moving forward in prosecution of the general scheme of the campaign, and Munfordsville, with about 4,000 men, surrendered to the advanced divisions on the 17th of September. General Buell hurried from Nashville to the relief of his colleagues in the northern part of the State; but Bragg was already between him and those whom he desired to assist. By ordinarily good management on the part of Bragg, Buell might have been disastrously defeated; but the Confederate General, with singular imbecility, turned aside from the road by which he might have stopped his adversary, and suffered him to recapture Munfordsville, and to relieve Louisville. Bragg, who had been closely followed and in some degree harassed by Buell, seems to have been apprehensive of being overwhelmed by superior numbers. Turning to the west, he marched first to Bardstown, and then to Frankfort, where he inaugurated a provisional Governor of Kentucky. Thus Louisville was saved, and at the same time a Federal detachment stationed at Cumberland Gap, which in the first instance had been cut off by the advance of Kirby Smith, was enabled, by the later operations of that commander, to escape to Cincinnati.

The bad management of the Confederates, after their first striking successes, changed the whole character of the war in those parts. The Federals now resumed the offensive, and General Bragg saw that he must retire through the Cumberland Mountains into Tennessee. Buell started in pursuit on the 1st of October, and fell in with the greater portion of the Confederate army on the road from Lebanon to Harrodsburg. By this time Bragg had discovered, as Morgan had discovered before him, that the people of Kentucky, with a few exceptions, were not inclined to support the Confederates. He was naturally very anxious to quit the State, but thought it necessary to fight an action before doing so, in order to redeem his credit, and to save from capture the large amount of stores which he had seized during his incursion. He therefore drew up his army in a position where he considered it probable that he should be encountered by the Federals. His forces were divided into two portions, posted on two distinct roads, distant from one another about twenty miles. The head-quarters of General Bragg were fixed, on the 6th of October, at the town of Harrodsburg, situated at the point of junction of the two roads, which were being simultaneously watched. General Polk, who was stationed on the road from Lebanon to Bardstown with three divisions, was directed to offer battle to the Federals at Perryville, where a warmly-contested action took place on the 8th. The Federals, who were marching from the west, appear to have been taken by surprise, not knowing, until roughly undeceived, that the Confederates were so close at hand. Bragg had already sent orders to his other divisions, planted on the Louisville and Lawrenceburg road, to march with all haste towards Harrodsburg, so that he felt tolerably secure of being well supported. Immediately on the Federals being seen advancing, the Confederate infantry rushed forward, and a number of Buell's raw troops, who unfortunately happened to be in the front line, fled in dismay. The older regiments maintained their ground; and when the Federals had been largely reinforced, the strength of the opposing parties became more evenly balanced. The Union men resolved to act on the defensive until the whole of their divisions should reach the field. Polk, however, renewed his attacks with great fury; the Federals were driven back, losing several of their officers; and the action might have ended in a decided reverse for the army of General Buell, had not night put an end to the combat. Further reinforcements reached the Federals during the evening; and Bragg considered it prudent to retreat. He had gained his object in fighting, and had now to consider how he could best secure his withdrawal into Tennessee. In killed, wounded, and missing, the Federals had lost more than 4,000 men. The Confederate loss was estimated at about 2,500; and this large expenditure of life had resulted in no positive advantage to the one side or the other. General Buell blamed the conduct of some of his officers in command of the less experienced troops; the Government blamed Buell, and he was shortly afterwards removed from his command, and succeeded by General Rosecrans. It must certainly be admitted that Buell had not distinguished himself; yet, whether owing to good fortune, or to the bad management of his opponent, Kentucky had been cleared of invaders. Accompanied by long lines of waggons, laden with plunder, by vast herds of cattle and horses, and by private carriages conveying those families who preferred to throw in their lot with the South, the Confederates retired with deliberation, and passed safely through Cumberland Gap. The Federals were in no mood to press them closely, and, with their rear well guarded by cavalry, they gained the safer regions of Tennessee.

Mississippi, in the latter half of the year, was the scene of some important events. Sherman was in command at Memphis; Rosecrans, not yet appointed as the successor of Buell in Kentucky, was at Corinth, with directions to check the Confederate Army of the Mississippi, should any attempt be made to cross the Tennessee River, and harass Buell in the operations just described. General Price, in command of the Confederates, concentrated his forces at Iuka, thirty miles to the south of Corinth, and, on being attacked by Rosecrans, retreated in good order. Rosecrans had hoped to overwhelm his enemy, but, failing in his design, fortified himself at Corinth. On this, Price attempted no further movements until he had been joined by Van Dorn and Lovell, when an attack on Corinth was commenced. The Federal pickets in the vicinity of that town were driven in on the 2nd of October, and on the morning of the 3rd the bulk of the Confederate army appeared in sight. Before the Union troops could be withdrawn behind the inner line of defence, they were attacked by the Southerners, and compelled to retire. Van Dorn, believing that his triumph was secure, telegraphed to Richmond that a victory had already been achieved; but Rosecrans, in the course of the night, made such excellent arrangements that, at an early hour on the following morning, his troops were quite ready to renew the engagement. The Confederates had approached from the south, but, having reason to believe that the northern side of the town was more exposed, they marched round to that point, only to find, when they got there, that Rosecrans had strengthened his position with great enterprise and skill. The Federals were now fronting towards the north, and it was from that direction that they were attacked on the morning of the 4th. Stationed behind their works, the Union troops managed their artillery with resolution, and in a few hours they silenced the Confederate batteries. The assailants then prepared to storm the defences. Price's troops, rushing impetuously forward, captured some redoubts, and drove the defenders into the town. There the Federals rallied, and Price's division, not being supported by that of Van Dorn, which had been delayed by the difficult nature of the country, was hurled back by a vigorous effort, and compelled to abandon what it had won. When Van Dorn's columns at length arrived, they were too late to help their comrades. The Federals were again in possession of their batteries and breastworks; but Van Dorn was not inclined to relinquish his attempt to take one portion of the defences. His men advanced with extraordinary courage, making their way up a rugged ravine under a tremendous fire from the forts. Numbers dropped on that painful and deadly path; the ranks were formed afresh, to fill the gaps that had been torn in them; the guns still played with terrible intensity on those devoted men; but the advance continued. When the attacking force had gained the edge of the ditch, the Federals themselves slackened fire, as if overcome by the heroism which they could not subdue. The pause, however, was only momentary; and when the guns once more opened at short range, the Confederates for the first time faltered, and reeled back. Then two regiments from the garrison leaped from the works, and rushed at their enemies with a furious charge. The exhausted Southerners staggered down the side of the hill, followed by the Federals; and Corinth was once more safe. The losses on both sides had been fearful, and the disappointment of the Confederates was all the greater on account of their preliminary success. Threatened on his left flank by two divisions of the Northern troops, and dreading an attack by Rosecrans, Van Dorn withdrew behind the lagoons and marshes from which he had issued forth, followed for many miles by his adversary, who, however, ultimately retired to his former position. The desperately-contested Western campaign had resulted in both parties re-assuming, with but few exceptions, the positions they had held at the beginning. In many respects the efforts of the South had been amazing; in many respects the blunders of the North had been remarkable; yet the North was still in the position of command, and the independence of the South was still a doubtful dream.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Affairs on the Potomac after the Retirement of the Confederates from Maryland—Hesitation of the Federal Government—McClellan's renewed Operations in Virginia—Positions of the Opposing Armies in the early Part of November, 1862—McClellan superseded by General Burnside—Motives of the President in making the Change—Complaints by McClellan as to the Insufficient Equipment of his Forces—His Popularity with the Troops—Succession of Burnside to the Command—New Plan of the Campaign—The Federal Projects disconcerted by the greater Quickness of General Lee—The Hostile Armies facing each other on the Rappahannock—Delay in the Arrival of Burnside's Pontoons—Strength of the Confederate Position—Crossing of the River by the Federals—The Battle of Fredericksburg—Desperate Struggle, and Ineffectual Attempt to expel the Confederates—Burnside obliged to withdraw—Heavy Losses of the Federals—Insubordination of the Army—Operations in Arkansas—Proceedings of Admiral Farragut in the Gulf of Mexico—General Forster's Movements in North Carolina—Jefferson Davis in Mississippi—His Address to the State Legislature—Strange Historical Blunders—Confederate Efforts in the West—Dangerous Position of General Rosecrans—The Battle of Murfreesborough—Renewal of the Fighting on a Subsequent Day—Retreat of the Confederates to the Duck River—Irruptions of Generals Forrest and Morgan—Federal Defeat at Holy Springs, Mississippi—Sherman's Expedition against Vicksburg—Ineffectual Attempt to take the City—Capture of Galveston by the Confederates.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN was anxious for the safety of Washington, even after the retreat of General Lee from Maryland. He desired General McClellan to take the offensive against the enemy, yet feared to sanction an advance up the valley of the Shenandoah, which was the movement that officer most desired to make. The early part of the autumn passed away in doubt and hesitation, and it was not until the setting in of the rainy season, and the consequent swelling of the Potomac so as to be unfordable, that any definite plan was formed. It was then determined to cross the Blue Ridge Mountains from Harper's Ferry, to advance along the south-eastern side of the range, and, after planting detachments in all the passes, to threaten the communications of the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley. The army began to move on the 25th of October, and the operation was completed by the first week in November. Thus the Federals occupied the whole region south-east of the Blue Ridge, with their right resting on Harper's Ferry, their left extending nearly to Paris, and their centre at Snickersville. The pass through the Blue Ridge, called Snicker's Gap, was in their possession, and this brought them in somewhat close proximity to the forces of General Lee. The latter were drawn up on the further side of the Shenandoah, and their line, starting on the left from Charleston, reached Front Royal on the right, with the greater portion massed between Berryville and Winchester. When, however, the Federals had occupied all the passes leading through the Blue Mountains, their opponents considered it expedient to retire, which they did with some little skirmishing; the Northerners made a further advance, and on the 6th of November, General McClellan's head-quarters were near Rectortown, on the Manassas Gap Railway. Warrenton was occupied by Federal troops on the same day, and all seemed going well when an unexpected incident occurred. On the night of the 7th, General Buckingham arrived from Washington at the head-quarters of McClellan, and delivered to him an order from the President to surrender the command of the army to General Burnside, and to report himself immediately at Trenton, the capital of New Jersey.

This change in the conduct of affairs came with a great surprise on the several divisions, by none of which does it seem to have been anticipated. A few days after, a letter from General Halleck to Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, dated "Washington, October 28th," was given to the public, from which at least some of the motives for McClellan's dismissal may be inferred. Halleck, it will be recollected, had occupied, since the latter part of July, the position of Commander-in-Chief of all the American forces; and McClellan of course came under his orders, and was amenable to his censure. He alleged that the General had needlessly delayed his movements; that he was constantly complaining of want of supplies, clothing, and horses; and that there had been no such want as to prevent his compliance with the peremptory order he had received on the 6th of October, to cross the Potomac at once, and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. The dilatoriness of McClellan in moving against the Confederates was undoubtedly one of the reasons for his dismissal; but it has been thought—and perhaps with some justification in facts—that political motives had their share in determining the President's course. The politics of McClellan were those of the Democratic party, and were therefore opposed to the ideas by which Mr. Lincoln was now mainly guided. A General Order from McClellan to the army, dated October 7th, and having reference to the President's proclamation for the emancipation of the southern slaves, seemed to intimate, though in guarded terms, McClellan's dissent from that great

act of policy. While pointing out that the power and duty of making, expounding, and executing the Federal laws belonged solely to the civil authorities —while remarking that armed forces were raised and supported simply to sustain those authorities, and while deprecating more than a modest and temperate discussion of public measures determined on and declared by Government—the General significantly added :—"The remedy for political errors, if any have been committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls." This remark was made at the very time the State elections were going on ; and it may have been thought that such an implied opinion, coming from such a source at such a juncture, was calculated to damage the Government in the eyes of the country. McClellan was popular with the army, and a military dictatorship was at one time feared. Political motives, however, are never avowed in these matters, and the President had at any rate a plausible excuse in the slowness of McClellan's movements, and the hesitation which always marred his plans.

How far the retiring commander was justified in complaining that his forces were insufficiently equipped for active operations, it is not at present easy to determine. But it has been stated by an American writer that the purchasing and forwarding of necessaries was going on even up to the day of McClellan's crossing the Potomac; that one army-corps did not receive its clothing until it had commenced its march in Virginia ; and that several commanders afterwards averred that they had repeatedly sent for supplies of clothing, and had as often been disappointed.* On the other hand, there was some reason in the remark of Colonel Ingalls, McClellan's chief Quartermaster, who, in writing to the Quartermaster-General that the complaints were groundless, observed :—"I foresee no time when an army of over 100,000 men will not call for clothing and other articles." However the point may be finally decided, there can be no doubt that McClellan was popular with his soldiers. He did nothing to call forth any extraordinary expression of their feelings ; his farewell address was well felt and carefully expressed ; but when, on the 9th of November, he rode rapidly through the ranks for the last time, the demonstrations of affectionate regard were overpowering, and were not unmixed with reproaches against those who, in the opinion of the men, had treated the General with injustice. McClellan quitted the camp near Rectortown on the 10th, and on his route to Washington (where he stayed a few hours previously to reporting himself at Trenton) was received at various stations on the railway with enthusiastic demonstrations on the part of the army. At Warrenton Junction he was requested to speak a few words, and said in response, "I wish you to stand by General Burnside as you have stood by me ; and all will be well. Good-bye !" Burnside was a personal friend of the retiring commander, and possessed his confidence. He too belonged to the Democratic party, without being fanatical in his views ; and he had on two or three occasions exhibited a fair amount of skill as a General. More than once before, he had been requested to take the position of McClellan, but had always refused, and now accepted the command only on the peremptory order of the War Department.

The position of the Federal army was such as to render General Lee anxious for the safety of Richmond. He feared that his communications with that city might be severed, and he had an extensive tract of country to watch with a force much smaller than that of his opponent—indeed, not much more than half its size. While he was considering what he should do, General Burnside was reorganising his army with a view to active measures. He now arranged it in three grand divisions, under the orders of Generals Sumner, Hooker, and Franklin ; and a body of reserve was formed, under the command of General Sigel. On the 11th of November, General Halleck, the Commander-in-Chief of all the armies of the United States, visited Burnside, and discussed with him the plan of the approaching campaign, a sketch of which the latter had sent to Washington two days previously. It was decided to make a demonstration on the Rappahannock, to march rapidly down the north-eastern bank of that river, to cross by means of pontoons at Fredericksburg, and to advance on Richmond by Hanover Court House. Accordingly, a few days later, General Sumner was ordered to march on Fredericksburg, followed by Franklin and Hooker. The right rear of the army was to be protected by the cavalry under General Pleasanton, while Sigel was to guard the Upper Potomac, and to occupy the direct route between Gordonsville and Washington. The success of the entire plan depended in a great measure on the rapidity with which it was carried out ; but there proved to be delays which were not anticipated. Burnside, moreover, calculated on General Jackson being still west of the Blue Ridge, and on General Lee having no knowledge of the scheme by which he was to be out-manœuvred. In these respects he was mistaken ; and the con-

* Tenney's History of the Rebellion.

sequence was another miscarriage, in addition to those which had gone before.

Lee had received information of Burnside's projects, and a portion of his army had consequently moved on a parallel line to that of the Federals. The movements of the detachment were executed with greater quickness than those of Sumner and his colleagues, and the Confederate batteries were already posted at Fredericksburg, on the southern side of the Rappahannock, when, on the 20th of November, the Federals under Sumner arrived at Falmouth, on the northern side. It was evident, therefore, that Fredericksburg could not be occupied by the forces of the Union without an engagement, and that the undisputed advance on Richmond, which it had been hoped to accomplish, was no longer possible. Still, something might have been done, had Burnside been able to cross the river at once; but the necessary pontoons had not arrived, and the Federals were obliged to wait. The delay was much to the advantage of the Confederates, for it gave time to General Jackson to join the other forces, so that by the 25th of November the whole Confederate army was in position on the heights overlooking Fredericksburg. It was the policy of the Southerners to await attack; it was equally the policy of their adversaries to eject them from their posts by a vigorous assault. But for the present no movement was possible. Three weeks passed in this state of compulsory inaction, and during that interval the people of Fredericksburg removed to safer localities. Burnside hesitated as to attacking his opponent under existing circumstances, but at length felt compelled by the stress

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of popular opinion to do something. He determined to cross the river as soon as he could complete the construction of his pontoon-bridges. The passage was to be effected at two points—immediately opposite Fredericksburg, and a mile and a half lower down the stream. Burnside had now no fewer than 150,000 men under his command; his line extended over four miles on the northern side of the river; his guns, which were extremely numerous, commanded the town of Fredericksburg, and the opposite bank of the Rappahannock; and he was therefore well able to make a powerful demonstration, with fair probabilities of success. The forces of General Lee did not amount to more than 80,000 men; but they held a strong position on a semicircle of hills sweeping round from the river to the vicinity of Newport. Lee also was well provided with artillery, which he massed towards his centre. To the right of his line he had the little river Massaponax; other small rivers ran through the hills on which his divisions had been drawn up; and in every respect his position was one which a resolute army would be very likely to maintain.

During the night of December 10th, the Federal pontoons were carried down to the river, and the artillery was so placed as to be capable of being brought to bear immediately on the town. On the following morning, the men commenced building four extemporary bridges, and the air was so obscure that for some hours the work of construction was not perceived by the Confederates on the opposite bank. When, however, it was at length discovered, a heavy fire of musketry opened from various positions on the shore, and from the houses in the town. The Federals were for a time driven away, but, having been rallied, they again proceeded with their task. Once more they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and orders were then given to the artillery to open fire on the

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city. This had the effect of dispersing the Confederate sharpshooters, and of doing great damage to the city itself. The operation of throwing over the pontoon-bridges was once more resumed, and, although the Confederates again appeared on the river-bank, and still for a time interrupted the progress of the work, they were unable to prevent its completion in the course of the day. The weather had been thick and misty; the opposing armies could scarcely detect each other's movements; and it was only the red flashes of the guns which indicated to either side where the other was posted, and where it was to be attacked. When the fog rose, about the middle of the day, it was seen that Fredericksburg was little better than a mass of ruins, from which fire was bursting forth in many parts. Nevertheless, some Mississippians held their place amongst the burning houses, from the midst of which they poured a galling fire on those who were engaged in building the bridges; and it was not until a body of volunteers from the 7th Michigan and 19th Massachusetts Regiments had crossed the river in pontoon-boats, and driven them from their hiding-places, that the bridges were finished. It was now the early part of the afternoon, and the troops began to cross in heavy masses. Before dusk, General Sumner's division had got over, together with a section of General Hooker's. The transit was resumed early on the morning of the 12th, without further molestation; and Burnside massed his corps near the river, in readiness for an advance when the proper moment had arrived.

Very little of importance took place that day; but the battle known as that of Fredericksburg commenced at an early hour on the following morning. Unfortunately for the Federals, General Franklin misunderstood the orders sent to him by Burnside, and, instead of making a vigorous attack on the Confederate right, did nothing more than execute a feint, though he had two army-corps under his command, and might therefore have struck a telling blow against the adversary. Burnside had hoped to cut the Confederate army into two portions, and, having taken the heights beyond Fredericksburg, to destroy the right wing of his enemy; but he had entirely miscalculated the knowledge possessed by Lee of the manner in which he was to be assailed. The Confederate General declined to weaken his line, so as to repel a false attack which Burnside had ordered to be made some miles below Fredericksburg. Had he fallen into the trap thus laid for him, it is possible that he might have been beaten in detail; but he kept his troops well together. On the left of the Federal line, an attempt was made to drive the Confederates across the Massaponax, by turning their position; but, although the Southern troops were forced back nearly a mile, no decided advantage was gained, owing, it would seem, to the fact that General Franklin, having misapprehended his orders, omitted to bring up all his divisions, and to press the attack with vigour. On the right of the line, the fighting was desperate during the whole day. The Confederates were posted amongst the woods and hills at the back of Fredericksburg, and two Federal divisions were ordered to expel them at the point of the bayonet. In the face of a tremendous artillery fire, the assault was renewed again and again; but as often as the endeavour was made, the regiments were shattered and driven back in extreme confusion. General Sumner ordered up his artillery in support of the attacking force, and the contest continued until dark, without the Federals winning a single yard, or their opponents being dispossessed of the positions they had assumed in the morning. During this terrible combat, which strewed the plain with dead and wounded, General Lee personally superintended the operations of his men. Towards the close of the attempt to carry this strong position—made all the stronger by a stone wall behind which the Confederates were entrenched—General Burnside sent instructions to Hooker, who with a large part of his division was still on the other side of the river, to hasten his men over the bridges, so that he might support Sumner and his lieutenants. Hooker proceeded to the scene of action, but soon afterwards sent an aide-de-camp to his superior, with an intimation of his opinion that the heights were impregnable. Burnside repeated his orders, and Hooker, riding off to where his commander was stationed, remonstrated against the vain attempt. Nevertheless, Burnside insisted on the movement being carried out, and Hooker then sent forward one of his divisions, with orders to assault the position. Nothing, however, could be done. The men staggered back before the terrible fire of their opponents, and, leaving a third of their number on the ground, sought shelter in the rear. At half-past five in the evening, the musketry fire ceased; that of the artillery continued until long after dark.

The following day (December 14th) was Sunday, and both armies remained comparatively quiet. General Burnside sent a despatch to President Lincoln, in which, writing at four o'clock in the morning, he said:—"I have just returned from the field. Our troops are all over the river, and hold the first ridge outside the town, and three miles below. We hope to carry the crest to-day. Our loss is heavy—say 5,000." It was a day of great

misery and depression. The shattered houses of Fredericksburg were crowded with the dead and dying, and there were numerous stragglers, who would have crossed the bridges to the northern side of the river, had they not been driven back by the guards posted there. In many instances, these men refused to be led forward again, so that Burnside, notwithstanding his confident expectation of approaching success, felt that he was in no position to renew the struggle. Personally, he was desirous of once more advancing against the enemy; but his lieutenants saw that in the existing temper of the troops such a movement could entail none but the most fatal consequences. To many it was a subject of surprise that General Lee did not assume the offensive on the 14th, and by a determined onslaught drive his enemy into the river. It would appear, however, that the Confederate General expected to be himself attacked; at any rate, he made no preparations for an advance, but on the contrary threw up fresh works of defence. His army was greatly inferior in numbers to that of General Burnside, and the batteries on the opposite side of the Rappahannock were sufficiently powerful to suggest caution. Probably for these reasons, combined with ignorance of the real condition of the Federal troops, the Confederates remained inactive, and so allowed the Northerners to repair, as far as might be, the disaster they had suffered. There was, in truth, only one way of repairing it, and that was by a retreat across the river. Influenced by the advice of his Generals, Burnside determined to withdraw from the perilous position in which he found himself. The greater number of the wounded were removed on Monday, the 15th, and during the ensuing night the army evacuated Fredericksburg, and retired to its former lines. While this operation was being conducted, a high wind blew from the south, which carried away the noise of the movement from the region of the Confederate camp. Lee was astonished, on the morning of the 16th, at beholding before him nothing but a deserted land, a ruined town, a winding river, and a line of batteries frowning from the opposite shore.

The Federal loss was certainly much greater than that which Burnside had conjecturally stated in his despatch to the President. It probably amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to 13,771 men. The "missing" are said by a Federal writer to have been 2,078. Some of these, no doubt, were prisoners; but there do not appear to have been many captures by the Confederates, so that the greater number of the missing were probably runaways. The Southerners, having been sheltered by their works, lost comparatively few men; the total is stated at 1,800. The affair altogether was most disastrous to the Federals; but General Burnside took upon himself the entire responsibility of the movement. He attributed his reverse to the fog on the morning of the 11th, and to the unexpected and unavoidable delay in building the pontoon-bridges, which gave the enemy four-and-twenty hours to concentrate his forces in a strong position. "As it was," he said in his report to General Halleck, "we came very near success. Failing in accomplishing the main object, we remained in order of battle two days—long enough to decide that the enemy would not come out of his strongholds to fight us with his infantry." Burnside was perhaps hardly to be blamed for the misfortune by which he had been overtaken. His plan of operations had a reasonable chance of success, and it failed partly because the Confederates were in a stronger position than had been supposed, and partly because the Federals were not so well handled by the subordinate Generals as had been hoped. Nevertheless, the ruin of Burnside's scheme proved the ruin of Burnside himself. When he suggested another plan of advance, his colleagues remonstrated, not only with him, but with the President. Burnside was not unnaturally irritated at this proof of insubordination. He had now entirely lost his hold, if ever he had any, on the officers and men under his command. Desertions were increasing to an alarming extent, and he found himself confronting a powerful enemy with a weapon which was almost broken in his hand. The army before Fredericksburg accordingly remained inactive for several weeks.

Some operations in Arkansas, towards the close of the year, must be related in this place. On the north-western frontier of that State, a Federal army was operating under the command of Generals Blunt and Herron, who were opposed by a Confederate force under General Hindman. Several actions of small importance were fought between the two armies, and these were succeeded by a collision on a larger scale, which for awhile seemed to threaten a serious disaster to the Northern forces. Near the end of November, Blunt had been attacked by Hindman, who was in greater force than himself. Blunt telegraphed to Herron, who was encamped at Wilson's Creek, on the frontiers of Missouri, directing him to push forward to his relief as speedily as possible; but before the main body of Herron's forces could arrive, Blunt, on the 6th of December, was assailed, ten miles to the south of Fayetteville, by General Hindman, who succeeded in turning his adversary's left flank, and in marching towards the

Federal depôts. On the following morning, he assailed Herron's advanced guard, but was unable to drive the Federals from their position. General Blunt, who had followed his enemy, arrived upon the ground about an hour past noon on the 7th, and the action continued until night, without either side gaining any advantage. The Confederates retreated to Van Buren on the 8th, and the war in that quarter then degenerated into a series of guerilla fights. The north-western part of Arkansas was held by the forces of the Union, and the State of Missouri remained untroubled by any regular Confederate army. The line of the Mississippi River was mainly in the possession of the Federals; large quantities of cotton were seized by expeditionary forces from the Northern armies, or destroyed where they could not be carried off; and the regions of the North-west were for many months in a state of chronic anarchy, which gave occasion to individual acts of oppression, and to sanguinary reprisals. In the Gulf of Mexico, the fleet of Admiral Farragut was actively engaged in naval operations of importance. Galveston was captured, with but little resistance, on the 8th of October; and combined naval and military operations were sent up the rivers of Florida, where they seized some positions of no great importance. In North Carolina, General Forster set out from Newbern on the 11th of December, with the design of destroying the line of railway between Wilmington and Richmond. He took with him a force of 15,000 infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery, and advanced along the railway track to Kingston, as expeditiously as the state of the country would permit. In spite of the obstacles with which he was encountered, in the shape of burnt bridges, and roads obstructed with felled trees, Forster pursued his way, and on the 14th drove the enemy across the river Neuse. Next he occupied Kingston, and sent out expeditions in various directions, to effect as much mischief as they could, and to occupy a deserted fort near the mouth of the river. The Confederates were shortly afterwards reinforced, and on the 17th of December Forster was attacked by his opponents with so much vigour as to find himself compelled to withdraw. He therefore returned to his head-quarters, and the country into which he had penetrated was again occupied by the Southern troops, who, in the middle of March, 1863, made an unsuccessful attack on Newbern. Washington, in North Carolina, was besieged by the Confederates a few weeks later, when the place was so closely blockaded that its surrender seemed at one time inevitable; but the assailants at length withdrew, in pursuance of other designs.

The position of affairs towards the close of 1862 did not seem very hopeful for either side; but the resources of the North were so much greater than those of the South that the probability of ultimate success rested more with the former than with the latter. Notwithstanding the good fortune of his armies in many directions, President Davis was not insensible to the gravity of the situation. He was especially impressed with the importance of securing the South-western States, and with this view quitted Richmond in December, proceeded to Chattanooga, in Tennessee, reviewed the army of General Bragg near Murfreesborough, in the same State, and then visited his adopted State, Mississippi. There, on the 26th of the month, he addressed the local Legislature, and urged upon the people of the West the necessity of renewed exertions for preserving to the Confederacy the command of the Mississippi River, and the maintenance of communications with the departments beyond that stream. Vicksburg and Port Hudson, he said, had been strengthened by the Southern Government, and they could now concentrate at either place a force sufficient for its protection. Every effort, he submitted, should be made to defend those positions; for, by holding that section of the Mississippi which lies between Port Hudson and Vicksburg, they would secure the most important results, and the people of the West, cut off from New Orleans, would be driven eastwards to seek a market for their products, and would be compelled to pay so much in the way of freights that those products would be rendered almost valueless. This would have the effect of forcing the western populations to demand a termination of the war, as the only means of protecting their interests. In the course of his speech, Mr. Davis indulged in the usual venomous abuse of the Northern people, as a race brutal, faithless, and uncivilised, with whom the people of the South would always find it impossible to coalesce. His tone on this subject was that of a man speaking of two totally distinct nations. He believed that, even after the conclusion of the war, peace between them would be no more than nominal, and would be liable to be broken at short intervals for many years to come: certainly a very probable anticipation, but one which involved the most complete condemnation of the Southern treason, in dividing the former Republic, that can possibly be conceived. Mr. Davis's denunciation of Northern ferocity was as much exaggerated as his praise of Southern heroism; while his references to the past were distorted by the obliquity of his political views. "Our enemies," he said, "are a traditionless and homeless race. From the time of Cromwell to the present moment, they have been

disturbers of the peace of the world. Gathered together by Cromwell from the bogs and fens of the north of Ireland and of England, they commenced by disturbing the peace of their own country; they disturbed Holland to which they fled, and they disturbed England on their return. They persecuted Catholics in England, and they hung Quakers and witches in America." A more extraordinary jumble of facts and dates than these sentences exhibit, it would be difficult to contrive. Mr. Davis had evidently confused in his own mind the Puritans who were persecuted in England for the sake of their Protestantism, and the Catholics who were persecuted in Ireland for the sake of their Romanism. He put into the same class the Englishmen who founded New England, in the reign of James I. and his successor, and the Irishmen whom Cromwell transported, not so much to the Northern as to the Southern States. By implication, he assigned the Puritan emigration to the period of Cromwell's ascendency, and mixed up the famous Leyden episode with the history of the English Commonwealth. From one occupying the position of a responsible statesman, a little more accuracy in the exposition of well-known events might fairly have been expected.

On the defence of Port Hudson and of Vicksburg, the hopes of the Confederacy in the West now mainly depended. If the Southerners could retain possession of the river between those places, they would probably be able to hold the State of Mississippi, and in that case their position would be much stronger than if they lost every portion of the river, and, as a consequence, the vast provinces through which it runs. The entire command of the West was given to General Joseph Johnston, who commanded the Confederate army at Bull Run, but who had for some time been incapacitated for active service by the serious wounds he had received at the battle of Fair Oaks. The Mississippi army, which included the garrisons of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, was placed under General Pemberton, who acted in subordination to Johnston; the Tennessee forces came also under the supervision of that able commander. The Federals were well represented in the Western States by two large armies, one of which was commanded by General Grant, and the other by General Rosecrans. The main body of Grant's force was engaged during the late autumn in an expedition from Western Tennessee into Mississippi, and a detachment was being organised for an attack on Vicksburg. The army under Rosecrans was stationed partly at Nashville, and partly along the line of the Cumberland River; and in this position it was watched by the Confederates under Bragg, who was assisted by the irregular operations of his guerilla chieftains, Morgan and Forrest. Rosecrans did not at that time feel himself strong enough for offensive operations; indeed, it was as much as he could do to defend his position against the frequent incursions of his active enemies. It was found necessary to fortify Nashville, and in the month of December the movements of General Morgan were such as to excite great uneasiness in the mind of the Federal commander. Hartsville, a small town on the right bank of the Cumberland, was taken by Morgan in the early morning of December 7th, after a march of forty miles through snow and ice. The Federals were surprised by the sudden appearance of the enemy on their side of the river, which they had considered it impossible to cross at that point. Their resistance was slight, and, in the result, about 1,800 troops surrendered. After being sent as prisoners to Murfreesborough, they were paroled, and permitted to depart for Nashville, though not before they had paid a large ransom in arms, blankets, and overcoats. Shortly afterwards, Morgan was instructed to seize the railway between Nashville and Louisville, so as to isolate some of the Federal detachments, while Forrest was to threaten Grant's communications with Columbus.

Rosecrans abandoned his defensive position as the year was drawing to a close, and on the 26th of December advanced towards his opponents at the head of a large and well-appointed army. Less than forty miles interposed between Nashville and Murfreesborough; but the progress of the Federals was rendered difficult by the Confederate skirmishers who thronged the woods on both sides of the road. It was not until the 30th of December that Rosecrans reached the vicinity of Murfreesborough. Fighting took place that day, and the pickets of the Southern commander, General Polk, were driven in. The two armies bivouacked that night within sight of each other's fires, and General Rosecrans disposed his troops for the operations of the morrow as well as the difficult nature of the country would permit. The land was broken up into a number of low hills, which concealed the positions of the enemy; and the several divisions of the Northern force were so hidden from one another in the density of the forest that anything in the nature of general supervision became almost impossible. The adversaries were now fronting one another on the banks of a stream called the Stone River, and portions of both forces stood on both sides of the channel. The night of December 30th did not pass in perfect inactivity as far as the

Confederates were concerned. A brigade of their cavalry moved round the enemy's rear during the hours of darkness, and made so vigorous an assault on the waggon-trains that stores to a large amount were captured. The movement was as daring as it was successful,—the cavalry actually passing round the whole body of the Federal army, so that they rejoined their comrades on the opposite flank from that which they had quitted. The action of the 31st was commenced by General Bragg, who ordered his left wing to advance, when the Federals were again taken by surprise, and driven back in so much confusion that several guns were captured before the horses could be harnessed. Two of the Federal divisions were dispersed in rapid succession, and aides-de-camp were sent to General Rosecrans to inform him of the misfortunes that had already occurred. Other portions of the army made a more determined stand, and the Confederate attack was finally checked, though it had succeeded sufficiently to compel the whole of the Federal right and centre to recede, and to take up positions very different from those which they had held in the morning. The right-hand portion of the left wing still kept its ground between the Stone River and the railway from Nashville to Murfreesborough; but, on the whole, the Federals had been seriously injured by the vigorous operations of the enemy.

The Confederates had not purchased their success, such as it was, without a considerable expenditure of life. The Northern troops, driven to bay, had fought with great resolution, and their opponents had suffered terribly. A brigade of General Polk's corps had lost a third of its number in attacking the division commanded by General Sheridan; and in other quarters the destruction of life among the field and staff officers had been immense. The new positions taken up by the Federals were such as to render a fresh attack extremely difficult. Both flanks were protected by streams, with bridges and fords in the rear; and the spirit of the troops was for the most part good. The Federal left was planted on a hill near the Stone River, and, as this was the key to the whole position, the partial triumph of the Confederates was not of much value. If all their efforts were not to be thrown away, the attack must be renewed; but the majority of the Confederates were in too exhausted a condition to resume the combat. The change in the Federal position had been effected early in the afternoon. An hour or two later, a fresh division, under General Breckinridge, arrived on the ground, and advanced against the enemy. With great spirit the men rushed up a rising ground, upon the top of which the Federals had planted a powerful line of batteries. The contest was maintained with admirable courage; but the Confederates, notwithstanding their devotion, could make no head against the obstacles to which they were opposed. After losing many of their number, they retired to the point from which they had started; and, as darkness had now closed in, little more could be done till the morrow. A clear moonlight enabled some of the Federal batteries to continue their fire, but with this exception the night passed in quiet. Owing to the right wing of the Northern army having been driven in upon the left, the Confederates were now in possession of a large part of the field which in the morning had been occupied by the Federals. During the progress of the battle, the communication with Nashville had been often cut off, and the ammunition-train of the right Federal wing was twice captured by the Southerners, and twice retaken by their antagonists. Thus, on the hard-fought field of Murfreesborough, the old year came to an end, and on the following day—January 1st, 1863—both armies were too worn out by what they had already undergone to do much more than re-combine their shattered ranks. Detachments under Generals Wharton and Wheeler were sent out by the Confederates to threaten the Federal communications, to capture supplies, and to reconnoitre the condition of the enemy's forces. General Rosecrans withdrew his army a short distance to the rear, and the Southerners then occupied the ground between the river and the rail. The Federals, who were reinforced by two brigades, entrenched themselves where they stood; the wounded were sent to the rear, and every preparation was made to dispute any renewed attempt on the part of the Confederates to get possession of the road to Nashville.

On the morning of the 2nd of January, demonstrations were made along the whole Federal line; but operations on a large scale were not commenced until three o'clock in the afternoon, when a numerous body of Confederates burst upon a Federal division which, at an early hour of the morning, had been sent by General Rosecrans to take ground once more on the eastern side of the river. The attacking force consisted of the entire right wing, and for a time the Federals were repulsed. On receiving an addition to their numbers, however, they pressed forward with so much impetuosity that the Confederates gave way, and, leaving many dead and wounded on the field, retired to their own lines. In this conflict, which was obstinately disputed for a considerable length of time, the Southern troops lost a battery and a stand of

colours. Soon afterwards, General Rosecrans gave the order for the entire line to advance, when the Confederate right wing was broken, and the flank so seriously menaced that Bragg considered it advisable to withdraw the whole of his forces. The division of General Breckinridge had been completely mobbed, and but for the interposition of a brigade from General Polk's corps, which checked the pursuit and saved some of the abandoned artillery, the disaster might have been even fifty miles to the south of Murfreesborough. That town was occupied by the Federals on the 5th, and 1,500 of the Confederate sick and wounded were found there by the conquerors. It is a remarkable fact that in this series of battles the two combatants are thought to have lost about the same number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Rosecrans, in his report, confesses to having been deprived of 8,778 men. If we are to set down a similar number on the Confederate side, we reach a total

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worse than it was. Night fell once more upon a bloody and tumultuous plain; and next day (January 3rd) each army held the other in such dread that very little was even attempted. Rosecrans managed so skilfully as to induce his opponent to believe that large reinforcements had arrived during the night. This finally determined the action of the Confederate General. He felt that he was no longer able to maintain his position, and that Murfreesborough must be abandoned if Tennessee was to be retained at all. The prisoners and baggage-waggons were accordingly sent to the rear; at eleven o'clock at night, the army commenced its retreat; and a new position was soon afterwards taken up behind the Duck River, some loss of more than 17,000. Both armies had fought with singular determination, and, being equally matched, they had inflicted upon one another a frightful amount of injury. Such an action should have been a turning-point of the war; but unfortunately its results bore little proportion to the cost.

At about the same period, the guerilla chief, General Forrest, had been unfortunate in his attempts to sever the communications of General Grant's army in Mississippi. In the latter part of December, 1862, he effected a good deal of damage to the various bridges and lines of rail, and captured several Federal detachments, but, on returning to the Confederate lines, was attacked on two sides by separate bodies of Northern troops. After a sharp

engagement, his force was utterly routed, and it was with difficulty that he and his men escaped across the Tennessee River into the State bearing the same name. Morgan was rather more successful, but the amount of damage inflicted by these two leaders was of a petty and vexatious, rather than a serious, character. The general position of the Federals in the West was not materially affected by the incursions of Morgan and Forrest, and the minor successes which they gained can only be accounted very poor compensation for the Confederate reverse at Murfreesborough. Engagements of this trivial nature continued to occur from time to time; but their importance is not sufficient to merit a detailed account.

In the latter days of 1862, General Grant, whose head-quarters were at Oxford, Mississippi, was preparing to advance on Granada, the point of junction between the Memphis and Mobile and the Corinth and Mobile Railways. While doing so, his depôt at Holly Springs was vehemently attacked, on the 19th of December, by General Van Dorn, at the head of some Texan cavalry. The town appears to have been badly guarded; and when Van Dorn dashed into it, the Federals were so overcome by surprise that, after the merest pretence at fighting, the garrison laid down their arms, with the exception of a few cavalry, who escaped. The torch was then applied to the vast accumulations of flour, cotton, and other stores which the place contained; the railway, the station, and the rolling stock, were set on fire; and the explosion of the magazine caused the destruction of a large part of the town. Having effected his purpose, Van Dorn got safely away, and General Grant, considering that his plans had been seriously affected by this disaster, abandoned his advance into Mississippi. Not many days after, General Sherman, who commanded a detachment of Grant's army, was unfortunate in a renewed attack on Vicksburg. He had under his directions four divisions, commanded by Generals Steele, Morgan, M. L. Smith, and A. J. Smith. His force embarked at Memphis, Tennessee, on the 20th of December, and next day was joined by Admiral Porter in his flagship, with two gunboats to act as convoy. The main body of the fleet was at the mouth of the river Yazoo, which flows into the Mississippi a few miles above Vicksburg. The expedition now descended the larger stream, exposed occasionally to the attacks of sharpshooters on the banks, whose assaults were revenged by the burning of houses, and the destruction of much property. The discipline of the men was extremely defective. The scene of confusion at the embarkation was such as to reflect great discredit on all concerned; and, for two days after, most of the troops, and many of the officers, were so drunk that an eye-witness has described the state of things on board the transports as "Hell broke loose."* On the night of the 24th, and early morning of the 25th, the detachment arrived at the mouth of the Yazoo. The fleet consisted of more than sixty transports, with a number of iron-clad and other gunboats and several mortar-boats. On the 26th, the expedition moved up the Yazoo, and troops were landed at various points extending over a distance of about three miles. The assailants were now eight miles from the point of attack, for it was proposed by General Sherman to assault Vicksburg in the rear—that is to say, from the north-eastern side. The Confederates, however, had already erected defences in that direction, and were prepared for a vigorous resistance. A battery, reared upon a bank known as Haines's Bluff, barred the progress of the Federal gunboats up the Yazoo; and between that bluff and the threatened city itself a large number of Confederates were posted on a line of low hills stretching along Chickasaw Bayou, which connects the lower part of the Yazoo with a bend of the Mississippi a little above Vicksburg. Additional batteries and lines of breastworks were constructed by the Southern forces as soon as it became evident that the Federal army had landed on the left bank of the Yazoo. Reinforcements were hurried up by rail from Jackson, and the defenders of the city felt so confident of success that several of the civilians, including ladies, stationed themselves on the higher bluffs, to watch any engagement that might occur.

The Federal troops being now ranged in order of attack, the division under General Steele was sent to a point above Chickasaw Bayou, to operate against the battery which enfiladed that point from the right of the Confederate line. Fighting ensued on the 27th of December, but the battery was not taken. The action was renewed on the 28th, and the Federals then attempted to cross the bayou, so as to bring their left and centre into combination. Still, no impression could be made on the Confederate position, which every hour grew stronger, as fresh works were thrown up, and fresh reinforcements arrived from Jackson. Nevertheless, the Federals held grimly to their purpose, and, some military bridges having been extemporised on the 29th, two companies of the 6th Missouri Regiment crossed the bayou, with instructions to undermine the bank on which the Confederates stood. The enterprise was one of great peril; but the Mis-

* Correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat.*

sourians set to work with quiet determination, and their spades and pick-axes made an impression on the crumbling earth. The sharpshooters of the 13th Regulars opened fire on the defenders of the bank, to prevent those firing on the men below; but in some instances their aim was inaccurate, and two of the Federals were shot dead by their own comrades. The Missourians called out "Fire higher!" and the Confederates above responded with the exclamation "Fire lower!" The opposing ranks were so close together that conversation was carried on between the two lines. "What regiment is below?" asked one of the Confederates. "The 6th Missouri," was the reply; to which the Southerner responded, "It is too brave a regiment to be on the wrong side." The Missourians had had no food for several hours, and one of them called out, "Have you got anything to eat up there? I am hungry." A large loaf of bread was immediately thrown down to them.* At the same time that this attempt was being made to undermine the bank, the division on the right attacked some other bluffs beyond the bayou. An advance over the centre bridge was to have been made at this juncture; but, owing to a mistake, the order was not given. This error caused the failure of the whole operation. The right division, not being properly supported by the centre, was repulsed with great loss, and night came on, accompanied by torrents of rain. The ground, at the best low and marshy, was converted in a little while into a muddy swamp, where the wounded dropped in their exhaustion, and, being beyond the reach of assistance, perished miserably in the ooze, dying either of exposure to the cold, or of absolute suffocation in the slough. The Federals had lost 3,000 men, and were no nearer the realisation of their project than when they had begun. At one time during the 30th, it was designed to attack Haines's Bluff; but a heavy fog came on, and it was apparent that the expedition must be abandoned. The troops re-embarked that evening, and returned up the Mississippi. Shortly afterwards, Sherman was superseded in the command of the detachment by General McClernand, and the force was divided into two corps, under Sherman and Morgan.

The failure at Vicksburg took place in the final days of the old year. On the first day of the ensuing year (1863), the Federals experienced another misfortune in the re-capture of Galveston, Texas. General Magruder, having collected artillery at Houston, marched towards the neighbourhood of the town which he designed to take, and occupied in force the works erected opposite the island on which that town is situated. Two steam-packets he converted into gunboats, which he rendered shot-proof by bulwarks of cotton-bales. The boats were manned by Texan cavalry, and were accompanied in their expedition by tenders and yachts, filled with spectators and volunteers. As the troops crossed the railway bridge which connected the island with the continent, the gunboats steamed up, and engaged the Federal gunboat called the *Harriet Lane*. The latter soon drove off one of the Confederate vessels; but the other, named the *Bayou City*, continued the contest with great determination. The two boats came close alongside one another, and, under cover of a galling fire of rifles, the Texans jumped on board the *Harriet Lane*. The commander, Captain Wainwright, was almost immediately shot down; the greater number of his men were killed; and the Federal flagship *Westfield*, on attempting to go to the assistance of the gunboat, was blown up by her commander, who, not being able to get off in time, perished with some of his crew. By this, the land troops had obtained possession of the town, and the Federal forces, being unprovided with artillery, surrendered at discretion. The blockade in that locality was at once raised, and the port was reopened to commerce. The conclusion of 1862 and the commencement of 1863 were marked by serious reverses to the Federal arms. The future was involved in cloud and darkness; yet the spirit of the Northern people did not fail one jot.

* Rebellion Record, Vol. VI., p. 316 Documents; account by correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Renewed Operations on the Rappahannock—Removal of General Burnside—Insubordination of the Assistant Generals—Inquiry by a Committee of Congress—Antagonism of Burnside and Hooker—President Lincoln's Proclamation for the Emancipation of Negroes in the Rebel States (Jan. 1st, 1863)—Effect of the Measure in the South—Message of Mr. Jefferson Davis to the Southern Congress—His References to Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation—Unlucky Prophecies of the Southern President—The Northern Blockade—Prospects of the Confederacy—Severe Pressure of the War—Renewed Attempt by France to bring about Negotiations with a View to Peace—Enormous Increase in the Public Debt of the United States—Enlistment of Black Soldiers—Naval Operations on the Coasts—Action between the *Montauk* and the *Nashville*—Attack on Fort McAllister, Georgia—Unsuccessful Attempt to bombard Charleston from the Sea—Injury to the Federal Fleet—Destruction of Jacksonville, Florida, by the Federals—Surrender of Arkansas Port by the Confederates—Daring Exploits of the Federal Gunboats in the Inland Waters of the Mississippi States—Admiral Farragut gets past the Batteries at Port Hudson—Approaching Investment of Vicksburg.

General Burnside could not long continue to retain command of the Army of the Potomac (as it was now once more called) after his reverse at Fredericksburg about the middle of December, 1862. Under the best of circumstances, he would probably have found it necessary to retire from a position in which—though more by the fault of others than his own—he had been so signally unfortunate. But there were special facts which rendered a change inevitable. Burnside and his lieutenants were at open rupture, and Mr. Lincoln supported the subordinates rather than the chief. Partly in consequence of these discords, everything was in a very provisional and unsettled state on the banks of the Rappahannock. For a full month following the desperate battle in December, the Federal army remained almost entirely inactive on the northern side of the river; but on the 16th of January, 1863—after a previous order to march, which had been countermanded—preparations were made for renewed operations. At nightfall, the pontoons were brought from Belle Plain, and placed in position near the stream. Burnside designed to move his forces a few miles further up the Rappahannock, to cross at the fords, and to attack the left flank of General Lee; but on the following day the order was postponed. Three days later—on the 20th of January—the movement was begun, and Generals Hooker, Franklin, and Sigel advanced up the river towards the fords by which it was hoped to reach the opposite bank. The progress of the army was impeded by a violent storm, with torrents of rain, which turned the roads into mud, and rendered the movements of the troops and their supplies extremely difficult. The tempest continued throughout the 21st and 22nd, and did not abate until the 23rd: thus, the favourable opportunity for making the attack, while there was yet a probability that the Confederates might be taken by surprise, had passed away; and on the 24th the expedition was abandoned. The troops returned to their former quarters, and the Federals confessed to another mistake in the face of the enemy.

The anticipated change was about to happen. On the 26th, General Burnside issued an address to the army, informing the several divisions that, by direction of the President, he transferred the command to Major-General Joseph Hooker. Burnside admitted that his brief term of command had not been fruitful of victory, or any considerable advancement of their lines, but complimented his soldiers on their courage, patience, and endurance. His removal from the command was at his own renewed request, and was rendered necessary by the insubordination of some of the assistant Generals. The post appears to have been assumed by him with great reluctance, and it was doubtless relinquished with a sincere feeling of relief. Expressions of good will towards one another were contained in the addresses of Burnside and Hooker; but it is well known that the latter General had been one of the most eager opponents of the former. Hooker, however, now required, as towards himself, "the cheerful and zealous co-operation of every officer and soldier in the army." On the 28th, Generals Sumner and Franklin were relieved of the command of the right and left divisions of the Federal forces—the former at his own request, the latter not so. The whole condition of the Army of the Potomac at this period was considered so unsatisfactory, that on the 26th of January the Senate adopted the following resolution:—"Resolved, that the Committee on the Conduct of the War be instructed to inquire whether Major-General A. E. Burnside has, since the battle of Fredericksburg, formed any plans for the movement of the Army of the Potomac, or any portion of the same; and, if so, whether any subordinate Generals of said army have written to or visited Washington to oppose or interfere with the execution of such movements, and whether such proposed movements have been arrested or interfered with; and, if so,

by what authority." The report of the committee (which was published in April, 1863) showed very clearly that Burnside had been thwarted by the officers who served under him. It appeared that shortly after the battle of Fredericksburg he had formed a plan for attacking the enemy in front; that on the 26th of December, 1862, the army was directed to place itself in immediate readiness to move; that Generals Newton and Cochrane went to Washington on leave of absence a little after the issue of that order, and there represented to the President that the army was in a most dispirited condition, in consequence, as it was insinuated, of the incapacity of the chief commander; that the President accordingly telegraphed to General Burnside, after the preliminaries of the expedition had actually commenced, that he had good reasons for desiring that no general movement should be executed without his knowledge; that the plan for crossing the Rappahannock was therefore abandoned; that General Burnside subsequently obtained an interview with the President, but without any satisfactory results; that he took upon himself the responsibility of the movement commencing on the 20th of January, 1863, which was frustrated by the violence of the weather, and by the opposition of the subordinate officers, sometimes freely expressed in the hearing of their inferiors; that he then drew up a General Order, dismissing some officers from the service (subject to the approval of the President), relieving others from duty with the Army of the Potomac, and pronouncing sentence of death upon certain deserters who had been tried and convicted; that the President refused to approve of that order, and at the same time declined to accept Burnside's resignation; and that finally it was determined to "relieve" the General of his command, and to state that this was done "at his own request." The committee, while refraining from any positive expression of opinion, evidently sympathised with General Burnside.

A great deal of secret intriguing had been going on for some weeks. It would even seem that Burnside's plans were communicated to the enemy, though he had taken only a very few persons into his confidence. The General, indeed, was surrounded by personal enemies, and Hooker was the ringleader. In the Order which the President refused to sanction, and which was dated January 23rd, Burnside dismissed Hooker from the service of the United States, "as a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present, when so much patience, charity, confidence, consideration, and patriotism, are due from every soldier in the field." The other officers thus dismissed from the service, subject to the approval of the President, were Generals Brooks and Newton. Those who were simply "relieved from duty" were Generals Franklin, Smith, Sturgis, Ferrero, and Cochrane, with Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, one of the acting Adjutant-Generals. In the event, the only one of these officers whom the President removed at that time was General Franklin. Sumner was taken from the right division of the Army of the Potomac, which he had for some time commanded, because, being a much older officer than Hooker, it was not thought right to ask him to occupy an inferior position. After the very severe denunciation of General Hooker, in the General Order of January 23rd, it is rather surprising to find Burnside, in his farewell address, issued only three days later, writing of that officer:—"Give to the brave and skilful General who has long been identified with your organisation, and who is now to command you, your full and cordial support and co-operation, and you will deserve success." But these public civilities often cover a vast amount of private ill-will. Hooker, in assuming the command, said, in his published address to the troops (January 26th):—"The undersigned only gives expression to the feelings of this army when he conveys to our late commander, Major-General Burnside, the most cordial good wishes for his future." Yet he had done his best to embarrass him in the past.

The 1st of January, 1863, was the day on which the President's Proclamation of Emancipation came into effect. It was required by the Constitution that a period of a hundred days should elapse between the announcement of such an intention and its actual fulfilment. This had been provided for by the issue of the original proclamation on the 22nd of the previous September, and it now remained for the President to designate, in another proclamation, bearing date the 1st of January, the States and parts of States wherein the people were at that moment in rebellion against the Union, and where, consequently, the edict was to operate. The change thus sanctioned was described as being effected by virtue of the power vested in the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, to be used by him in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority of the Government. It was in fact avowedly a war-measure for the suppression of rebellion, and that only, though its indirect influence on the general question of slavery was necessarily very great. By the same public announcement it was made known that emancipated negroes, of suitable condition, would be

THE "NASHVILLE" DESTROYING A FEDERAL MERCHANTMAN.

received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in the same service. The new phase upon which the United States now entered, and to which the rebellion of the slave-owners had led up, made the opening day of 1863 one of the most memorable in the history of the Republic. Slavery was not, indeed, abolished throughout the whole of the national territory; but it may fairly be said to have received its death-blow from that moment.

ADMIRAL PORTER.

The effect of the measure in the South was remarkable—not merely when President Lincoln's intention was originally announced, but again at the commencement of the new year. In the second annual Message of the Southern President, delivered to Congress on the 12th of January, Mr. Davis alluded to the proclamation of the 1st of that month in terms of great reprehension and of no little alarm. "We may well," he observed, "leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow-men of all countries, to pass judgment on a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race—peaceful and contented labourers in their sphere—are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation 'to abstain from violence, unless in necessary self-defence' [words occurring in Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of January 1st]. Our own detestation of those who

have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man, is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses." The strange perversion of the intellectual and moral faculties which could imagine that "common humanity" was interested in the maintenance of slavery, which could denounce an act for the emancipation of slaves as the most execrable measure ever known, and which could regard even self-defence as a crime when resorted to by negroes, gives to these sentences a character altogether unique. Mr. Davis added that, unless otherwise directed by Congress, he should deliver to the several authorities of the Confederate States all commissioned officers of the United States captured by the armies of the Confederacy, that they might be dealt with in accordance with the laws providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection. The Southern President then sought to convict Mr. Lincoln of gross and premeditated breach of faith in having made this approach to general emancipation after his solemn and repeated declarations to the effect that he had neither the inclination nor the constitutional power to cause any change in the position of the slaves. But Mr. Davis was unable to point, in confirmation of his charge, to any document of later date than April 22nd, 1861—a period when the civil war had barely commenced, when it was believed that the malcontent States would speedily abandon their attitude of hostility, and when, consequently, there would have been no sufficient justification, on legal grounds, for interfering with the domestic institutions of any State. That Mr. Lincoln was not personally inclined to touch the question of slavery, is clear beyond reasonable doubt; that under anything like ordinary political conditions he had no constitutional right to touch it, is even more indisputable.* But, in the opinion of many well-informed Americans, he had an exceptional power under exceptional circumstances. He might do as a war-measure what he could not do as a peace-measure. In April, 1861, the exceptional circumstances had not so obviously and positively arisen as to justify the resort to the exceptional measures. It was a very different thing after nearly two years of persistent rebellion, carried on with the unwavering design of destroying the integrity of the Republic. Mr. Davis wished the world to believe that, even had there been no rebellion, Mr. Lincoln would have used his power as President to put an end to slavery by a perfectly unconstitutional act. The imputation refutes itself by its own extravagant improbability.

In the opinion of Mr. Jefferson Davis, the proclamation of his rival would have a salutary effect in calming the fears of those who had constantly evinced the apprehension that the civil war might end in some reconstruction of the old Union, or some renewal of close political relations with the United States. "These fears," said Mr. Davis, "have never been shared by me, nor have I ever been able to perceive on what basis they could rest; but the proclamation affords the fullest guarantees of the impossibility of such a result. It has established a state of things which can lead to but one of three possible consequences—the extermination of the slaves, the exile of the whole white population of the Confederacy, or absolute and total separation of these States from the United States. This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which can no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to recognition. It is also, in effect, an intimation to the people of the North that they must prepare to submit to a separation now become inevitable; for that people are too acute not to understand that a restitution of the Union has been rendered for ever impossible by the adoption of a measure which, from its very nature, neither admits of retraction, nor can co-exist with union." Mr. Davis was a bad prophet. Every one of his forecastings with respect to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was disproved by the event. The slaves were not exterminated; the white population of the Confederacy was not exiled; the Southern States were not finally separated from the Northern; the Federal Government was not unable to subjugate the South by force of arms; the Confederacy was not recognised by neutral nations; and the Union was not rendered for ever impossible by the adoption of Mr. Lincoln's war-measure.

The Message of Mr. Davis touched upon other points of interest arising out of the position of the Confederacy. In particular, it referred at some length to the blockade which the United States had established. The Southern President insisted

* It is a remarkable circumstance that, on the 13th of September, 1862—only nine days before the issue of the proclamation of the President announcing his intention to emancipate the slaves of rebels on the 1st of January, 1863—Mr. Lincoln, in replying to a deputation from the religious denominations of Chicago, argued strongly against the advisability of such a measure, while admitting that the subject was on his mind, day and night, more than any other. There is no room for supposing any conscious insincerity in this. The President really hesitated to the last about taking so bold a step. He would unquestionably have been glad to avoid it altogether, if he could.

on the nullity of the blockade, on account of its inefficiency, and referred to the solemn declaration of principles made in 1856 by the great Powers of Europe at the close of the Crimean war. That solemn declaration, he alleged, had been suffered to remain inoperative against the outrages on neutral rights committed by the United States during the whole period of the war. The neutrality of Europe, in the opinion of Mr. Davis, had been rather nominal than real; and complaint was made of the one-sided manner, favourable to the United States, in which the blockade had been interpreted by the chief Governments of Europe. The alleged atrocities of the Union troops were then referred to. Generals McNeil, Butler, and Milroy, were more especially signalled out for denunciation; and the President added that he had branded Butler as an outlaw, and directed his execution if he should fall into the hands of any of the Confederate forces. After alluding to various matters of internal government, Mr. Davis congratulated his Congress on the development of home industry and manufactures, by which the country had been enabled to fight its battles without depending on the assistance of other nations. From their own mines they had extracted the metal necessary for the production of those weapons which the armies in the field required; the weapons themselves had been of native manufacture; their stock of gunpowder had been mainly drawn from their own resources; and so with regard to other warlike material, for which there was at that time so great a demand. Cotton and woollen fabrics, shoes and harness, waggons and gun-carriages, were produced in daily-increasing quantities by the factories then springing into existence; while their fields, no longer whitened by cotton that could not be exported, were devoted to the cultivation of cereals, and to the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton.

Notwithstanding these cheerful prospects, over which Mr. Davis dilated with a somewhat forced enthusiasm, the people of the Confederacy were in fact suffering very severely. Bread was so scarce that riots occurred at Richmond, arising out of the dearness of provisions. The necessity of employing the railways for the transport of troops rendered it almost impossible to use them also as a means of conveying corn from one part of the land to another. The resources of the Confederacy, apart from the Northern States from which by its own act it was now disjoined, were comparatively slight. It is true that Nature had done much for those favoured regions; but the want of capital, of energy, and of free labour, had impoverished the South, as it would impoverish any other country, however richly endowed. The determination of the Southerners was remarkable. They were devoted to their own bad cause as completely as any nation was ever devoted to a good cause. Their men fought bravely in the field; their women bore deprivations without a murmur, and tended the sick and wounded with exemplary zeal. Yet the country generally was unable to bear the strain of war. It had no manufactures; it had no middle class; it was simply a discordant assemblage of privileged landed proprietors and oppressed slaves, with a sprinkling of "mean whites," who envied the one and scorned the other section, and were regarded by both as an encumbrance. The North was vigorous with the infinite expansion of free life; with multiplicity of interests, diversity of manufactures, equality of conditions, the riches of commerce, the endless reproductiveness of trade. It should have been obvious from the first to every thinking politician of the South that the North must of necessity prevail, if the people only possessed sufficient resolution to undergo a period of suffering, of loss, and of disturbance. The mistake made by the Secessionists was in supposing that the North had no such resolution; but the bitter error was now becoming every day more glaringly apparent.

A renewed attempt to bring about a negotiation between the two belligerents was made by the French Government in January, 1863. In that month, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed a letter to M. Mercier, the representative of France at Washington, in which the Federal Government was asked whether co-operation with European Powers was not the best means which offered itself for hastening the close of the war. Supposing it, however, to reject that conception, might it not honourably adopt the idea of informal conferences with any authority which might represent the States of the South? Representatives or commissioners of the two parties, in the opinion of M. de Lhuys, could assemble at any point which it might be deemed proper to designate, and which could for that purpose be declared neutral. Reciprocal complaints could be thus examined into, and, in place of the accusations which North and South mutually cast upon each other, would be submitted an argumentative discussion of the interests that divided them. The project thus sketched out was laid before the American Government; but Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, declined the proposal. "If it were possible," he said in a letter to Mr. Dayton, the American Minister at Paris, written on the 6th of February, "for the Government of

the United States to compromise the national authority so far as to enter into such debates, it is not easy to perceive what good results could be obtained by them. The commissioners must agree in recommending, either that the Union shall stand, or that it shall be voluntarily dissolved; or else they must leave the vital question unsettled, to abide at last the fortunes of the war. . . . . There is not the least ground to suppose that the controlling actors would be persuaded, by any arguments which a national commissioner could offer, to forego the ambition that has impelled them to the disloyal position they are occupying." This brought to an end the second French attempt at mediation. The Emperor Napoleon was doubtless animated by a benevolent intention in thus seeking to establish an agreement between the antagonistic sections of the old Union; but he misunderstood the feeling of the North, and perhaps also of the South. The case was not one for compromise; and all movements in that direction would assuredly have ended in redoubled exasperation and renewed hostilities.

Yet in many respects the North needed peace. At the commencement of 1863, the public debt of the United States exceeded 720,000,000 dollars, and it was estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury that on the 1st of July, 1864, it would reach the enormous total of 1,744,685,586 dollars. This was nearly one-half the national debt of Great Britain, and it bore almost double the rate of interest. Gold at that time commanded a premium of 32 per cent., as compared with legal-tender Treasury notes. In Europe it was feared that national bankruptcy would ensue, and that the United States would repudiate their obligations out of sheer inability to meet them. Mr. Robert J. Walker, who had filled the post of Secretary of the Treasury under President Polk, brought these facts before the notice of Congress, and observed that the great peril of the Government lay in the alarming increase of the public debt and expenditure, and the still more appalling depreciation of the national currency. They were upon the verge of ruin, he observed; they were hanging over the gulf of an irredeemable paper system, and its spectral shade, repudiation, was seen dimly in the abyss. Matters got worse as the year went on. The general price of commodities was 80 per cent. higher in October, 1863, than it had been in February, 1862. Fifty-five articles, of which the price was 804 dollars at the earlier period, cost 1,455 dollars at the later. Wages had not risen in the same proportion, and the suffering to the working-classes was therefore very great.* Yet, notwithstanding these severe trials, the people of the North, with but few exceptions, were as firmly resolved as ever to prosecute the war until the authority of the Union should be restored.

The position of the negro was perpetually receiving some new modification. He had already been employed as a labourer in connection with warlike operations; it was now determined to make him a soldier in every sense of the word. On the 2nd of February, a Bill for arming negroes passed the House of Representatives by a majority of 85 to 57. This measure provided that the President might arm such number of negroes as he should deem necessary, for a term not exceeding five years. Their rations, clothing, and equipments were to be the same as for other soldiers, and their pay was not to exceed the existing rates. They were to be officered by white or black persons, and to be governed by the articles of war, and by such special rules as the President might direct; but no black officer was to exercise authority over white officers or men, nor were privates or labourers of colour to receive more than ten dollars per month. To avoid giving offence to the loyal States which might still hold negroes in bondage, it was specially provided that no slaves of loyal owners should be thus employed, nor should any recruiting offices be opened in Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri, without the consent of the Governments of those States. A similar Bill was introduced by Mr. Sumner into the Senate, but was not passed; nor was the measure originating in the Lower House sanctioned by the Upper. The Bills, indeed, were scarcely wanted; for—not to speak of the irregular and illegal raising of negro corps which had been sanctioned in South Carolina by General Hunter, and at New Orleans by General Butler—the employment of coloured men as troops had been authorised by Congress in 1862, more particularly by the law known as the Confiscation Act. At that time, however, public opinion at the North, and in the loyal slave-holding States, was so little inclined to see black men armed as soldiers that the President was urged to exercise the power conferred on him in a very restricted manner. The consequence was that the enabling Acts were almost dead letters, and scarcely any persons of African descent were employed as soldiers, though they were largely used as labourers on the fortifications, as teamsters, and as boatmen. Nevertheless, it was pretty certain that the time would soon arrive when the services of these vigorous men as actual belli-

* Annual Register for 1863. The facts are derived from a table prepared by one of the commercial newspapers of New York.

gerents would become too valuable to be rejected. The drain upon the white population was growing terrible, and it was natural that Americans should turn their eyes towards the black element in their population, as a means of prolonging the contest. Early in 1863, the President was strongly advised by many to avail himself of the powers with which he had been invested. Recruiting offices for coloured regiments were opened in Massachusetts, and afterwards in other free States, as well as in those slave-holding States which had been subjected by the forces of the Union; and General Thomas was in March despatched to the south-west, charged with the organisation of coloured troops, and the establishment of a labour-system in the Mississippi Valley. By the close of the year, more than 50,000 men had been disciplined, and were in actual service.

In the opening months of 1863, no military events of importance occurred at the several seats of war. The fleet, however, continued to be active, and various places on the coasts were harassed by naval operations. The Confederate war-steamer *Nashville* was now in the Ogeechee River, Georgia, and it was necessary to keep a close watch over the mouth of that stream, to prevent the privateer escaping. For several months, the *Nashville* had been loaded with cotton, and was seeking an opportunity of running out; but this was more than she could effect. On the other hand, the Federal vessels could not get at the *Nashville*. Fort McAllister, at the entrance of the river, was strengthened by the Confederates, and the channel itself was obstructed with stakes, and guarded by a line of torpedoes. The vessel was heavily armed, and presented a very fine appearance. On the evening of February 27th, she was observed by Captain Worden, commanding the iron-clad *Montauk*, to be lying above Fort McAllister. She had grounded in a shallow part of the river, and preparations for attacking her were made by Captain Worden. On the following morning, the *Montauk* opened fire on the *Nashville*, and, though herself exposed to the fire of the battery at Fort McAllister, succeeded in setting the privateer in flames. Some time after, a large pivot-gun, mounted abaft her foremast, exploded from the heat, and ultimately her magazine blew up, and shattered what remained of the vessel into fragments. All this while, the Confederate battery kept up a continuous fire on the *Montauk*, but without doing her any damage, owing to the thickness of the armour-plates. Captain Worden now determined to ascend the Ogeechee; but it was first necessary to capture Fort McAllister, and to overcome the obstructions placed in the river. An animated engagement between the batteries and the Federal gunboats, on the 3rd of March, ended without any definite result, and the attacking vessels withdrew, in order to share in some contemplated operations against Charleston, South Carolina.

The defences of that city had recently been greatly strengthened. General Beauregard was now in command of the department, and a proclamation had been issued recommending the withdrawal of non-combatants, and calling on the population of South Carolina to volunteer for the defence of the city. Charleston was at that time watched by a large fleet of iron-clads; but these had been scattered, one dark night towards the end of January, by a bold attack conducted by Captain Ingraham, in command of two rams which had been built and equipped on the spot. On this occasion, one of the Federal iron-clads had been compelled to surrender, and the Confederates asserted that they had raised the blockade, though it is extremely doubtful whether they had really done so. Such was the state of affairs when a fresh expedition was directed against the city. The Federal commanders were compelled to postpone the enterprise for some weeks after the idea had been first conceived, owing to the difficulty of working the iron-clads in rough weather and a heavy sea. The greater part of those vessels being below the water, the danger of submergence was great, and nothing but the fact of each being attached by a cable to its accompanying steam-tug prevented the most serious disasters. The crew were obliged to manage as well as they could in the lower portions of the vessels, insufficiently supplied with air, and entirely in the dark, except for such artificial illumination as they could carry with them. Admiral du Pont, who was in command of the expedition against Charleston, deferred his attack until the beginning of April. In the course of March, the greater part of the fleet was transferred from Port Royal, South Carolina, to a point about half-way between that locality and Charleston harbour; and on the 1st of April about a hundred vessels were collected at the mouth of the North Edisto River. After a further delay of more than four days, the fleet sailed for Charleston bar on the morning of the 6th. The bar was crossed by the iron-clads in the course of that day, and a position was taken up in the main channel along the coast of Morris Island.

Owing to a thick haze, no further operations occurred until the 7th, when a line of battle was formed, in which the iron-clads were to take the principal part. The wooden vessels remained outside the bar. Attached to the leading iron-clad,

the *Weehawken*, was a raft, destined to explode torpedoes and remove obstructions. The raft proved to be an obstruction in itself, and, owing to its disarrangement, the advance of the squadron was delayed an hour. It was two hours from the starting of the vessels before they came within range of the numerous forts and batteries by which the city was defended. The steeples of the churches, the roofs and windows of the houses, and the long line of wharfs, were crowded with spectators. From the battlemented walls of the forts, the Confederate flag, and the banner of South Carolina with its palmetto-tree on a blue ground, flew defiantly in the bright spring air; and the strains of the Southern National Anthem were heard from time to time coming from the head-quarters of the garrison. The attacking force was allowed to pass the outer batteries without any notice being taken of its presence; but as the *Weehawken* was about to enter the inner harbour, a gun was fired from Fort Moultrie, followed by all the batteries on Sullivan's Island and Morris Island, and by those of Fort Sumter. On reaching the entrance of the channel between Sumter and Sullivan's Island, the leading ship got entangled in a hawser stretching across the water-way, to which were suspended nets and various contrivances for preventing the action of the screws. The other iron-clads opened fire on the forts; but a good deal of confusion ensued in the movements of the heavily-armoured Federal ships. The *Weehawken* endeavoured to steer into a more favourable position, and the whole squadron got mixed up in a way that was utterly destructive of order. A vessel called the *New Ironsides* was caught in the tide-way while attempting to turn. Refusing to obey her rudder, she became unmanageable; two other iron-clads fell foul of her; and for a quarter of an hour the three vessels were in a dead-lock. The Admiral was compelled to make signal to the fleet to disregard the movements of the flagship, and to take up such positions as might seem most available.

By four o'clock in the afternoon, the iron-clads were ranged opposite the north-east front of Sumter, at distances varying from 550 to 800 yards, where they were exposed to the concentrated fire of 300 guns, possessing extraordinary range and power. Setting aside the *Weehawken*, which was incapable of rendering assistance, owing to the obstructions with which it was entangled, the number of the iron-clads was but eight, carrying not more than sixteen guns in all. It is stated that, at the hottest part of the fire, 160 shots were counted in a minute, and officers described the projectiles as sometimes striking their vessels as rapidly as the ticking of a watch. The narrowness of the channel, the dense clouds of smoke proceeding from the guns, and the necessity of avoiding collisions with one another, with the various floating obstructions, and with the submerged batteries, proved sources of great embarrassment to the commanders of the attacking fleet. Nevertheless, the action was maintained with much spirit, and Lieutenant-Commander Rhind ran his vessel, the *Keokuk*, within a short distance of Fort Sumter, where she was so hotly received that at the end of half an hour it became absolutely necessary for her to retire, lest she should be utterly destroyed. She had been struck ninety times in the hull and turrets, and nineteen shots had pierced her sides, either at or below the water-line. It was only with much difficulty that Commander Rhind could bring his vessel to anchor beyond the range of fire, and next morning she sank. The other vessels were likewise injured in various degrees, though not so severely as the *Keokuk*. It was evident that the guns in the forts and batteries were stronger than those which the Federals could bring to bear in reply, and that the armour-plated sides of the iron-clads were not of sufficient thickness to withstand the tremendous weight of metal that was hurled against them. Moreover, the land forces were too few in number to render any assistance. Admiral du Pont, therefore, gave orders for the attack to cease. Several men had been killed and wounded on board the fleet, while only two deaths had occurred in the forts. The east wall of Fort Sumter had been somewhat broken by the Federal guns; but the damage was slight, and this was all that could be set against the enormous amount of injury that had been received by the Northern vessels. A large proportion of these had been either wholly or one-half disabled in less than an hour's engagement, and the Admiral felt convinced that persistence in the attack would have resulted in the loss of nearly all his ships. With the exception of the *New Ironsides*, which anchored outside Charleston bar, the whole fleet returned to Port Royal on the 12th of April. On the following day, President Lincoln telegraphed to Admiral du Pont that he was to hold his position inside Charleston bar, or, in the event of his having left it, was at once to return. He was not to allow the enemy to erect new batteries or defences on Morris Island, and, if he had begun to do so, he was to drive him forth. The Admiral replied by expressing his willingness to obey all orders with fidelity, while at the same time pointing out that the course imposed on him would be attended with great risks. He was superseded in July by Rear-Admiral Dahlgren, and arrangements

were then made for combined operations against Charleston by land and sea. The narration of these, however, will come more fitly into another Chapter.

The destruction of Jacksonville, Florida, by a party of Federal troops, towards the end of March, was one of the most painful incidents of the war at that period. The town was small, but very beautiful, not merely in its situation, but in its style of building. It was a great health-resort, to which many citizens of the North were in the habit of repairing for the benefit of its warm and brilliant climate. Several of its citizens were men of Northern origin, and it was believed, not without reason, that these men retained their regard for the Union. Three regiments under Colonel Higginson were sent to seize and occupy the town. Of these troops, a whole regiment was composed entirely of negroes; the others had come from New England States. Jacksonville was taken without any difficulty; but the troops, after a slight skirmish in the neighbourhood with some Confederate militia, were ordered to re-embark, that they might share in the operations against Charleston. Out of pure mischief, as it would seem, they determined to destroy the city before they left. The churches, villas, and shops were broken open; articles of value were carried away; and the houses were then set on fire. By one of the Federal officers it was stated, in an official report, that the fires were caused partly by the rebels and partly by the Union forces, and that this had been done from a

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military necessity; but it seems only too probable that the act was vindictive, and without any reasonable excuse. It was one of those deeds by which nothing is gained. The possession of the city was not important, and its destruction, when the troops were ordered to withdraw, could answer no purpose but to intensify the opposition of the South.

In the region of the Mississippi, the attention of the Federal Government was still directed towards the capture of Vicksburg. General Sherman had by this time been superseded by General McClernand, and it was determined to make a third attempt to reduce that fortified position which barred the lower course of the great river. Previous to undertaking renewed operations, it was thought advisable to accustom the men to active warfare by an expedition of a less onerous nature. Arkansas Post, a village on the Arkansas River, which had been fortified by the Confederates, was considered to be open to an attack, and a force consisting of two army-corps, under Morgan and Sherman, but subject to the general directions of McClernand, was sent against the position, accompanied by a fleet of three iron-clads, and several gunboats of lighter draught, under Admiral Porter. This was at the very commencement of the year, and on the 9th of January the troops landed four miles below the fort, which was immediately afterwards invested. The place was defended by between 3,000 and 4,000 men, commanded by General Churchill, and the strength of the fortifications was increased by the river-marshes amongst which they were erected. A combined attack by the Federal army and fleet began on the 11th, and so heavy a fire was opened against the town that, on the outer line of entrenchments being carried, the garrison at once surrendered. The prisoners were sent to Cairo, and the fort was blown up. The Federal forces returned to Young's Point, a short distance above Vicksburg, on the opposite side of the river, where they established a permanent camp, and were soon afterwards joined by General Grant, who assumed the chief command of the operations by which it was hoped, in spite of previous disappointments, to reduce Vicksburg to submission.

Grant's plan for proceeding against that stronghold was different from the scheme which Sherman had unsuccessfully endeavoured to carry out. The defences towards the Mississippi and the lower part of the Yazoo River were evidently too formidable to be captured by storm. It was therefore determined by the new commander to turn the rear of the lines, if that could be effected, and, having obtained an entrance into the upper part of the Yazoo, to take the batteries at Haines's Bluff in reverse. He was greatly assisted by some of Admiral Porter's iron-clads, one of which, called the *Queen of the West*, opened communications with the Federal fleet in the lower part of the Mississippi, attacked a Confederate steamer under protection of the guns of Vicksburg, and disabled her, though at considerable cost to herself. This vessel and the *Indianola* forced their way up creeks and bayous, though exposed to a continual fire from the banks, and to the peril of torpedoes beneath the water. In this daring fashion they threaded a great maze of inland waters, and struck terror into the Confederates in many regions where a Union force of any kind was not expected to appear. The men had to find their provisions as best they could in the surrounding country, which was often covered with dense forests; and the danger they encountered was only equalled by the spirit with which it was met. A large amount of cotton was destroyed or captured. Army-waggons and houses were burned, and the injury to the Confederates was so great that special efforts were made to bring the invaders to an action. Both vessels were at length taken—the *Indianola* after a desperate fight, in which it was doubtful for a time whether she would not prevail. The destruction of property by these iron-clads had been immense; and still greater devastation had been effected by an expedition undertaken by General Steel, in April, up Deer Creek, a tributary of the Mississippi. Steel was retaliating the injuries of some guerillas who had fired on Federal vessels; but the retaliation was unjustifiably severe. A large tract of country was devastated; a number of slaves, many horses, mules, and oxen, and all the produce of the farms, were carried away; and the torch was indiscriminately applied to everything that could not be removed. This was in the State of Mississippi; and a land remarkable for natural beauty was in a little while reduced to the condition of a desert.

In the course of April, a combined naval and military force entered the Tallahatchie by the Yazoo Pass, proceeded almost as far south as the junction of the Tallahatchie with the Yallabusha, and in this way obtained access to a large tract of country from which great quantities of cotton were collected. The progress of the gunboats was finally checked by the guns of Fort Pemberton, situated at a bend of the river in a marshy soil, where the approach of troops was impossible. An attempt to bombard the fort proved entirely unsuccessful, and the expedition returned with some difficulty to the Mississippi. Another naval force, charged with

the design of penetrating into the Upper Yazoo, sailed from the Mississippi, and made its way simultaneously through various inland waters, so tangled with vegetation as to render progress unusually slow and laborious, and in several instances so narrow that it was necessary to widen the channel before the iron-clads could enter at all. Some of these creeks wound through extensive marshes, under dark, overhanging forests of gigantic cypress, sycamore, and cotton-wood trees; and their course was often so obscure, and so little known by previous descriptions, that it was extremely difficult to thread their sinuosities, and a matter of doubt whither they would finally conduct the explorers. The obstacles to the Federal advance were rendered still greater by the industry of the Confederates, who, collecting bands of negroes, cut down trees, and dammed up several of the channels, both before and behind the gunboats. Many of the sailors were killed by riflemen stationed on the banks; and Admiral Porter, feeling alarmed for the safety of his vessels, sent despatches to General Sherman, requesting immediate assistance. Sherman himself, with one division of his corps, hurried to the locality where his presence was so urgently needed. The gunboats were by that time hemmed up in a narrow creek; but the appearance of Sherman's brigade caused the Confederates to withdraw, and the fleet then returned to the Mississippi. The impracticability of forcing a passage into the Upper Yazoo was now apparent, and the scheme was abandoned, together with another by which it was hoped to create a fresh channel for the Mississippi. The levees, or elevated causeways skirting the Yazoo, were, however, cut through in several places, and a good deal of the country in the rear of Vicksburg was laid under water, in hope of destroying the communications between Vicksburg and Jackson, and preventing the arrival of supplies for the garrison. The banks by which the Mississippi is kept from overflowing its bounds were also destroyed, and a large area of Arkansas and Louisiana was submerged.

Almost contemporaneously with these operations, Admiral Farragut undertook to force his way up the lower part of the Mississippi, past the batteries at Port Hudson, and so on to the southern side of Vicksburg. On the night between the 14th and 15th of March—a night unusually dark, and apparently favourable to the operation in hand—the flag-ship *Hartford*, followed by the other vessels, steamed slowly up the river; and when the leading vessel had passed the first line of batteries at Port Hudson, the alarm was given by the guards, and a great fire was lighted on the river's bank, to reveal the presence of the Federal vessels. The fleet now opened fire on the enemy's works. The mortar-boats threw shells into the ranks of the Confederates, and the defenders of the position seemed for a time too much dismayed to make any reply. At length, however, their guns blazed forth, and the *Hartford* was struck; nevertheless, she and the *Albatross* got past the batteries. A prolonged action ensued, in which several of the Federal vessels were severely handled. Owing to the darkness of the night, and the density of the smoke, the gunners could not determine with precision where to direct their aim. It was feared that the vessels would fire into one another; and on this account an order was given to bring the action to an end. Of the fifteen vessels which Admiral Farragut took with him, only his own and the *Albatross* succeeded in running past the batteries. The others were compelled to turn back, and, in doing so, one of them—the *Mississippi*—got aground, and was abandoned and set on fire. Wrapped in flames from stem to stern, she drifted rapidly down the stream, and, when near the other vessels at Providence Island, exploded with so terrific a report that her companions were shaken by the concussion of the air. Farragut was now in a position of no little peril. He had the fortress of Vicksburg in his front, and the batteries of Port Hudson in his rear; and he was also in danger of an attack from the Confederate iron-clads which were cruising about the river. In point of fact, however, he was not assailed, but was himself able to blockade the mouth of the Red River, and thus contribute to the furtherance of the Federal plans. Still, he had failed in the main part of his design, and, as a consequence, the land force under General Banks, which was advancing from Bâton Rouge to take part in the siege of Vicksburg, considered it prudent to retire. General Grant retained his position before the threatened fortress; but for the present nothing more was tried. The town could only be reduced by a regular investment; and towards that somewhat tedious operation General Grant now directed his utmost energies and skill.

CHAPTER L.

Winter on the Rappahannock—Incursions of Cavalry—Conscription Act of the Federal Congress—State of the Opposing Armies—Federal Legislation arising out of the Rebellion—Mr. Jefferson Davis's Order for a Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer—His Advice on the existing Condition of the Confederacy—Preparations by the Federals for a renewed March on Richmond—Movement across the Rappahannock and Rapidan—Measures taken by General Lee to resist the Federal Advance—Preliminary Skirmishing—Hooker entrenched in the Woods near Chancellorsville—Nature of the Country—Flank March of General Jackson round the Right Rear of the Federals—The Union Troops surprised—Panic and Flight—Death of General Jackson—His Career and Character—The Battle of Chancellorsville—Proceedings of General Sedgwick at Marye's Heights—His Partial Success and Dilatory Movements—Rally of the Confederates, and Rout of Sedgwick's Troops, who are driven across the Rappahannock—Hooker in Danger of being overwhelmed by the Confederates under Lee—His Retreat beyond the Line of the Rivers—Issue of a boastful Address to the Army—The Northern Population discontented with Hooker—Cavalry Expedition under General Stoneman—Heavy Losses during the Week of Fighting—Measures taken by the North and South for recruiting their Armies—Approaching Exhaustion of the Confederacy.

WINTER passed away on the banks of the Rappahannock without any actions of importance after the disastrous attempt on Fredericksburg. The cavalry of each army would make periodical inroads into the territory occupied by the other, and on one occasion a Federal officer, General Stoughton, was captured within his own lines, while surrounded by a considerable force; but in this respect the Federal horsemen under Generals Averill and Stoneman were beginning to rival the bold and striking feats of Stuart and Mosby on the Confederate side. Although these incursions possessed all the charm of adventure, they had no influence of any gravity on the general fortunes of the war. Hooker was now at the head of that immense array of men by whom it was hoped to conquer Richmond; and much was anticipated from his action when the proper time had arrived. But nothing on a large scale could be commenced during the winter months, for the roads are at that season often flooded with rain, so as to make the movements of large bodies of men almost impossible. In this suspension of military operations, as far as the Army of the Potomac was concerned, the American public had leisure to analyse the character and costs of the war up to that date. From the commencement of hostilities to the beginning of 1863, the number of battles and skirmishes is supposed to have been about two thousand. The expenditure in men and money had been appalling, and the end still seemed distant.

To repair this continual reduction in the ranks of the army, the Federal Government was obliged to appeal once more to the assistance of Congress, and on the 3rd of March a Conscription Act was passed, by which (with certain specified exceptions) all able-bodied male citizens of the United States between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, and all persons of foreign birth of the same ages who should have declared on oath their intention to become citizens, were included in the national forces. The Act divided the country into districts, in each of which an enrolment board was established. The persons enrolled were liable to be called into the military service for two years from the 1st of July, and to continue in that service for three years. A drafted person was allowed to furnish an acceptable substitute, or pay three hundred dollars, when he would be discharged from further liability under the existing draft. Persons failing to report were to be considered deserters; and all persons drafted were to be assigned to military duty in such corps, regiments, or other branches, as the exigencies of the time might require. It is calculated that on the 1st of January, 1863, the army of the United States, comprising the regular troops, and the volunteers obtained under the various calls made by the President since the commencement of the war, numbered something less than 700,000 men; but the official returns were too obscure to admit of an exact statement. The forces at one time presented, or were supposed to present, a grand total of 1,200,000 men; but the ranks had been terribly thinned by losses in the field, deaths from disease, desertions, and other causes. Some regiments had, within a year of their enlistment, been reduced to less than the strength of two full companies; and it was subsequently stated by General Meade, in a public address, that from March, 1862, to the close of 1863, as many as 100,000 men belonging to the Army of the Potomac alone had been killed and wounded. The Confederate army was at its strongest about the commencement of 1863: its numbers soon afterwards diminished to an alarming extent, owing to the expiration of the term of enlistment of several of the men. In the spring of that year, the numerical superiority of the Northerners was marked.

A further suspension of the privilege of *habeas corpus* was considered by the Federal Congress as indispensable as an augmentation of the army. On the same day that saw the passing of the Conscrip-

tion Act (March 3rd), a statute was approved, which conferred on the President the power, during the continuance of the rebellion, of suspending the writ, whenever in his judgment the public safety might require it, throughout the whole of the United States, or any part thereof. It was not, however, until the 15th of September that Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation putting this statute in force, and thus, for the time being, annulling the privilege over the entire extent of the United States in certain designated cases. The reader is aware that it had been partially suspended before; but the necessities of the political situation compelled the adoption of a more extreme measure. At the same period that these Bills became law, Congress sanctioned a Bill of Indemnity for certain acts of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment by the Secretaries of State and of War. This Bill passed the House of Representatives by 99 votes to 45; and immediately afterwards the Senate also ratified the measure, but without a record of yeas and nays, owing to a misunderstanding respecting the putting of the vote. The Act had encountered very serious opposition in its passage through Congress, on the ground that it was despotic and unconstitutional; and this strange accident in the Senate gave renewed intensity to the Democratic objections. It was now urged that the informality which had occurred invalidated the measure; that it was not law, and that its execution must be resisted. The Indemnity Bill, nevertheless, was generally allowed to have been carried, and was sustained by the courts.

The Southern President was evidently in a mood of depression, notwithstanding his frequent assertions to the contrary. He resorted once more to a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer—too often the device of statesmen who find their hopes discomfited, and who trust, in the last resort, to cajole Providence into being of the same faction as themselves. "Again," said Mr. Jefferson Davis in his proclamation appointing the 27th of March for this observance, "an enemy, with loud boasting of power, of their armed men and mailed ships, threaten us with subjugation, and, with evil machinations, seek, even in our homes and at our own firesides, to pervert our men-servants and our maid-servants into accomplices of their wicked designs." Mr. Davis's grammar was no better than his acquaintance with the history of his own country;* but his meaning was clear enough. The wickedness of the North consisted partly in the intention to emancipate the slaves of rebel proprietors; and the people of the South were to fast, that God might be persuaded to defeat the project, and to keep negroes in subjection to every kind of cruelty and outrage. On the 10th of April, Mr. Davis issued an address to the Confederate States, in compliance with a request from Congress. The object of this production was to invoke the attention of the people to the existing condition and future prospects of the country, and to the duties which patriotism imposed on them during the progress of the struggle. A very encouraging picture of previous successes was drawn by Mr. Davis; yet at the same time he pointed to the fact that the Confederation was still confronted by powerful armies and numerous fleets. He observed that the protracted droughts of the previous year had reduced the harvests far below an average yield, and this deficiency was especially marked in the northern part of the Confederacy, where supplies were greatly needed by the army. The people were therefore earnestly exhorted to continue the growing of corn and the rearing of live stock, rather than give their fields to the production of cotton and tobacco: in the opposite case, the consequences might be "serious, if not disastrous," should there be another bad season. "Let your fields," said the Southern President, "be devoted exclusively to the production of corn, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and other food for man and beast. Let corn be sowed broadcast for fodder, in immediate proximity to railroads, rivers, and canals; and let all your efforts be directed to the prompt supply of these articles in the districts where our armies are operating. You will thus add greatly to their efficiency, and furnish the means without which it is impracticable to make those prompt and active movements which have hitherto stricken terror into our enemies, and secured our most brilliant triumphs." Accompanying this address was a plan by the Secretary of War, Mr. James A. Seddon, by which the surplus corn and meat in the hands of private families were to be sold at the lowest remunerative prices for the sustenance of the armies. From all these facts it was apparent that the pressure on the resources of the Confederacy was growing severe.

In this condition of affairs, it became known that the Federals under Hooker were contemplating a renewed attack on Richmond. The Confederate capital was at the same time being threatened by General Forster, operating from North Carolina, by General Peck from South-eastern Virginia, and by General Key from the vicinity of the Pamunkey. Lee was therefore compelled to divide his forces amongst several localities, and the numbers at his disposal were small in comparison with those of

* See pp. 442-3 of this volume.

his opponent. Hooker determined to make his attack in two places. He proposed to cross the Rappahannock and Rapidan some distance west of Fredericksburg, and so fall on the left wing of the Confederates, while at the same time his own left wing should occupy the heights above the same city, and seize the Richmond Railway. The cavalry was to co-operate with these movements by getting round the Confederate position, cutting off the retreat of Lee's army on Richmond, destroying the railways, and burning the bridges over the North and South Anna Rivers. The Federal commander began his march on the 27th of April, and commenced the passage of the Rappahannock on the 29th, opposite Kelly's Ford. The river was crossed on pontoon-bridges without opposition, for only a few Confederate vedettes were on the spot. Three Federal army-corps were now on the southern side of the Rappahanock, in a narrow tract of country between that river and the Rapidan, near the point where the latter runs into the former. Crossing the Rapidan on the 30th, at two fords in the lower part of its course, the Federal troops entered an uncultivated and almost deserted country called the Wilderness—a region thickly covered with woods, and threaded with small streams. Here they encamped a short distance from Chancellorsville, and were presently joined by two more corps, who had arrived by other fords. General Sedgwick made a simultaneous movement across the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, and Lee was thus perplexed as to the precise direction in which he was to be attacked.

In a little while, however, it became evident that the brunt of the battle would be at Chancellorsville, and, on the night of the 30th of April, Lee massed the greater number of his divisions on the roads leading from Fredericksburg to that town. A detachment under General Early was left to guard the lower position, and Lee threw up some slight earthworks on the roads which would be traversed by the enemy. The Federal cavalry were already in possession of the Richmond Railway, a portion of which had been destroyed; so that, in the event of the Confederates being vanquished, their retreat would be seriously endangered. The position was undoubtedly very perilous, and some of the Confederate officers looked upon it with gloomy

THE "HARTFORD" (ADMIRAL FARRAGUT'S FLAG-SHIP).

THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

forebodings. Lee himself, however, was cheerful and self-possessed. He issued his directions for the approaching battle in a spirit of quiet reliance on the ability of his men to encounter the greatly superior numbers of the adversary, and countermanded an order to General Longstreet to join him with the troops from Suffolk, owing to his subordinate's position in South-eastern Virginia being threatened by General Peck. On the other hand, there was no lack of confidence on the part of Hooker. He published a General Order on the 30th of April, in which he said that the operations of the previous three days had determined that the enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defences, and give the Federals battle on their own ground, "where," added Hooker, "certain destruction awaits him." It is bad policy to assume a success before it has been gained; but there were many reasons why a Federal triumph appeared almost certain.

Some cavalry skirmishing occurred on the night of the 30th; this, however, was a mere prelude to the action of a few days later. On the 1st of May, Hooker directed an advance to be made from the vicinity of Chancellorsville towards Fredericksburg. Immediately after, on ascertaining that Lee was marching against him with his whole army, he drew back on a line of earthworks and felled trees which he had hastily constructed in the forest, and which he strengthened during the evening and night. His front was towards the east, and Fredericksburg was the objective point at which he aimed. He desired to choose his own ground for fighting, and force his opponent into accepting it; but Lee was too wary to be thus entrapped. The Federal commander was endeavouring to outflank the Confederate; the latter determined that he should himself be outflanked. Lee therefore sent the corps under "Stonewall" Jackson round the right rear of the Northern army, while with no more than two divisions he kept the enormous masses of that army engaged in front. The chances were very much against the Southerners; but the desperate nature of their situation required a bold and daring policy. Nothing could be better suited to secret operations than the character of the land where the contending armies were now watching one another. The whole of the country commencing four miles west of Fredericksburg, and extending ten miles south and west of Chancellorsville, is covered with dense forests, consisting of pine and scrub-oak, bound together with thick and matted undergrowth; and in the midst of these tangled thickets the Federal pioneers had thrown up very strong entrenchments at right angles to the turnpike and plank-roads which connect Chancellorsville with Fredericksburg. Running southwards for about a mile from the plank-road, the Federal works turned short to the west, until they again met the plank-road between Chancellorsville and Orange Court House. Drawn up within the line of their entrenchments, with their artillery massed on some high ground a little in the rear, the Northerners presented a formidable appearance, and it was at once evident to General Lee that any attempt to carry the position from the front must be attended by a fearful loss of life, and would probably end in failure.*

Fighting occurred on the 1st of May, though not to any serious extent. It was necessary to the success of General Lee's plans that he should conceal the flank movement of Jackson, and he therefore occupied the attention of his antagonist by a series of feigned attacks on his front. Hooker was thus led to suppose that the Confederates were in full strength immediately before his position, and, conceiving it advisable that he should be supported by nearly the whole of his forces, he ordered Reynolds's division to cross the Rappahannock, and join the main army about Chancellorsville. While this movement was being carried out, General Jackson was commencing his flank march. He started on the night of May 1st, taking with him three divisions, commanded by Generals A. P. Hill, Coulson, and Rhodes. The thickness of the forest was favourable to his design, and only once was his progress perceived by the Federals. Even then, the destination of the force was not suspected, and with the firing of a few shells the enemy was allowed to pass. Jackson continued his march during the morning of the 2nd, and Lee repeated his demonstrations in front of Hooker's position, with the object of diverting the Federal commander's attention from what was proceeding on his right flank and rear. Some of these attacks were carried further than Lee intended, and numerous soldiers perished in what were nothing more than feints—the victims of an ardour which could not be restrained. By the afternoon of the 2nd, Jackson had gained the road from Orange to Fredericksburg, south of the Rapidan. Having deployed his columns, he suddenly poured down like a torrent on the rear of Hooker's position, where he unexpectedly appeared about five o'clock in the evening.

The first part of Hooker's army to feel the brunt of Jackson's attack was the corps of General Howard, which was bivouacking in the forest with

* Correspondent of the *Times*, June 16th, 1863.

so complete an unconsciousness of danger that in this direction no defensive works had been thrown up. The Confederates burst upon their antagonists with a tremendous yell, and the Federal divisions on the right fell back in uncontrollable panic. Nearly the whole of the 11th corps was routed, and driven in consternation towards Chancellorsville. Some gallant attempts were made to rally the fugitives, and Hooker himself, appearing in person on the field, together with his staff, did his utmost to inspire confidence in the troops. At the same moment, a vigorous attack in front was being made by General Lee, and a feeling of terror spread through the masses of the Federal army. The German division of Howard's corps, originally under the command of Sigel, but now directed by one Schurz, a person better known for oratory than for generalship, was among the most active of those bodies which sought immediate safety in flight. A correspondent of the *Times*, who saw the whole action, has affirmed that the Federal ranks had neither formation nor order; that the advance of the Confederates was like that of a white squall in the Bay of Naples; and that everything in the opposing army went down before the sudden whirlwind of surprise. There was one exception, however, to this rule of fear and disorganisation. The reserve, under General Sickles, exhibited the qualities of good soldiers. Sickles himself, his staff, and a body of cavalry under General Pleasanton, took post near a stone wall directly in the line of retreat, and, placing themselves boldly in a gap of that wall, through which alone the road could be pursued, succeeded in rallying some of the artillery, though the infantry, overcoming all obstructions, managed to continue their discreditable flight. General Berry, one of the officers thus bravely endeavouring to save the honour of the army, was killed in the tumultuous struggle which followed. Howard, who was in command of the corps that had been first surprised, also strove hard to rally the flying troops. Hooker himself spared no pains, and freely exposed his life where his presence appeared specially needed; for, whatever his deficiencies as a commander or his faults as a man, the possession of courage cannot be denied him. Towards nightfall, something like order was restored to the shattered divisions. The Federal guns were turned on the advancing enemy, and the pursuit was checked; but the Northern army was now in a contracted position between Chancellorsville and the fork of the two rivers, and it became doubtful whether the plans of General Hooker were not already damaged beyond the hope of recovery.

The Confederates had so far attained a marked success; but a great personal misfortune was in store for them. A little after dark, General Jackson rode forward with a few of his staff along the plank-road, and advanced about a hundred and fifty yards in front of his foremost skirmishers, where he remained some while, endeavouring to make out the position of the enemy as far as the gloom would permit. On turning to ride back, he and his companions were mistaken by a South Carolina regiment for a troop of Federal cavalry. A heavy fire was poured into them, killing one of the party, and wounding two others. Jackson was one of those thus injured by a lamentable error. A bullet struck his left arm below the shoulder, shattering the bone down to the elbow, and causing intense pain. Reeling in his saddle, he was lifted down by some of his companions, and an aide-de-camp galloped up to General A. P. Hill, to report what had happened. Hill at once proceeded to the spot, and began, in an agitated manner, to cut the cloth of Jackson's sleeve, when four Federal vedettes appeared on horseback, and were fired on by the Confederate officers. The newcomers were speedily followed by the advanced skirmishers of Berry's division, and the Confederate officers were compelled to fly with precipitation, lest they should be captured. In doing so, they were again mistaken by their own men for a party of the hostile force, and were once more fired into. Some of the staff-officers were wounded, and others killed; while, by a most unfortunate mischance, one of the litter-bearers engaged in carrying General Jackson was struck by a bullet, so that the wounded man fell to the ground, and remained for a few minutes within the line of the Federal skirmishers. Happily, he was not recognised by the Northern troops, who dashed on, and were soon afterwards repulsed. During those agonising moments, Jackson was again struck by two bullets from Confederate rifles, and the hope of saving his life was now but small. "All my wounds are by my own men!" he is said to have exclaimed. On being carried to the rear, his arm was amputated, but he had no strength to bear the operation. On the 10th of May, this heroic officer expired at Guinea's Station, on the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railway, bequeathing, not merely to that section of his country with which he had associated his fortunes, but to his country generally, a reputation for prowess, gallantry, and military genius, which the Western Continent has never surpassed.

Jackson was only thirty-nine years of age when thus cut off in that conspicuous career which civil war had opened to him. He was a native of Clarksburg, Harrison County, Virginia, and when a young

man had received a military education at West Point. As a pupil, he appears to have been in no respect remarkable for shining talents. He learned with difficulty, but whatever he learned was thoroughly acquired. Retiring, taciturn, and melancholy in his disposition, he seemed more fitted for the ministry than the army. In his brooding fits of hypochondria, he would believe that he had consumption, incipient paralysis, and other maladies; but these fancies had not the effect of making him a sluggard. During the period of the Mexican war, he served with distinction in several battles, but even then gave no sign of the quick and brilliant genius which he in fact possessed. His regard for discipline was so great that he was generally described as a martinet; and everything seemed to show that he would pass his life in a career of respectable mediocrity. It is lamentable that the fire which was to dissipate all this coldness and rigidity of demeanour should have been the conflagration of internecine strife. Yet so it was. Jackson made his name—and his nickname also—at the battle of Bull Run, and from that time forward became a man of mark. His peculiarities, however, still clung to him. In disposition and habits he was much more like a Puritan of New England than a cavalier of Virginia. His religion was Presbyterian, and with him religion was not a mere profession, but an influence penetrating, shaping, and colouring his whole life. His belief in the doctrine of predestination laid him, with many persons, under the reproach of being a fatalist; but his fatalism, if such it is to be called, was of a nature to make him absolutely fearless in moments of the greatest danger. No officer in the ranks of Cromwell's Ironsides ever observed the Sabbath with greater rigour. His daily devotions were performed with conscientious strictness, and he encouraged prayer-meetings and revivals among his troops, to an extent which may have been fanatical, but which gave him a hold upon his men, such as always comes from the influence of an enthusiastic and vivid nature upon natures less exalted and less tensely strung. A countenance not at all remarkable in other respects was saved from being common-place by eyes of singular brilliancy and power. Whatever we may think of the cause he represented, his sincerity in adopting it cannot be questioned, and the humanity of his conduct in the midst of exasperating feuds obtained for him a very general respect, which did not cease with the limits of the Confederacy. By his own comrades he was almost worshipped. "Had I been able to dictate events," said General Lee, when he heard how seriously his lieutenant had been wounded, "most gladly would I have been disabled in my own person, if he had been spared. Such an executive officer the sun never shone on. I have but to show him my design, and I know that if it can be done it will be done. No need for me to send and watch him. Straight as the needle to the pole, he advances to the execution of my purpose. Pure, high-minded, unselfish, he has no earthly thought of himself, or his own advancement. The sole aim and object of his life is the good of his country."* To much the same effect, Lee wrote to Jackson himself, while the latter was lingering on the verge of death.

The battle of Chancellorsville, cut short by darkness on the night of May 2nd, was resumed on the morning of Sunday, the 3rd. While lying wounded and in agony, Jackson had sent a message to Lee, urging him to resume the attack at daybreak, and Lee was well disposed to adopt that course. A partial redisposition of the Federal corps had taken place during the night, and by dawn they occupied the triangle of ground stretching from the lower part of the Rapidan to Chancellorsville, and thence to the United States Ford on the Rappahannock. The army thus presented two fronts to the enemy, at right angles with one another; and the point of meeting of these two lines was before Chancellorsville. Lee concentrated a number of guns at this spot, and set fire to a large building at the cross roads, which had for several days been the headquarters of General Hooker. To drive the Federals back towards the rivers, and thus sweep them out of the advantageous ground which they held, was the difficult task now undertaken by the Confederate commander. The three divisions of Jackson's corps had been placed under the command of General Stuart, and these veteran troops began the renewed attack. They were received with so hot a fire from the Federal entrenchments that the advancing ranks wavered and hung back, but, on being rallied and inspirited by General Rhodes, again pushed forward with energy, and drove the Federals towards Chancellorsville. At another part of the field, the strongly fortified position held by the Union commander, General Slocum, was attacked with equal spirit. The outer defences were carried after a fierce struggle, and the Federals were compelled to take refuge behind a second line of breastworks, in the rear of Chancellorsville. Some time before noon, the Northern troops had been compelled to recede about a mile towards the river, and Hooker, beaten out of his first entrenchments, was obliged to create a second line with as much expedition as he could.

* Correspondent of the *Times*.

Satisfied for the present with what he had accomplished, General Lee refrained from pressing the attack any further, and directed his attention towards the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg, where events of importance were proceeding.

It has already been related that when the Federals began their movement south of the Rappahannock, the division under General Sedgwick crossed that river below Fredericksburg, in order to divert a portion of the Confederate army. After parting with several of his troops to reinforce Hooker, he was still left with about 25,000 men under his command. It was not long before he ascertained that Lee's divisions had vacated the whole of their works, except Marye's Heights, and had gone to encounter the Federal ranks at Chancellorsville. The Southern garrison on the heights was a very small one, as Sedgwick knew from the balloon reconnaissances which he was frequently making. Yet, although his own numbers were greatly superior, he took no action at the very time when action would probably have ensured success. Although his position was assumed on the 28th of April, he did not attempt to aid his Commander-in-Chief until the evening of the 2nd of May. Throughout the whole of the 1st and 2nd, he must have been aware by the noise of firing that a serious encounter was going on to the west, and, had he marched upon the rear of General Lee, who had only half as many troops as his opponent, it is not unlikely that he would have given a totally different character to that memorable affair. When at length he moved, his advance was slow, and unnecessarily cautious. Not more than four miles of ground divided him from the two Mississippian regiments drawn up behind a wall on Marye's Heights; but it was not until the middle of the 3rd of May that he came within sight of his enemy. The elevated ground was then surrounded, the works were carried with a loss of about 1,000 killed and wounded, and at six o'clock in the evening Sedgwick sent forward a column four miles on the road towards Chancellorsville. Lee, on hearing of the capture of Marye's Heights, despatched General McLaws to check any further advance of the Federal detachment, and the progress of the latter was stopped at Salem Church by a rough breastwork. An attempt to carry the position resulted in discomfiture, and in the loss of numerous troops. Nothing more was done at that time, and Sedgwick's division spent the night loosely scattered about the road leading from Marye's Heights to Salem Church. The battle was renewed on the following morning, the 4th of May; but Sedgwick's troops fought with so much languor that the Confederates, on the arrival of reinforcements under General Early, had but little trouble in defeating them. They were speedily outflanked by the Confederates, who re-took Marye's Heights, and captured a Federal convoy. Fearing that his communications with Fredericksburg would be cut off, Sedgwick hastily withdrew towards Banks's Ford, leaving behind him numerous supply-waggons, mules, and horses. The retreat was no better than a disorderly flight, and after dark the Federal detachment re-crossed the river on pontoon-bridges, their movement accelerated by a renewed attack of the Confederates, which spread confusion and dismay through several regiments. A diversion which might have been attended by the happiest results, had it been vigorously and boldly pushed, had ended in nothing but disaster, rout, and loss.

Hooker, notwithstanding his defeat on the 2nd and 3rd of May, still talked of crushing his opponent by the mere force of numbers, after he had allowed him to exhaust himself by a series of isolated attacks; but he attempted nothing during the 4th, when Sedgwick was feebly struggling with the Confederate corps. Lee, on the contrary, lost no time in pursuing the advantages he had already gained. Having disposed of Sedgwick, whose advance had for some time threatened his rear, he once more turned on the main body of the Federals, cramped within their narrow lines in the neighbourhood of Chancellorsville. On the morning of the 5th, heavy guns were planted within range of the United States Ford, and shells were thrown among the waggons drawn up in that locality; but no movements of importance took place that day. Many of the trees had been shattered and laid low by the tempest of shot that had swept through them, and the dry underwood, parched by several days of extreme heat, had burst here and there into flames, which, there is but too much reason to fear, had sometimes enveloped the wounded (who lay about the woods in countless numbers), and terminated their sufferings by a frightful death. But a change in the weather occurred on the 5th. A deluge of rain, accompanied by loud peals of thunder, caused the waters of the Rapidan and Rappahannock to rise in so serious a degree as to threaten the bridges at the United States Ford, by which alone the Federal army could retreat. To withdraw from their desperate position was now the only course open to the Northern troops, if even that was practicable. Hooker consulted with his chief subordinates, and determined upon relinquishing his enterprise. Lee was still making demonstrations against his front, and, although these were nothing more than feints, to

engage the attention of the Federal commander, they appeared to be the prelude of more serious operations, which, however, Lee's forces were too much exhausted to carry out. At no period during this long series of engagements had Hooker any correct idea of the numbers by which he was opposed. He believed his adversary to be in much greater force than was really the case. He feared that he would be continually strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops from Richmond, and he knew that his own men were by this time thoroughly demoralised. The 11th corps in particular could not be trusted within sight of the enemy, and the other divisions of the army, though several had not been under fire at all, were to some extent infected with the general feeling of depression. It was therefore imperative to regain the northern bank of the Rappahannock while yet there was time. Preparations for the retreat were commenced immediately after dusk on the 5th. The storm favoured this design, by helping to mask and muffle the movements of the Federal corps; and the noise of wheels was still further deadened by covering the bridges with layers of pine-boughs. Whilst the movement was going forward, General Meade held the lines of entrenchment surrounding the ford; but the Confederates, either ignorant of what was going on, or too worn out to prevent it, abstained from all demonstrations, and at daybreak on the 6th the whole army stood in safety on the left bank of the Rappahannock, and commenced marching to its former camps at Falmouth.

The grand expedition had ended in a lamentable failure; yet Hooker was none the less determined to attitudinise before the public in the posture of a hero. He issued a General Order on the 6th of May, in which he tendered to the army his congratulations on the achievements of the previous seven days. "In withdrawing from the south bank of the Rappahannock before delivering a general battle to our adversaries," he wrote, "the army has given renewed evidence of its confidence in itself, and its fidelity to the principles it represents. . . . . Profoundly loyal, and conscious of its strength, the Army of the Potomac will give or decline battle whenever its interest or honour may demand. It will also be the guardian of its own history and its own arm. . . . . The events of last week may swell with pride the heart of every officer and soldier of this army. We have added new lustre to its former renown. We have made long marches, crossed rivers, surprised the enemy in his entrenchments, and, wherever we have fought, have inflicted heavier blows than we have received." He then went on to give a most glowing description of the grand results he had obtained, amongst which he placed the capturing of prisoners within the fortifications of the Confederate capital, and the filling of the whole country with fear and consternation. The extravagant untruthfulness of this address could have deceived no one. In these days, and in a country like America, intelligence cannot be long concealed or suppressed. Hooker, it is true, had taken precautions for preventing the dissemination of unpleasant facts. Previous to starting on his late enterprise, he had issued an order requiring all newspaper correspondents to append their signatures to their communications; and in this way he doubtless hoped to exercise a check upon the freedom of those writers. But the truth came out none the less. It was impossible that it could be concealed; and when the American public learned the facts, their discontent with General Hooker was extreme, and loudly expressed.

During the progress of these operations before Chancellorsville, General Stoneman, at the head of his cavalry force, was executing that movement by which it was hoped to cut off the retreat of Lee's army, should the Federals be so fortunate as to beat it. He left Falmouth on the 28th of April, with three brigades of horse, mustering 2,300 sabres. Crossing the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, one half of them, under Averill, proceeded towards the Orange Railway, a little above Culpepper, which was at that time occupied by Fitzhugh Lee. The position was so vigorously attacked, that the detachment stationed there, numbering less than five hundred men, abandoned the place, and retired over the Rapidan, the bridge crossing which was destroyed, to hinder pursuit. Averill, however, did not care to push his advantage any further, and, turning back, he shortly afterwards joined Hooker at the United States Ford, not long before the retreat of that General to the northern side of the Rappahannock. The other half of the cavalry force, under Stoneman himself, acted with greater enterprise. The commander led his troops across the Rapidan, and on the 1st of May reached Louisa, a station on the Virginian Central Railway, fifteen miles east of Gordonsville. Several flying columns were sent out from this point, to carry destruction far and wide; and one of them penetrated southward beyond Ashland, a station only fifteen miles from Richmond. Another brigade, under Colonel Percy Wyndham, reached the James River at Columbia, scoured the neighbouring country, inflicted considerable damage on the several lines of communication, and carried off many horses and negroes. On the 6th, General Stoneman retreated

towards the North, and in pursuing his return journey encountered a band of Confederates on the line of the York River Railway. The position of the invaders was for a time very dangerous; but by rapidity of movement they escaped along the north bank of the Pamunkey and York Rivers, finally reaching the Federal post at Gloucester, opposite Yorktown. There had been a moment when Stoneman's patrols were within four miles of Richmond, where a good deal of alarm was created by the nearness of the enemy. A daring feat had been executed with admirable coolness and determination; but it gave no help to Hooker, for Hooker's case was from an early date too desperate to be amended.

GENERAL GRANT.

Again the Federals had been defeated in their endeavours to march on Richmond; again had there been an enormous expenditure of life without any corresponding advantage. The number of killed and wounded in that week of fighting has been variously stated; but Hooker himself confessed to a loss of nearly 11,000 men. The prisoners, moreover, were very numerous: no fewer than 4,600 were sent back from Richmond, upon exchange, within a fortnight after the battle. In Sedgwick's force alone, 5,000 men were returned as killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate loss was about 10,000; so that altogether nearly 30,000 men must have been removed from the ranks of the combatants, even if we accept the lowest estimate that has any appearance of probability. The disaster to the Federals was so extreme that President Lincoln and General Halleck visited Hooker at his camp, to investigate personally the causes of so grave a misfortune. On their return to Washington, they published a semi-official paper, to the effect that the demonstration of General Hooker was not a disaster, but simply a failure. This opinion, however, did not find general acceptance with the public. It was seen that Hooker had been completely beaten, and it was certain that his removal from supreme command could not be long delayed. The spring campaign in Virginia was now at an end; for the Federal ranks were weakened, not merely by the casualties of battle, but by the departure of many regiments whose

term of service had expired, and who showed no readiness to re-enlist. The Confederate successes would probably have induced the Southerners to assume the offensive, had their strength been equal to such a feat; but their numbers were comparatively small, and they feared at that time to risk a repetition of the ill-luck which had attended their invasion of Maryland in the previous year. Frequent cavalry skirmishes occurred in the open country, and in the passes of the Blue Ridge Mountains; but, though characterised by great gallantry on both sides, and by varying fortune, they produced no lasting or important effects.

It was now necessary to put in active force the Federal law passed for obtaining soldiers by enrolment and draft. The President accordingly, on the 8th of May, issued a proclamation with this object. The step had probably been hastened by the calamitous events on the Rappahannock; and the proclamation notified all foreigners, who had merely declared an intention to become citizens of the United States, that after sixty-five days they would be liable to the draft, if found in that country. The foreigners thus referred to were chiefly Irish and Germans; but they had hitherto evinced no indisposition to fight the battles of their adopted land. While many native-born Americans were emigrating to Canada and Nova Scotia, to avoid the responsibilities of military service, aliens from Germany and from Ireland were giving their lives to the cause of the Republic. The black element was also beginning to enter largely into the composition of the Federal armies. A negro regiment left Boston, in the midst of much popular excitement, at the end of May, and by some it was supposed that these men of African race would prove a great acquisition to the military forces of the North. In the result, however, they turned out to be no great gain, for the negroes were wanting in intelligence, and were placed under the disadvantage of being regarded with disfavour by most of their white comrades. Their position was in many ways very painful. It was not certain that they would acquire after all the full rights of citizenship, and it was highly probable that, when taken by the enemy, they would be treated with rigour, and even with cruelty. The President felt obliged to issue, on the 30th of July, an order declaring that the Government would give equal protection to all its soldiers, and that if the Confederates should sell or enslave any one because of his colour, the offence would be punished by placing an equal number of rebel prisoners at hard labour on the public works, where they would be kept until the others should receive the treatment due to prisoners of war. In the several camps of the Union armies, many thousands of freedmen were collected, who, having no resources of their own, looked to the Government for food, shelter, and clothing. A large number were sick, feeble, and decrepit; and the suffering and mortality, wherever these men and women were gathered together, were amongst the greatest difficulties of the time. Overcrowding, want of ventilation, insufficient food, and the depression of idleness, led to the outbreak of contagious disorders; so that when the Government determined upon drawing soldiers from the coloured population, that population was in the very worst condition for yielding efficient fighting-men.

After the battle of Chancellorsville, the Southern President was obliged to make fresh demands upon his people for meeting the necessities of war. On the 15th of July, Mr. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation calling out, and placing in the military service of the Confederate States, all white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, not legally exempted; and he ordered all persons subject to that call to repair to the conscript camps established in their respective States, under pain of being punished as deserters. The military fervour of the South had now to a great extent departed. It was estimated that the number of substitutes put into the army was from 20,000 to 25,000, and that more than 10,000 fraudulent substitute-papers were held by persons not in the service. Desertion, straggling, and absenteeism, existed to a great extent; indeed, the evil had proceeded so far in the course of the ensuing summer that on the 1st of August Mr. Davis made a special appeal to his countrymen to hasten to their camps, in obedience to the dictates of honour and duty, and summoned those who had absented themselves without leave, or who had remained absent beyond the period allowed by their furloughs, to repair without delay to their respective commands. By the same proclamation, Mr. Davis granted a general pardon to all officers and men within the Confederacy, then absent without leave, who should with the least possible delay return to their proper posts; but no excuse would be received for any delay beyond twenty days after that announcement. The amnesty and pardon were to extend to all who were then undergoing sentence for desertion and absence without leave, and to all who were accused of those offences, excepting such as had been twice convicted of desertion. "Finally," said Mr. Jefferson Davis, "I conjure my countrywomen—the wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of the Confederacy—to use their all-powerful influence in aid of this call; to add one crowning sacrifice to that which their

patriotism has so freely and constantly afforded on their country's altar; and to take care that none who owe service in the field shall be sheltered at home from the disgrace of having deserted their duty to their families, to their country, and to their God." There can be no clearer evidence than is afforded by this proclamation that the South was losing heart, and beginning to see the futility of that desperate struggle into which it had been thrust by a conspiracy of madmen and adventurers. The glory of fighting for a Slave Republic had lost its charms, and mercenary motives could hardly be said to exist, for there was no money to pay the soldiers of the Confederacy. Bounties were no longer given to volunteers; the depreciation of the currency had reduced the pay of the troops to an amount that was altogether inadequate; and in several of the States it was found necessary to provide for their destitute families. Near the close of the year, the Secretary of War, in a report on the condition of the army, said that its effective force was little more than one-half or two-thirds of the men whose names were on the muster-rolls. He recommended the abrogation of the system of substitutes; and certainly that system had been pushed to the utmost.

CHAPTER LI.

General Grant before Vicksburg—Advance of Banks from New Orleans—Attempts of Admiral Porter to pass the Vicksburg Batteries—The Feat accomplished on the Night of April 16th—Injury to the Federal Transports—Movements of General Grant—His Vigilance and Activity—Preparations for attacking Grand Gulf, to the South of Vicksburg—Action in the Vicinity of Grand Gulf—The Federals cross the Mississippi—Battle of Port Gibson—Defeat of the Confederates, and Evacuation of Grand Gulf—Demonstration of Sherman against Haines's Bluff—Advance on Vicksburg—Colonel Grierson's Cavalry Expedition in the Rear of Vicksburg—Battle of Raymond—Jackson taken by the Federals and destroyed—Action at Champion's Hill—The Confederates again defeated—Fighting on the Big Black River—Further Advance of the Federals—Vicksburg invested—Operations of Admiral Porter in Conjunction with the Troops—Johnston unable to succour the threatened Fortress—Assaults on Vicksburg—Progress of the Siege—Ineffectual Movements of Johnston—Springing of Mines—Approach of Famine in the Town—Negotiations for a Surrender—Capitulation of Vicksburg—Results of the Federal Success—Military Events in the Trans-Mississippi Department—Siege of Fort Hudson—Negro Soldiers—Surrender of the Position—The Mississippi River in Federal Possession.

Vicksburg was not yet taken; but the Federal Government was determined on its reduction, and no pains were spared to bring about so desirable a result. Early in the spring, General Grant resolved on cutting off all communication with the east by turning the defences on the Mississippi and the Yazoo. His head-quarters were then at Milliken's Bend, situated on the western shore of the Mississippi—the shore opposite to that on which Vicksburg stands; and on the 29th of March General McClernand was sent to occupy New Carthage, some miles to the south. These operations were assisted by a simultaneous advance of General Banks from New Orleans, so as to threaten Port Hudson in combination with the fleet which was still lying in the neighbourhood. The movements of Banks and of the ships were impeded by the burning of bridges, and the placing of obstructions in the river; and the inhabitants of the country—which was in the main a sugar-producing district—fled with their families and slaves into the more interior parts. Banks subsequently passed into a region west of the Mississippi called the Bayou Teche, after a river of the same name. Constantly driving the enemy before him, with occasional actions which call for no detailed account, he advanced on the 20th of April to Opelousas, a town lying about a hundred and eighty miles to the north-west of New Orleans; after which he established himself for a few weeks at Simmsport, on the Atchafalaya River, not far from its junction with the Mississippi. The Red River, another tributary of the principal stream, which it enters between Port Hudson and Natchez, was blockaded by Admiral Farragut after he had succeeded, on the 15th of March, in getting past the river-batteries with two of his vessels. Admiral Porter, who was still above Vicksburg, made frequent attempts to join his comrade, but for a long time without success. On the night of the 16th of April, however, the feat was accomplished by an act of great boldness and resolution.

During that day, eight gunboats, three transports, and several barges laden with supplies, were held in readiness to descend the Mississippi after dark. These vessels slipped their moorings about ten P.M., at which time a light mist, rising from the water, qualified the too great clearness of the night. The movement was watched in breathless silence by the Union troops stationed above the town, and the

passage of the huge, dim, almost shapeless vessels through the wide obscurity was most impressive in its stealthy mystery and lurking possibilities of harm. A spectator of the scene has recorded that they looked like great shadows which had momentarily detached themselves from the darkness, into which they soon melted again, and noiselessly disappeared. Silently and darkly these ghostly figures passed on, and drew near to Vicksburg. The watchers on the bluffs listened with strained attention for the bursting forth of that terrible chorus of artillery which was certain to come sooner or later; but it was strangely long in coming. Three-quarters of an hour elapsed without anything being heard; then, two bright, sharp lines of flame pierced the darkness, and in another moment the whole length of the heights was ablaze. The forts had opened fire on the vessels; the vessels were not long in replying to the forts. It was part of Admiral Porter's plan that his fleet of gunboats, when in front of the batteries, should engage them with their broadside guns, and then endeavour to descend the stream under cover of the smoke. The batteries, however, had been the first to fire, for the presence of the enemy was detected. Presently, all down the river even to Warrenton, the bristling guns of the Confederates poured forth flame, and smoke, and storm of deadly missiles; and the roar and rush of sound, gradually increasing in volume, added another terror to the fierce encounter. The passage of the fleet was visible in gliding fire, as point after point was reached, and battery after battery replied to the moving gunboats.

After the cannonade had gone on for some time, a gleam of light, different from that of the guns, spread upward into the heavens immediately above the city. This grew and intensified every moment, passing from pallor to redness, and at last glaring upon the night with such fulness and power that the Federal on-lookers exclaimed, "Vicksburg is on fire!" But the light in truth proceeded from a beacon-pile, which had been kindled in order to illuminate both reaches of the river (at that point curving with a rapid bend), and thus to enable the gunners to aim with greater accuracy at the Federal vessels. The flame burned steadily and keenly, without any smoke, and served its purpose well; but it also helped the gunboats to reach the batteries with more certainty than they could have done in the dark. The vessels were still pursuing their way down the river; but the artillery duel continued with the utmost fury. It was a duel in which the boats necessarily had the worst of it. The *Forest Queen*, one of the transports, received a shot in the hull, and another through the steam-drum, which at once disabled her. In consequence of this accident, the *Henry Clay*, another transport, which came next, was stopped, to prevent her running into her unfortunate comrade. The result was disastrous. The crew of the second vessel became alarmed by the stoppage, which left them exposed to the unmitigated force of the Confederate fire; and in a little while they launched the yawl, sprang into it, and made for the shore. Shortly afterwards, the *Henry Clay* caught fire, owing to the explosion of a shell amidst the cotton with which the engines were protected, and, giving out great volumes of smoke and flame, floated down the stream until it disappeared below Warrenton. The *Forest Queen* was taken in tow by a gunboat, and escaped without further injury; while the third transport, the *Silver Wave*, ran past without being touched. Before the approach of dawn, the whole of the gunboats had got beyond the uttermost batteries without any material damage. On the *Benton*, Porter's flagship, one man was killed, and two were wounded, by the bursting of a shell; but this was the utmost injury to life. The great exploit had been accomplished, and Porter was now safe in the waters below Vicksburg.

General Grant was so well satisfied with what had taken place that he ordered six more transports to be prepared to run the batteries in the same manner as their predecessors. Their object was to carry supplies for the army, which it was hoped would soon be engaged in an attack on the southern side of Vicksburg, and ultimately to convey the army itself across the river. These six vessels, towing twelve barges, set out on the night of April 22nd, and all but one succeeded in getting past the batteries, though six of the barges were either sunk or injured. By this time, Grant in person had arrived, with two army-corps, at New Carthage, where Admiral Porter's gunboats were stationed. He had been compelled to follow a very circuitous route, and to make his way through a country rendered peculiarly difficult by marshes and streams; but the obstacles were all overcome after much delay, and the General was in a favourable locality for ulterior operations. A few days later, he moved his forces still farther south to a place called Hard Times, lying on the western, or Louisiana, shore of the Mississippi, and thus took up a position just opposite Grand Gulf, which is situated a little below the mouth of the Big Black River. It was essential to Grant's plans that Grand Gulf (which was strongly fortified) should be taken with the utmost expedition; and, before leaving Milliken's Bend, he had repeatedly instructed General McClernand, when at New Car-

thage, to make the attempt. But the latter officer always hesitated as to pursuing such a course. Perpetual excuses for delay were furnished by the unwilling subordinate, and Grant, seeing that the favourable opportunity was rapidly slipping away, determined to go to the front himself, and take immediate command. His vigilance during the whole of these operations was very remarkable. It is recorded by one of his biographers that he "constantly directed the quartermasters and commissaries, the movements of troops, and the transportation of stores and ordnance, the plans of reconnaissances, and the positions of important batteries. Not only was there no movement of a division, from the time he took command, in January, that was not expressly ordered by himself, but his instructions, even to regimental commanders, when these commanded detached posts, were numerous, and constant, and detailed. This course was indispensable, because of the complicated character of the campaign, the vast distances over which he was operating, and the extreme difficulties in transportation, against which he was obliged to contend." *

On the 29th of April, Grant embarked a portion of his army on board the transports and barges, and moved to the front of Grand Gulf. His scheme was that the gunboats under Porter should silence the fortifications, and that the troops should then land, under cover of the gunboats, and carry the place by storm. The attack from the river began at eight o'clock in the morning, and lasted five hours and a half, at the end of which time Porter had silenced the lower batteries. The upper battery, however, being high, strongly built, and mounted with guns of a very heavy calibre, was able to maintain its fire. All this while, General Grant was watching the engagement from a tug in the river; and, finding that the enemy's works could not be entirely neutralised, he feared to risk the lives of his men in an attempt to storm them, and therefore determined to land lower down the stream, and take the position in reverse. The army was disembarked, and ordered to march down the western side of the Mississippi, and be ready for crossing opposite Bruinsburg. The transports, as soon as it was dark, were to run past the batteries at Grand Gulf, and to take up positions such as would enable them to ferry the troops across. As soon as it was dark, the gunboats again engaged the batteries, and all the transports got by without much injury. On the following morning, the soldiers embarked, and the 13th corps landed on the eastern bank of the river, and was pushed forward towards Port Gibson, situated near the Bayou Pierre, and connected with Grand Gulf by a railway. These troops were followed by others; but no action took place that day.

The position of General Pemberton, who commanded at Vicksburg, was becoming grave. He telegraphed for instructions to General Johnston, the chief commander of the Confederate armies in the West, and was ordered to attack Grant at once. Johnston, however, was not able to send his subordinate any reinforcements, being himself closely pressed by Rosecrans in Tennessee. Pemberton was therefore obliged to do the best he could with the troops at his disposal, and he directed General Bowen, commanding at Grand Gulf, to cross the Bayou Pierre, and oppose the march of the Federals to Port Gibson. At two o'clock on the morning of May 1st, the advance of Bowen's division was encountered four miles south of the latter place. A desultory but hotly-contested action followed, and at the close of the day the Confederates were driven towards Port Gibson. The country was so cut up by ravines, swamps, cane-brakes, and jungles, that very little generalship could be exhibited on either side; but the hand-to-hand fighting was furious, and strewed the dismal, solitary ways with the bodies of the fallen. Grant himself was in personal command shortly after the action commenced. Fresh divisions of the Federals continued to arrive throughout the combat, and they were able to advance in force on the morning of the 2nd, when it was found that the Southerners had retreated across the two forks of the Bayou Pierre, on the road to Grand Gulf, and had burned the bridges behind them. So hurried was General Bowen that, in retreating, he abandoned his hospitals and many of his wounded. A brigade of General Logan's division was sent forward on the 2nd, to occupy the attention of the Confederates while a floating bridge was being thrown across the south fork of the bayou at Port Gibson; and, on the bridge being completed, General McPherson's corps got over, and pushed on to the north fork, eight miles off. Here, the bridge at the Grindstone Ford was found still burning; but the fire was extinguished, and the bridge repaired in the night. At five o'clock on the morning of the 3rd, the troops passed over, and the Southerners were pursued to Hankinson's Ferry, on the Big Black River. Skirmishing continued during the whole day, and a great many prisoners were brought in; but the fighting in itself was not important. Nevertheless, the successes of the Federals, taken altogether, were

* Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, by Adam Badeau, Aide-de-Camp to the General-in-Chief. New York, 1868.

such as to make their adversaries doubt the possibility of defending Grand Gulf. They accordingly evacuated the position, and Admiral Porter, on making a hostile demonstration during the 3rd, discovered that he had no enemy to encounter.

Grant rode into the town of Grand Gulf during that same day, and found Porter's naval force in possession. The place was one of great strength, and was in course of being made still stronger. The Confederates, however, considered it advisable to concentrate their forces at Vicksburg; but before leaving Grand Gulf they blew up their magazines, and buried or spiked their cannon. General Pemberton, in a report to his Government, said that the movements of Grant were so rapid, and his facilities for transportation so great, that his own actions had been seriously embarrassed in consequence. He had been unable to withdraw his heavy guns, and thirteen pieces fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Federal base of operations was now transferred from Bruinsburg to Grand Gulf. For three days, Grant had not been in bed, nor had had his clothes off; but his energy continued unabated, and he wrote to his subordinate commanders at distant points, giving them minute instructions as to what they should do. To Sherman he stated that the road to Vicksburg was open, and there could indeed be little room for doubt that that fortified position would shortly fall into Northern hands.

When the major part of the Federal army moved from Milliken's Bend, Sherman was ordered to make a demonstration against Haines's Bluff, in order to prevent reinforcements leaving Vicksburg for Grand Gulf. Sherman crossed the Mississippi, landed his forces on the left bank of the Yazoo, and, with the aid of the gunboats, made an attack on the position on the 6th of May. It was no part of the Federal design to take the bluff, and on the 7th the expedition returned. The Confederates had been prevented from sending reinforcements to the south, and the divisions under Sherman now prepared for joining General Grant. The chief commander had originally intended to collect his forces at Grand Gulf, and to concentrate at that spot a large supply of provisions and ordnance stores before moving against Vicksburg. An army-corps was then to be detached, to co-operate with General Banks in his movement against Port Hudson, and ultimately a re-combination of the forces was to be effected; but, as General Banks could not return to Bâton Rouge, from his position west of the Mississippi, before the 10th of May, Grant was compelled to abandon this portion of his scheme. Delay might have wholly ruined his chances of success. Troops were to be sent to Jackson by General Beauregard; and it was therefore essential that Grant should act with promptitude, so as to strike while the adversary was at his weakest. The energy of his own nature, moreover, was such as to make him intolerant of delay, unless some great advantage was manifestly to be gained by it. Everything on the present occasion indicated the propriety of immediate action, and Grant determined to anticipate the arrival of the Confederates at Jackson by attacking that town himself. His forces for a while remained at Hankinson's Ferry, which they had reached on the 3rd. They were waiting for waggons, for supplies, and for the arrival of General Sherman's corps; but it was certain that, when at length in a condition to move, they would be directed with skill towards the accomplishment of some great result. The campaign was being managed by a master, and all the collateral arrangements conspired to a happy issue. A cavalry expedition in the rear of Vicksburg, pursued during the month of April by Colonel B. H. Grierson, was of great service in destroying the enemy's lines of communication, and preventing the early concentration of reinforcements at the chief Confederate position. The colonel was in command of the first cavalry brigade of Grant's army, and the descent into Mississippi was an idea originating with himself. At the head of three regiments, he left La Grange, close to the southern frontiers of Tennessee, on the 17th of April, and, crossing the Tallahatchie, moved southwards until he struck the Macon and Corinth Railway. After tearing up the rails, cutting the telegraph-wires, and burning the stores, he sent out detachments in various directions. When these had executed their several purposes, all tending to the distraction of the enemy, and to the harassing of his lines of communication, the force was once more concentrated, and resumed its principal march. Grierson now turned towards the south-west, seized the bridge over the Pearl River, and burnt a number of locomotives on the Jackson and New Orleans Railway. He next moved along the line of that rail in a southerly direction, crossing many streams, and making his way with difficulty through swamps and marshes. On the 2nd of May, he entered Bâton Rouge, then in possession of the Federals, who were astonished at the feat that had been performed by those jaded and way-worn men. The whole of this great ride had been accomplished in not much more than a fortnight, and in the course of that brief interval several towns had been attacked, many spirited skirmishes had been fought, numerous prisoners had been seized, and Confederate supplies to a large amount had been destroyed.

GUNBOATS PASSING BEFORE VICKSBURG.

Taking into consideration the irregular course that had been pursued, and the various diversions that had been made, the distance traversed by Colonel Grierson and his men must have been upwards of five hundred miles.

Sherman's corps having arrived at Hankinson's Ferry by the 7th of May, an advance was ordered by Grant. The united army moved up the eastern bank of the Big Black River; McClernand's corps on the right, McPherson's on the left, and Sherman's in the rear. All the ferries were closely guarded against surprise until the troops had got well on their road. McClernand marched on Raymond, a small town eighteen miles south-west of Jackson, and connected by a branch line with the Jackson and Vicksburg rail. At this point, his progress was disputed by two Confederate brigades, with whom a brisk engagement took place on the 12th of May. The action resulted in the defeat of the Southern troops, and the Federals then entered the town. On the same day, McPherson's and Sherman's corps encountered the enemy near Fourteen Mile Creek, across which they succeeded in forcing a passage. Grant now received information that General Joseph Johnston had arrived at Jackson, at the head of a force with which he hoped to relieve Vicksburg. The Federal commander therefore determined to make sure of the former place, and to leave no enemy in his rear. On the 13th, McPherson was ordered to move on Clinton. Having occupied the town, he destroyed the railways and telegraphic wires, and captured some despatches from Pemberton to General Gregg, who had commanded the Confederates on the previous day at Raymond. McPherson and Sherman advanced from their respective positions towards Jackson on the 14th, and an action speedily took place in front of that town. The Confederates occupied a strong position on the crest of a hill, but, after a fierce encounter, were driven back towards the city, which they shortly afterwards evacuated. Jackson was then entered by General McPherson, who found the place deserted by the Confederate authorities, and the stores on fire. Johnston had not been in sufficient force to defend the position, and he therefore retired to the north.

Shortly after arriving at Jackson, Grant learned, from intercepted despatches and the reports of deserters, that Johnston had peremptorily ordered Pemberton to march out from Vicksburg, and attack the Federal rear. Acting with his usual promptitude, the Union commander resolved to meet any such attack by at once advancing towards the enemy, and intercepting him on the line of the Vicksburg and Jackson Railway; but, for the present, Sherman was left at Jackson, to destroy the railway, bridges, factories, workshops, and arsenals, the obliteration of which was considered necessary by Grant, as he had no intention of holding the place, and feared it might become a base of operations for Johnston while he himself was besieging Vicksburg. The orders were carried out with unfaltering severity on the 15th of May, and very little was left of the town after the torch was once applied. The soldiers are said to have been intoxicated with rum, and to have behaved with unwarrantable brutality in fulfilling the directions of their chief. That there were several acts of pillage, and that some degree of drunkenness prevailed among the men, are facts admitted by General Sherman himself in his official report; but the destruction of the penitentiary was due, as that commander believed, to the action of some convicts who had been set free by the Confederate authorities. A valuable cotton factory was also among the buildings thus committed to the flames; but this was undoubtedly fired by the Federals. "The factory," writes Sherman, "was the property of Messrs. Green, who made strong appeals, based on the fact that it gave employment to very many females and poor families, and that, although it had woven cloth for the enemy, its principal use was in weaving cloth for the people. But I decided that machinery of that kind could so easily be converted into hostile uses that the United States could better afford to compensate Messrs. Green for their property, and feed the poor families thus thrown out of employment, than to spare the property. I therefore assured all such families, if want should force them, they might come to the river, where we would feed them until they could find employment, or seek refuge in some more peaceful land." Sherman admits that other buildings in Jackson were destroyed by some mischievous soldiers who could not be detected. One of the edifices thus fired, in contravention of the usual laws of war, was the Roman Catholic church. It was believed by Sherman that this was an accident; but in moments of excitement many things are liable to be done out of sheer malice and fanaticism. The destruction of the arsenals and public buildings was justified by the ordinary practice of armies under such circumstances; but it is unfortunately only too clear that individual excesses were committed. For this, however, the commanders were not to blame. There are periods when soldiers are beyond control, and the sacking or burning of a city is an occasion when the worst passions of an army are aroused, and Generals can do little else than deplore what they are powerless to check.

By this time, Pemberton had crossed the Big Black River; and Grant accordingly ordered Sherman to evacuate Jackson, and join the rest of the forces. Pemberton was at the head of nearly 18,000 men, whom he posted on the south-west bank of Baker's Creek, across the Vicksburg and Jackson Railway. On the morning of the 16th, Grant's army was a good deal scattered. Three divisions were on the line of the railway; four were advancing on the road from Raymond; one was still farther to the left on the Big Black River; and two were under Sherman in the neighbourhood of Jackson. The Confederates held a good position amongst woody hills, and Grant had come upon them sooner than he expected. Seeing the gravity of the situation, he sent orders to the three divisions approaching from Raymond to quicken their march as much as possible. The action, however (which has received the title of the battle of Champion's Hill), had proceeded some time before these reinforcements could reach the ground. The division of General Hovey, which had commenced the battle by attacking the centre of Pemberton's line, was repulsed with some loss, but was again sent forward by Grant, on his being told by General Logan, commanding on the right, that, if the Confederates could be again attacked in front, he could act with advantage against their left flank. The renewed advance of the Federals was attended by temporary success, but after a while Hovey's division was once more driven back and thrown into disorder. The divisions from Raymond, however, had now arrived on the field, and the whole line swept onward against the Confederates. The Southern forces were completely shattered; panic set in among their ranks, and a precipitate flight ensued. Their defeat had been rendered still more extreme by the operations of General Logan against the left and rear, which distracted their attention and divided their strength. Thus assailed in three directions at once, the Southern line of battle was broken into fragments; the regiments became mingled in tumultuous rout, and for a time all military order was at an end. Some degree of discipline was afterwards restored by the exertions of the principal officers; but the fortunes of the day could not be retrieved. The greater portion of the army retired towards the Big Black River; but one division was cut off from the rest, and compelled, with the loss of its artillery, to withdraw in a different direction.

On finding the Confederates in full retreat, Grant ordered General Carr to pursue them with the utmost speed to Big Black River, and to cross that stream if he could. The movement continued until after dark, and stores to a large amount were captured; but the retreating columns were not overtaken. The bridge across the river was strongly guarded by the Southerners, who presented so formidable a front of artillery and infantry that the Federals considered it prudent not to push their advantage any farther for the present. The pursuit was renewed early the following morning (the 17th), when the enemy was found strongly posted on both sides of the Big Black River, at a point where the bluffs on the west side extend to the water's edge. On the east side the land was open and cultivated, surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water, and protected by a line of rifle-pits, to which the bayou served as a species of external ditch. This difficult position was at once attacked by the Federals, who afterwards discovered that by moving under cover of the river-bank they could gain a position from which the enemy might be successfully assaulted. The attempt was accordingly made; the ditch was passed, and in a few minutes the entire garrison laid down their arms, and surrendered seventeen pieces of artillery with which the works had been defended. On the morning of the 18th, General Sherman crossed the river, and, after a brief rest, began his march on Vicksburg by the road from Bridgeport. When within three miles and a half of the great object of attack, he turned to the right, in order to obtain possession of Walnut Hills and the Yazoo River. Having accomplished this purpose, he occupied a strong position to the north of Vicksburg, and the other corps, on arriving, placed themselves so as nearly to surround the town and its fortifications. In the meanwhile, Admiral Porter, from his station in the Mississippi, had been anxiously looking out for the approach of Grant's army. About noon on the 18th of May, firing was heard by him in the rear of Vicksburg. The cannonading continued for some time, and by the aid of a telescope he discovered a company of artillery advancing, taking position, and driving the Confederates before them. General Sherman's division had got to the left of Snyder's Bluff, and the Southerners at that place had been cut off from joining the forces in the city. Porter accordingly sent a number of gunboats up the Yazoo, to open communications with Generals Grant and Sherman. The vessels and the troops arrived at Haines's Bluff about the same time, and found that the works had been evacuated, and the place abandoned. The garrison had withdrawn within the lines of Vicksburg, with the exception of a few, who remained in the hope of destroying the ammunition, or taking it away, but who, on seeing the gunboats, ran off with the utmost speed, leaving

behind them guns, tents, and equipage of all kinds, which came into possession of the conquerors. Admiral Porter described the works at Haines's Bluff as very formidable. Such a network of forts, he declared, he had never seen before, and the guns were supplied with ammunition enough to last a long siege. Fearing that the position might again fall into the enemy's hands, he burned the gun-carriages, blew up the magazine, and destroyed the works generally.

After receiving intelligence of the defeat at Baker's Creek, General Johnston had ordered Pemberton, in the event of his being unable to hold Haines's Bluff, to evacuate Vicksburg, and to form a junction with his own army, which was stationed at Canton, some way to the north of Jackson. These orders it was now impossible to execute, because of the positions assumed by the Federal army. Pemberton was in fact completely shut up in Vicksburg, and the position was rendered desperate by his having only sixty days' provisions with which to feed his troops and the inhabitants of the town. Johnston made endeavours to bring together a force of sufficient magnitude to relieve his comrade, and to break up the Federal investment; but this was no easy task, for the Confederates in that part of the country were nearly exhausted, and the Federals were strong, not only in numbers, but in the consciousness of success. Pemberton's men, however, did not yet despair. The works were strengthened wherever they seemed weak, and the fortifications were manned by soldiers who were at least determined that any further triumph of their opponents should be dearly purchased. Fearing that he might be attacked in his rear by Johnston, Grant resolved to assault the position at once. At two o'clock on the morning of May 19th, the 15th army-corps advanced to the attack, followed by the 13th and 17th corps. The ground over which these troops had to move presented many obstacles not easy to overcome. The clay soil had been rendered muddy by the overflowing of streams, and was covered with a dense forest. Here and there were valleys choked with cane and willow, and but poorly supplied with good roads. Rugged chasms frequently intervened, and a large amount of timber had been felled by the Confederates to obstruct the progress of any attacking force. The difficulties of the way prevented the assaulting parties from reaching the trenches in good military form. A body of infantry, however, got up to the external works, and planted the national colours upon the slope; but immediately afterwards the commander, Captain Washington, was mortally wounded, and seventy-seven men out of two hundred and fifty were either wounded or killed. The troops maintained their position during the whole day, keeping up a sharp fire on the defenders of Vicksburg, who replied with equal spirit; but the attempt was not successful, and after nightfall a retreat was ordered.

The enterprise was renewed on the 22nd. This time the attack was to extend along the whole line, and all the commanders of corps set their watches by General Grant's, so that the movement should be absolutely simultaneous. At ten o'clock in the morning, the three army-corps then in front of the Confederate works commenced the assault. Again was no small degree of gallantry exhibited; again were Union flags planted on the outer slopes of the bastions; again did the troops remain in their exposed positions till nightfall; but the attack was no more successful than that which had gone before. The best soldiers in the Federal army flung themselves repeatedly against the Confederate works, and were as often driven back with grievous loss. For a moment they gained a footing in the rifle-pits, but were swept out of them by the fierce recoil of the Southerners. Special gallantry was exhibited by an Irish regiment from Wisconsin, which three times essayed to plant the scaling-ladders against the walls, and three times was repulsed by the terrific volleys which mowed down its ranks. The Confederate fire was rapid and deadly throughout, and the assailants altogether suffered a loss of 2,500 men before they retreated to their lines.

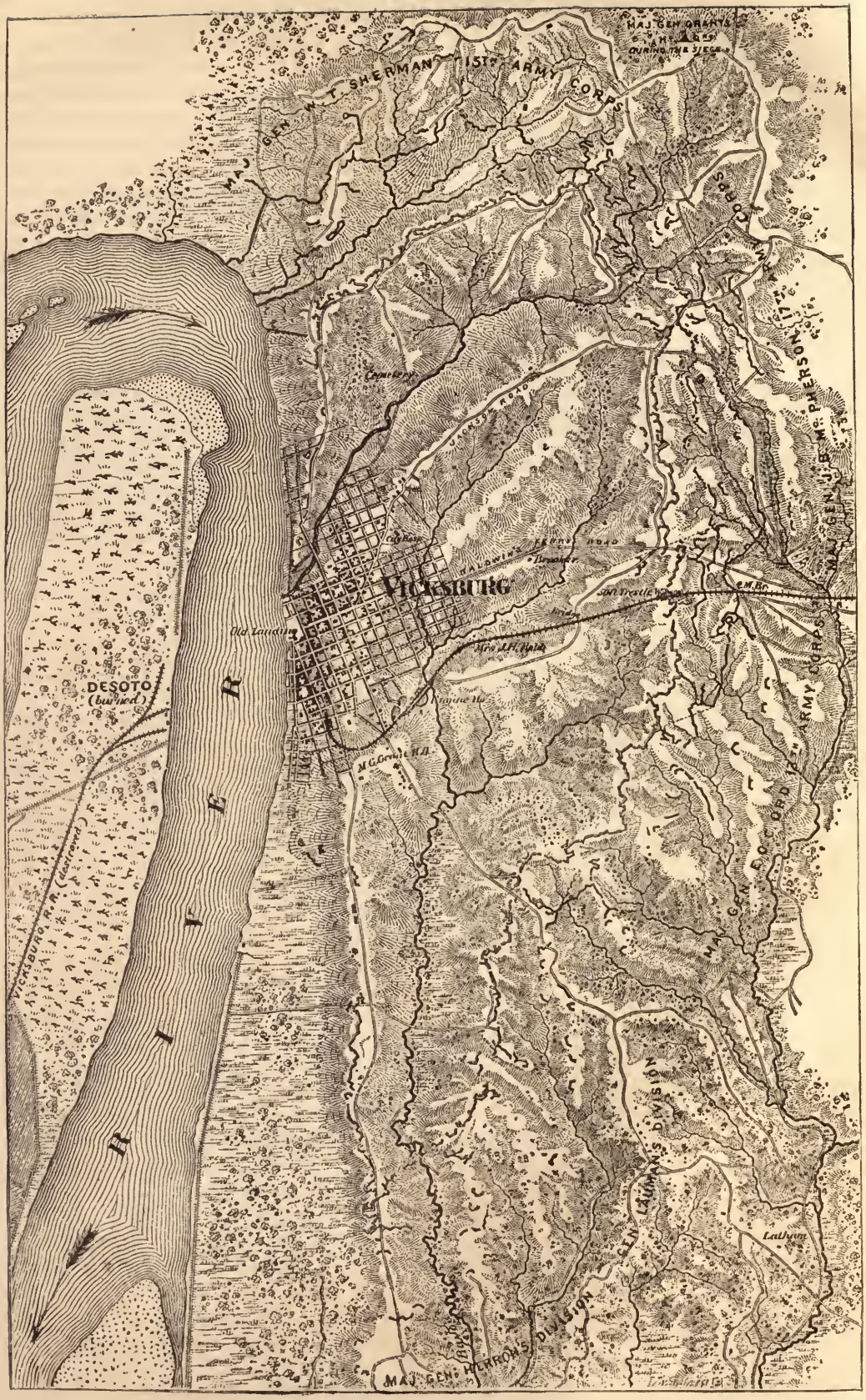
During the progress of the attack, Porter had engaged the defences on the river, and had thrown shells into the town from his mortar-boats. The river-forts, however, replied with so much effect that Porter received more damage than he inflicted. Several of his vessels were struck below the water-line, and the whole fleet dropped down the river, and got beyond the range of fire. Although the attempt to carry the defences had been unsuccessful, the people of Vicksburg had all that day endured the utmost anxiety and alarm. They had excavated caves in the hill on which the city stands, and here they hid themselves during the height of the bombardment, expecting every moment that the enemy would burst his way into the heart of the town. By the close of the day, their apprehensions were for a time relieved; but on the following morning the bombardment recommenced, and for six weeks a devastating storm of shot and shell was hurled into the place. This terrible infliction continued on Sundays as much as at other times, and worshippers in the churches were injured while attending service. Still, the

casualties were not numerous, and people in time grew familiar with the appearance of the bursting shells, as the citizens of Paris did a few years later, and regarded them with more of curiosity than fear. After the 26th of May, the firing on the town continued day and night, and it was estimated at Vicksburg that 6,000 mortar-shells were thrown into the town every twenty-four hours, and 4,000 on the line in rear of the city. The month of June was rainy, and the civilians were compelled by the influx of water to abandon the caves in which they had for some weeks shrouded themselves. In addition to their other sufferings, the prospect of famine now became imminent. For five days after the commencement of the siege, the troops had been allowed full rations; but a gradual reduction then set in, until the daily amount of food for each man was reduced to fourteen ounces and a half. By the middle of June, General Grant's army had been reinforced, and this enabled the commander to make his investment more complete, and at the same time to appoint a large reserve for watching the movements of Johnston. Haines's Bluff was now fortified on the land side, and preparations were made for resisting any detachment which might come to the relief of Vicksburg. Sherman was placed in command of all the troops designated to look after Johnston, who on the 25th of June crossed the Big Black River with a portion of his force. Grant's army, however, was by this time strongly entrenched, and Johnston hesitated to attack it. The siege continued in regular form. Parallels and approaches were constructed, and mines were sunk; every day the deadly coil of the attacking force grew closer and more strict in its embrace; and at length the Federal works were pushed so near the walls that the sharpshooters on the opposing sides were within twenty or thirty yards of one another, and the contending batteries not more than three hundred yards apart.

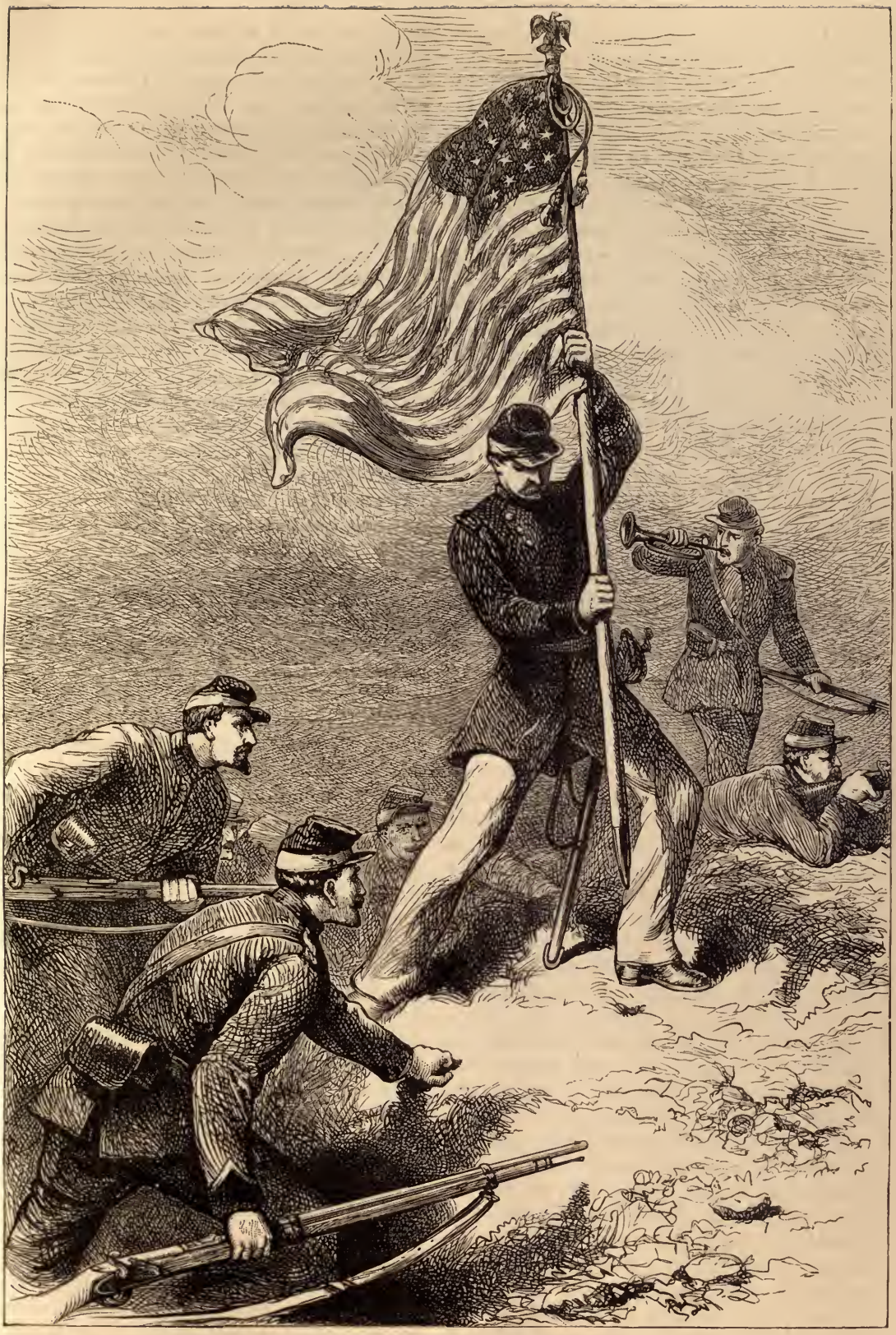
Some rather feeble and desultory attempts to reach Vicksburg were made by the Confederates in various outlying localities; but the stubborn grip of General Grant was not to be shaken off. A heavy mine was fired by the Federals on the 25th of June. This mine, which was excavated in the cliff on which one of the forts had been erected, extended thirty-five feet from the point of starting; and fifteen hundred pounds of powder were deposited in three branch mines, together with seven hundred in the centre one. Fuses were arranged so as to explode them all simultaneously, and troops were held in readiness for ulterior operations. A severe artillery fire having been opened along the line, so as to distract the attention of the besieged, the mine was fired, and the ground was rent as if by an earthquake. A red glare burst forth, and a few rebel soldiers were hurled into the air; but the Southerners had detected the making of the mine, and had withdrawn most of their troops beyond the reach of harm. The cavity thus produced was large enough to hold two regiments; and before the smoke had cleared away, a column of Federal infantry, which had lain concealed in a hollow near the fort, rushed forward into the breach with loud and repeated cheers. These devoted men were met by a number of Southerners of equal gallantry, and a desperate fight took place within the crater which the explosion had torn in the earth. Hand-grenades were used by both sets of combatants, and the gunners in the rear joined in this infernal conflict, even at the risk of killing their own men. With quiet determination, the Confederates erected a new line of breastworks inside the gap, so that the Federals were unable to force their way into the town. Nevertheless, they did not give up the favourable position they had won, and, on the night succeeding the explosion, fresh troops relieved their predecessors in the difficult and perilous task of holding the chasm. The sanguinary struggle was prolonged during the whole of that night; for, although the Southerners had retired out of view, they continued, from a distance, to throw grenades of various descriptions into the midst of the attacking force. The crater was called by the soldiers "the death-hole;" yet the Federals desperately clung to the ground, and next day constructed a line of rifle-pits across the aperture. A covered gallery was also commenced, from which further mines could be made to open out, and one of these was sprung on the 1st of July, causing the demolition of an entire redan.*

The condition of the city and of its inhabitants was fast becoming desperate. Provisions were extremely scarce; the flesh of mules and dogs was eaten by all classes, for meat of any other kind was hardly to be obtained. Bean-meal was made into bread, and corn-meal served in place of coffee. The soldiers were almost worn out by constant duty in the trenches; the weather was hot and oppressive, and the numerous unburied corpses infected the air with horror. Scarcely a building in the town had escaped the Federal shells; even the hospitals were occasionally struck, though of course not intentionally. Fodder was exhausted, and the horses were reduced to subsist wholly on corn-tops. Pemberton was able to communicate now and then with Johnston, and repeatedly

* Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, Vol. I., chap. 9.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.



INCIDENT AT THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

implored him to hasten to his relief; but Johnston's forces were not strong enough to encounter the serried ranks of Grant, and every day brought nearer the inevitable catastrophe. The Federal commander assured his Government that the fall of Vicksburg was certain, and by the commencement of July it had become evident to the Confederates themselves that this was the case. Grant had informed Sherman that another assault on Vicksburg would be made at daybreak on the 6th of July; but the necessity for any such attempt was removed by the action of the besieged themselves. Some weeks before, General Pemberton, irritated by a report that he intended to sell the town, said in a published order that he would indeed sell it, but only at the price of his own life, and that of every man under his command. Utterances of this kind are generally followed by surrender when all hope has failed; and so it was in the case of Pemberton. The beleaguered Confederates had done their utmost, and had fought with gallantry, and even heroism. They are not to be blamed for giving way when at length it became evident that nothing more could be done. Yet it is impossible not to contrast Pemberton's gratuitous bravado with his actual conduct when it came to the push.

On the 3rd of July, about half-past seven in the morning, a flag of truce was seen on the crest of a hill outside the town. A messenger was sent to bring in the bearers of the flag, and two Confederate officers, blindfolded, were taken to the tent of General A. J. Smith. They carried a despatch from Pemberton to Grant, in which proposals were made for an armistice, with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg. Pemberton said he made this proposition to save further effusion of blood, which must otherwise be shed to a frightful extent, but added that he felt himself fully able to maintain his position for a period still indefinite. General Grant, in reply, declined to appoint commissioners for arranging terms of capitulation, because he would consider no other terms than an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. An interview subsequently took place between Grant and Pemberton. The scene was an orchard, midway between the contending forces. The two commanders having been formally introduced to one another by Colonel Montgomery, of the Confederate force (one of the officers who had come with the flag of truce), they shook hands, and after a few words adjourned to a more private spot for discussing the state of affairs. Finally, General Grant said he would put his propositions into writing, and, after some interchange of notes, it was agreed that the garrison should be paroled, and allowed to return to their homes, not to serve again until properly exchanged, and that the town, stores, arms, and trophies should become the prize of the victors. The negotiations were concluded on the 4th of July—the great historical day of America, now rendered still more illustrious by the surrender of a fortified city for the possession of which both sections of the American population, unhappily divided by a miserable feud, had fought with equal valour, devotion, and military skill. Grant had to some extent receded from his original demand of unconditional capitulation; but in his official report he said that this alteration had the advantage of saving the Government the trouble of sending the garrison all the way to the North, while it left the Federals equally free to operate against Johnston. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th, the Confederates marched out, and stacked arms in front of their works; after which the city was occupied by three divisions of the Federals. The Northern troops behaved extremely well. At night, fireworks were let off; but this appears to have been done in celebration, not of the victory, but of Independence Day. By the surrender of Vicksburg, the Confederates lost the services of nearly 25,000 men, including three major-generals and nine brigadiers, with upwards of ninety pieces of artillery, and about 40,000 small-arms. During the whole of the campaign, Grant had captured (as he afterwards informed his Government) 37,000 prisoners, including fifteen general officers; and arms and munitions of war for 60,000 men had fallen into his hands. Equally important was the command which the Federals had in this way obtained over the great Mississippi River, which enabled them to divide the Confederate States into two distinct portions—that to the east and that to the west of the stream—and to render it very difficult for either to give assistance to the other. The fall of Vicksburg was lamented all over the South as a weighty misfortune; and it is indeed impossible to doubt that the Confederate cause was materially weakened by the splendid success of General Grant.

After the capture of this great stronghold, the Federal commander reported that his troops were so much fatigued as to require several weeks' rest before undertaking another campaign. Those who were the least exhausted he sent out on various expeditions; but the greater number remained at Vicksburg, the defences of which they strengthened against any movement which the Confederates might undertake. Sherman went in pursuit of General Johnston, who was menacing the rear of the Federal army; and the operations of Grant's principal

subordinate were so vigorously carried out that Johnston evacuated Jackson on the night of the 16th of July, and retreated towards the east. Grant had become the hero of the day. He had proved himself the best General that the North had yet produced, and the President wrote to him on the 13th of July:—"I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country." He then proceeded to say that in some respects, during the operations against Vicksburg, he had thought the General in the wrong, but that he desired to make a personal acknowledgment that he had always been in the right. Grant afterwards left Vicksburg to assume the command east of the Mississippi, and McPherson then moved with a part of his force to Canton, where he scattered the Confederate cavalry, destroyed a large amount of material, and broke up all the roads by which the enemy might annoy the Northern forces.

While Grant was steadily pursuing his plans against Vicksburg, other operations in the west were being carried out by several Generals. Rosecrans, in Tennessee, though only just able to win the battle of Murfreesborough, was strong enough to prevent Bragg from detaching any regiments to the aid of Johnston. The latter General began to fear that either Tennessee or Mississippi must be given up; yet some reliance was placed upon the Confederate Army of the Trans-Mississippi Department for averting such a catastrophe. Several desultory, yet not entirely unimportant, actions were fought in that department in the opening months of 1863; but an attempt made by General Marmaduke early in January to seize Springfield, in South-western Missouri, was unattended by success. Towards the end of April, the same General, at the head of a large Confederate force, advanced into Eastern Missouri, and threatened Cape Girardeau, a small town on the Mississippi, above Cairo, but on the opposite side of the river. Marmaduke, however, was not more fortunate in this than in his previous enterprise, and again retreated into Arkansas. The possession of Cape Girardeau would have enabled the Confederates to embarrass the navigation of the Mississippi, and might have compelled Grant to detach a portion of his army for operations against that place; but General McNeil had so fortified the town that the utmost efforts of Marmaduke proved unavailing. Another Confederate officer—General Kirby Smith—was at the same time operating in Louisiana, though without any advantage to the Southern cause. Smith made a vigorous attack on the Federal camp at Milliken's Bend, but was ultimately repulsed, and shortly afterwards his advanced brigades were defeated at Richmond, a small town about nine miles off. Both these attempts were made in the hope of drawing away some portion of the Federal army from the siege of Vicksburg; but they had not the slightest effect of that nature. In Kentucky and Tennessee, much desultory fighting took place during the period to which this narrative now refers. Even Indiana was occasionally entered by the adventurous cavalry of the South; yet on the whole the Southern cause declined in the more distant regions of the West. A melancholy event in Tennessee, occurring in the month of June, excited general interest. Two Confederate officers, acting as spies, were discovered at Franklin, and, after a trial by drum-head court-martial, were hanged by order of General Rosecrans. The incident was painful, but it cannot be questioned that Rosecrans was justified by the usages of war.

The tide of success was now running completely in favour of the Federals, and the capture of Port Hudson on the Mississippi was an event second in importance only to that of Vicksburg. General Banks quitted Simmsport about the middle of May, and, having crossed to the eastern side of the Mississippi, advanced towards the object of his attack on the 22nd of the month. On the 25th, the defenders of Port Hudson, who were commanded by General Gardner, were driven from the outer works, and a powerful assault was made on the 27th. The Federal commander had a large army with which to conduct his attack, and was still further assisted by a fleet of gunboats, which bombarded the defences from the river. Gardner could not place more than 6,000 men within his entrenchments, and the works, which had been hastily constructed, were furnished with but feeble artillery. Nevertheless, a successful resistance was offered to the attacking force; but the Federals were in a position of such immense superiority that the capitulation of the city, unless it could be relieved by an external force, which was hardly possible, was only an affair of time. Several negro regiments were included in the Northern ranks, and are said by the commanding General to have behaved admirably. The Confederates give a totally different account, and allege that on one occasion, when they fled without firing a shot, many of them were killed by their enraged white comrades. So much prejudice coloured the reports of both sides, as far as these black soldiers were concerned, that it is exceedingly difficult to get at the truth. It is certain, however, that whites and blacks were animated by the

utmost ferocity and hatred towards one another. The *New Orleans Express*, in describing the assault of May 27th, said:—"The negroes were soon disarmed, and in defending themselves they rapidly used the weapons of savage warfare. In every position in which the struggle placed them, they fought with their teeth, biting their assailants in every available part of the body, kicking and scratching them. Soon, however, they had to succumb,—the bayonet, the trigger, the revolver, and merciless hands at their throats, doing the work for them with fearful fatality. It may here be noted, as a key perhaps to other battles, that the presence of the black troops made the rebels in the forts almost as ferocious as the blacks. In the attack, the enemy did not content himself with wounding the Africans. Of eight hundred, six hundred were killed at once; when one was wounded, the assault was repeated till he died."

The assault of May 27th having failed, General Banks commenced the siege in regular form. Gardner was summoned to surrender on the 13th of June, but replied by a refusal. On the following day, which was Sunday, another assault was delivered. Several storming parties were led against the works, and a few men even got within them; but the supporting column did not arrive in time, and the assailants, falling back, lay down for hours in the cotton-furrows, as their only protection against the hail of bullets which came rushing out of the forts. Banks now resumed his siege operations, and the trenches were pushed forward still nearer to the walls. The garrison were getting short of provisions, and the probability of any succour arriving grew less with each succeeding day. When at length it came to the knowledge of General Gardner that Vicksburg had surrendered, he perceived that further resistance would be altogether vain. The place was formally surrendered on the 9th of July, and the Confederates were treated with great kindness and consideration by their conquerors. Full possession of the Mississippi was now restored to the Federals. From its source in Minnesota, down to its outfall in the Gulf of Mexico, that magnificent stream was held by the Government at Washington. The great bulk of the Confederacy was split in two, and through the rift the enormous forces of the Union could pass to and fro, dealing their bolts of death far to the right hand and to the left,—to the west and to the east.

CHAPTER LII.

The Prospects of the Union brightening—Feeling in England—Mr. Carlyle on "Peter" and "Paul"—The Case of Mr. Vallandigham—General Burnside's Summary Proceedings for repressing Sedition—His Arrest of Mr. Vallandigham justified by Judge Leavitt—Proceedings of the President in the Matter—The Principles involved—Renewed Operations in Virginia—Plans of General Lee for invading Maryland and Pennsylvania—Movement of the Confederates from the Line of the Rappahannock—General Milroy surrounded at Winchester—Federal Defeat—The Confederates followed by General Hooker—Proclamation of President Lincoln, calling for more Men—Hooker succeeded in the Command by General Meade—The Southern Troops across the Potomac—Conduct of the Confederates towards the People of the Invaded Districts—The Potomac crossed by Meade—The Hostile Armies both approaching Gettysburg—Exposed Position of Richmond—Action before Gettysburg on the 1st of July—Rout of the Federals—The Action resumed on July 2nd—Strength of the Federal Position—The Confederates driven back—Desperate Fighting on the 3rd—Defeat of the Confederates—General Lee retires from the Neighbourhood of Gettysburg—Pursuit by the Federals—Crossing of the Potomac by Lee—Further Pursuit—Close of the Campaign in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

With the fall of Vicksburg and of Port Hudson, the prospects of the Union received an accession of brightness, which cheered the hearts of Americans all over the loyal States after the long and depressing run of bad luck which had so severely taxed the patience of the Federals. The national cause no longer hung trembling in the balance. Men no longer felt ill with sudden tidings of disaster, or shaken with the intermittent fever of anxiety, or restless with insatiable desire for news, or incapable of study, business, or pleasure, as they had done in the earlier days of the struggle.* They had grown accustomed to the vicissitudes of war, and had discovered that a really great nation is not ruined, but rather strengthened, by the rough handling of adversity. They had lived through many trials; and now came the broad sunshine, comforting the waste places and the yet cloudy sky. Many more trials were still to be endured; but they had learned the

* The symptoms of that memorable time have been minutely described by a most skilled observer,—Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his "Soundings from the Atlantic," 1864.

virtue of fortitude—they had won the prerogatives of success. Thenceforward, the future of the Union was secure. It was no longer permissible to doubt that the Republic would emerge out of its brief but terrible eclipse, not only with unimpaired, but even with added, light.

As the feeling of confidence increased in America, the current of English opinion in certain classes grew stronger against the Federal cause. In neither of the two previous years had there been a more positive conviction that the North neither ought to win nor could win. A singular expression of this view may be found in the number for August, 1863, of a popular English periodical. The contribution consists of but a few lines, written in the month of May; but those lines were the production of Thomas Carlyle, and therefore commanded the attention of men. A more memorable instance of the perversity of a man of genius is probably not to be found in the whole range of literature. "Paul, you unaccountable scoundrel," says Peter of the North to Paul of the South, in the philosophical meditations of Mr. Carlyle, "I find you hire your servants for life, not by the month or year, as I do. You are going straight to Hell, you ———!" "Good words, Peter!" replies Paul, in the same lofty reflections. "The risk is my own; I am willing to take the risk. Hire you your servants by the month or the day, and get straight to Heaven; leave me to my own method." "No, I won't," says Peter; "I will beat your brains out first!" "And," added Mr. Carlyle, as a complete settlement of the whole case, "is trying dreadfully ever since, but cannot yet manage it."* This he called "The American Iliad in a Nutshell." The nutshell will not be disputed; the Iliad is less apparent. The serene superiority to facts which could describe the system of slavery as a species of hiring in any sense whatever,—the abnormal insensibility to humane considerations which could put out of view the multitudinous agony of the slave for many ages,—the almost miraculous mental blindness which could fail to see the great political, social, and national questions involved in the portentous quarrel, and could narrow them down to a mere dispute as to terms of hiring,—these things would of themselves alone render the imaginary dialogue between Peter and Paul worthy of a regretful place in memory. But that dialogue has an historic value, as expressing what was felt by a good many Englishmen while the taking of Vicksburg and Port Hudson was still recent news in America. Happily, there were many other Englishmen who thought differently.

* *Macmillan's Magazine*, Vol. VIII., p. 301.

Not much disturbed by these eccentricities of genius, the President and Government of the Union went their way, dealing, on the whole, successfully with the rebellion, but sometimes troubled by internal difficulties arising out of the state of war. One of these resulted from the severe proceedings of General Burnside against persons lying under suspicion of being sympathisers with the Confederate cause. That officer was now in command of the Department of the Ohio, where he applied with considerable rigour the exceptional laws then in force for the repression and punishment of seditious acts and writings. It was not long before he came into collision with Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, a well-known member of Congress, devoted to Southern and pro-slavery views. In the early part of 1863, this gentleman belonged to a party called by its opponents "the Copperheads," after a small but venomous serpent found in America, which, unlike the rattlesnake, gives no warning of its blow, and is therefore regarded as a type of malignant treachery. In the early days of Secession, Mr. Vallandigham had been disposed to compromise matters by yielding a good deal to the rebels, and he had never been heartily on the side of the North. The faction with which he was now allied—an offshoot from the great Democratic body, whose principles it carried to an extreme degree—had opposed the measures of Government most likely to deal effectually with the rising of the slaveholders; and its latest policy was to suggest the conclusion of an armistice, preparatory to the holding of a convention, at which concessions should be granted to the Southern States. Mr. Vallandigham made no secret of his sympathy with these views, and, while on several occasions protesting that he desired the preservation of the Union, denounced the continuance of the war as a crime. Burnside, though himself a Democrat, was resolved not to tolerate such opinions in his department, and, shortly after his accession to the Ohio command, made his intentions widely known. A General Order issued on the 13th of April declared that "all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and, if convicted, will suffer death." It was added:—"The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offences will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department." Nothing could be more clear than

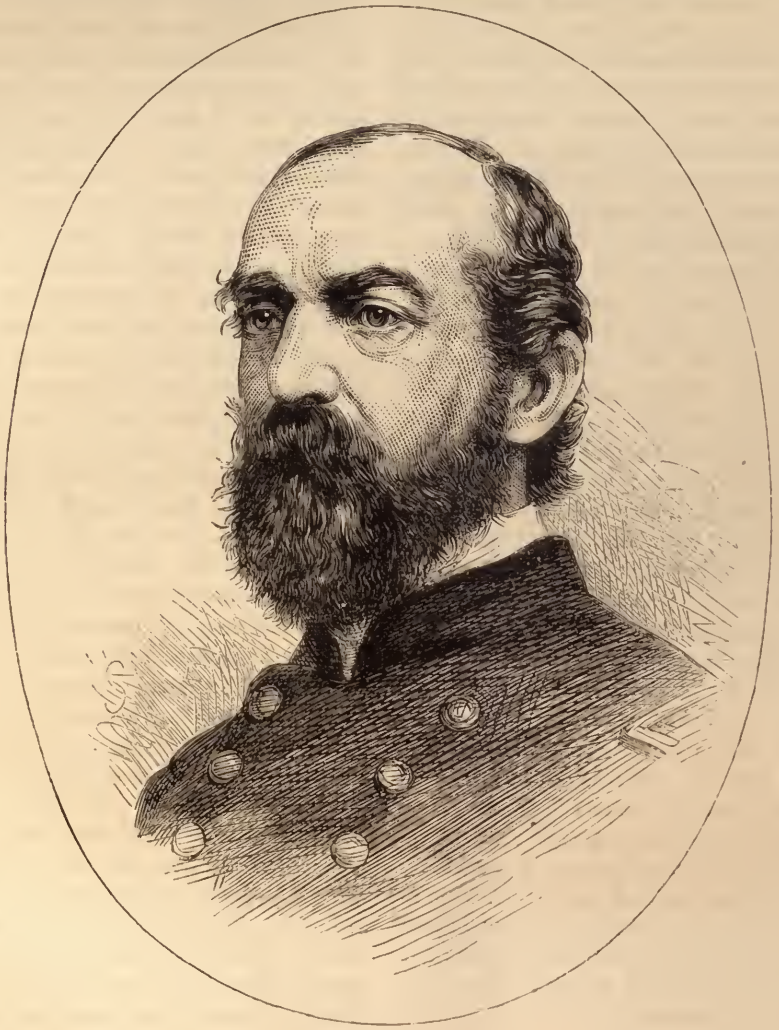
this intimation: the only question was, whether it was justifiable or expedient.

Shortly after the publication of the order, Mr. Vallandigham delivered a speech before a large assembly at Mount Vernon, Ohio, in which he supported the claims of the South (short of absolute separation), and expressed a desire for peace and conciliation. Among the audience were two of Burnside's staff, in civilians' clothes, who had been sent to take notes of what the speaker said. Their report was such as to induce the General to send a detachment of troops to arrest Mr. Vallandigham. This was done without any process of law, and the imprudent politician was seized in the middle of the night following the 4th of May, and taken under escort to Cincinnati. He was charged with "publicly expressing sympathy for those in arms against the Government of the United States, and declaring disloyal sentiments and opinions, with the object and purpose of weakening the power of the Government in its efforts to suppress an unlawful rebellion." On the day following his arrest, Mr. Vallandigham applied through counsel to Judge Leavitt, of the Circuit Court of the United States at Cincinnati (a Democrat, like General Burnside), for a writ of *habeas corpus;* to which Burnside responded with a letter detailing the case, and justifying his action. The application was fully argued, and ultimately refused by the judge, who said that the legality of the arrest depended on the necessity for making it, and that that was to be determined by the military commander. He went on to argue that even where overt treason had not been committed, and where consequently no punishment on that account had been incurred, there might be a degree of moral guilt which constituted a gross offence against the country. The great law of self-preservation might prescribe and enforce a summary mode of dealing with such persons; and even if there should be an occasional mistake, such an accident, in the opinion of Judge Leavitt, was a small matter in comparison with the protection of the Republic. "I confess," said he, "I am but little moved by the eloquent appeals of those who, while they indignantly denounce violations of personal liberty, look with no horror upon a despotism as unmitigated as the world has ever witnessed."

FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA.

Setting aside the impropriety of introducing political allusions on the bench, it is difficult to deny the strict justice and pertinence of this last remark. The general tendency of the judgment, however, was objectionable, because it conferred unlimited power on the military commander, without reference to any civil process, and that in a State where martial law had not been proclaimed, and at a time prior to the general suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. But it is noticeable that the chief objectors to the ruling of the judge were those who wished the rebellion to succeed, who cavilled at every step taken by the North to put it down, who had always been ready to condone the arbitrary acts of the South, and who seldom showed any regard for freedom, unless when it could be used as a party weapon. It should likewise be recollected that, in the convulsions of civil strife, all nations and forms of government have shown a disposition to regard the safety of the State as the supreme law.

The trial of Mr. Vallandigham by court-martial took place on the 16th of May, when, the evidence having been heard, he was found guilty, with some qualifications, and sentenced to be placed in close confinement in a fortress, there to be kept during the continuance of the war. General Burnside designated Fort Warren, in Boston Harbour, as the place of detention; but before the prisoner could be removed there, an order from the President, dated May 19th, and transmitted by telegraph, directed Burnside to send Mr. Vallandigham, under a secure guard and without delay, to the head-quarters of General Rosecrans, to be put by him beyond the military lines of the Federal army. In case of his return, he was to be arrested, and kept in close custody for the term specified in his



GENERAL MEADE.

sentence. The order was executed; but Mr. Vallandigham very soon after ran the blockade at Wilmington, North Carolina, and went to Canada, from which, at a later period of the war, he returned to Ohio. This was in June, 1864; but four months earlier—on the 15th of February—the Supreme Court had refused to revise the proceedings of the Military Commission, on the ground that, even if the arrest, trial, and punishment of the offender were illegal, there was no authority in the court to grant relief in the manner asked for, and that there was no law by which any appeal or proceedings of the nature contemplated could be taken.* In 1863 and 1864, the extreme members of the Democratic party strongly condemned the treatment of Mr. Vallandigham, together with the system of arbitrary arrests generally; and a good deal of correspondence on the subject took place from time to time. Mr. Lincoln expounded his own views at considerable length; but the upshot of the whole argument is that the objectors, not wishing to promote freedom in general, raised difficulties on the score of individual freedom, and that the President, desiring to uphold the constitution in the main, was not averse from suspending it in the case of avowed or secret enemies. The malcontents were undoubtedly using the forms of liberty to destroy its very essence; and it is equally clear that Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates were defending the constitution by the use of those exceptional powers which the constitution itself provides and sanctions. It may be that in particular instances the war-powers of the Government were unduly strained; and certainly the case of Mr. Vallandigham presents some unpleasant features. But, in the main, the President was supported by the people: even many of the Democrats considered him justified in what he had done. Mr. Vallandigham made fiery addresses to his fellow-citizens of Ohio; but nothing came of them. It was felt that the United States had interests superior to the interests of Mr. Vallandigham.

In the summer of 1863, Virginia was again the scene of active and important operations on the part of the opposing armies. General Hooker, after his great defeat on the Rappahannock and Rapidan in the early part of May, remained quiet for some weeks, and the Confederates, availing themselves of the opportunity to recover from their fatigues and to reorganise their ranks, attempted no forward movement. Yet they were none the less preparing for a campaign. Towards the end of May, rumours began to spread through the Federal army that the inaction of the enemy would not continue much longer; but the statements were generally discredited. The Confederate army had by this time been strengthened by the arrival from North Carolina of two divisions under General Longstreet, and the Southern forces of Virginia now amounted to 75,000 men, irrespective of Stuart's cavalry. These were divided into three corps of equal size, and the ability of the principal General was a guarantee that they would be handled in the most effective manner. It was intended to make another inroad into Maryland and Pennsylvania, in the hope that the Northern population, when the miseries of war had been brought to their own doors, would be the better disposed to conclude peace with the South. The chief difficulty was to effect this movement without the Federals being aware of it at the very moment it was being carried out, when the greater resources of Hooker, and the better position in which he stood, might enable him to crush the whole design at its commencement. Nevertheless, Lee was resolved to make the attempt, and the movement began during the first week in June. While the corps of Longstreet and Ewell marched on Culpepper, the 3rd corps, under General A. P. Hill, remained in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, to deceive the enemy as to the contemplated project. Hooker was not the most vigilant of Generals; but the removal of two whole corps from their former positions did not escape his attention. He therefore, on the 6th of June, pushed forward a strong reconnaissance across the Rappahannock; but the division sent on this errand feared to advance far into the woody region called the Wilderness, and, after a slight encounter, remained close to the river. The main body of the Federal cavalry, however, crossed the Rappahannock three days later, and obtained reliable information as to the path which had been followed by General Lee. Pushing forward with great energy, the cavalry surprised some Confederate pickets at Brandy Station, a few miles from Culpepper Court House, on the Orange and Alexandria Railway. The station was captured by the Northerners, but, on the arrival of Confederate reinforcements, the Federals retreated across the fords of the Rappahannock, followed by the Confederate cavalry. The fighting had been prolonged and animated, and the Federals, if deriving no other advantage, had at any rate ascertained the direction in which their adversaries were moving.

Still, it was not believed, even then, that the Confederate plan had anything like the magnitude which it really possessed. It was not supposed that the whole army was about to be carried over into

* McPherson's Political History of the Rebellion, pp. 162–175.

Maryland, with a view to a great invasion of the North. The Southerners were therefore allowed to press quickly forward in a north-westerly direction, without any serious interruption from the forces under Hooker. Passing through the defiles of the Blue Ridge mountains, and crossing the Shenandoah River, they moved towards Winchester, at that time occupied by General Milroy, with about 7,000 Federals. This officer seems to have reposed in a delusive security, to have kept a very insufficient watch on the roads approaching his position, and to have left unguarded the passes of the Blue Ridge and the fords of the Shenandoah. The consequences were that the Confederates were enabled to take up strong positions in the neighbourhood of Winchester, and that Milroy knew nothing of the danger by which he was threatened until it was close upon him. On the 13th of June he withdrew into two large forts outside the town, and a Federal brigade stationed at Beverley retired on Winchester, to effect a junction with the main force. An assault on one of the outworks, made by the Confederates on the following day, resulted in complete success, and Milroy's forces were so completely surrounded that it would manifestly be a task of great difficulty to cut their way out. The Federal commander, however, determined on making an attempt to extricate his army; but the greater number of his troops fell into the hands of the Confederates on the 15th of June, though the General himself succeeded in escaping. Milroy was especially hated by the Southerners, because of alleged acts of severity committed by him during his stay at Winchester; and it is probable that, had he been captured, he would have found but little mercy. Winchester was now in the hands of Lee's invading army, and at the same time seven hundred men surrendered to General Rhodes at Martinsburg.

Even before these events, the Confederate design appeared in such alarming proportions that Hooker saw the urgency of covering Washington, lest the Federal capital itself should be endangered. Celerity of movement was absolutely necessary, if all was not to be lost; and by the evening of the 14th the Army of the Potomac had reached Fairfax Court House, and was thus on the flank of General Ewell. Lee, however, had so strongly occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and had so well protected his line of advance by the hovering masses of Stuart's cavalry, that the pursuit by the Northerners was considerably impeded. General Pleasanton, in command of the Federal cavalry, had several engagements with the mounted troops of the enemy from the 17th to the 21st of June. In one of these, which occurred near Middlesburg, Stuart was defeated; but the Confederate infantry stationed in the defiles of the mountains were too numerous and well posted to be safely attacked. On the 22nd of June, General Lee's head-quarters were at Beverley, ten miles from Winchester; yet his communications with Richmond were still maintained by means of A. P. Hill's corps, which was now stationed between Front Royal and Culpepper. Ewell lost no time in crossing the Potomac into Maryland, and the cavalry belonging to his corps pushed on into Pennsylvania. The Federal Government became alarmed, and Mr. Lincoln, on the 15th of June, issued a proclamation calling on the Governors of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Western Virginia, to provide 100,000 militiamen for the protection of those States; but so much difficulty was experienced in raising these irregular troops, that Pennsylvania was compelled to ask aid of New Jersey. One matter, however, was of almost greater importance than the furnishing of men; that was the appointment of a commander in whom there might be a reasonable hope of victory. Hooker, although he had exhibited some dashing qualities as a subordinate, was evidently not fitted for the position of a principal, especially when he had to contend against such Generals as Lee, Longstreet, and Ewell. Indeed, he seemed by this time to have lost faith in himself. He requested that he might be relieved from the chief command; and on the 28th of June, by which time he had crossed into Maryland, and was stationed at the city of Frederick, he published an order of the day stating that the Army of the Potomac had been placed under Major-General George G. Meade. Meade was a man of forty-eight years of age, very quiet, modest, and agreeable in his demeanour, and distinguished on several occasions as a divisional and corps-commander. He had formerly been connected with the Topographical Engineers, and, like most other professional soldiers in America at that time, had served in the Mexican war. His experiences during the civil struggle had been neither few nor slight, and in the Yorktown Peninsula he was severely wounded. He was in truth one of the most trustworthy officers of the army which had successively been commanded by McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker; and the President could hardly at that moment have selected a better person for the chief position. His appointment was a surprise to himself. He appears to have had no anticipation of the honour, and it was probably with unfeigned diffidence that he assumed the grave responsibilities which devolved on him.

The main body of the Confederates were now on the northern side of the Potomac, some in Maryland, and some in Pennsylvania. Their uniforms were worn and ragged, but, as regarded essentials, they were well supplied. Many of their rifles, knapsacks, and accoutrements had been captured from the Federals, and they marched forward full of cheerful confidence that victory would be theirs. On the 21st of June, and again on the 27th, General Lee issued proclamations to the army, forbidding the destruction or injury of private property. "It must be remembered," said he in the latter address, "that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered, without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemy." Supplies obtained from the local authorities or inhabitants were to be paid for at the market price; but if any person should remove or conceal property necessary for the use of the army, or attempt to do so, that property was to be seized by the officers in command. On the whole, the invaders appear to have conducted themselves well, though it can hardly be doubted that a good deal of sentimental exaggeration on this subject was put forward by Confederate sympathisers, who adopted without question the self-laudatory statements of the Southerners. While, on the one hand, a Northern writer admitted that General Jenkins's cavalry in Pennsylvania had scrupulously respected private property, a Confederate soldier, writing to his wife on the 25th of June, said:—"We are paying back these people for some of the damage they have done us. We are getting up all the horses, &c., and feeding our army with their beef and flour; but there are strict orders about the interruption of any private property by individual soldiers, though, with these orders, fowls, and pigs, and eatables don't stand much chance. . . . . There is a good deal of plundering going on, confined principally to the taking of provisions. . . . . Pigs, chickens, geese, &c., are finding their way into our camp; it can't be prevented, and I can't think it ought to be. We must show them something of war." The worst outrages of invasion seem not to have been committed by these Southern hosts; but to speak of them as a set of angels, who would rather starve than steal a chicken, and who never took anything but what they paid for, is a part of that system of organised cant by which so many Englishmen were at that time persuaded that all the virtues of humanity had been enlisted on the side of the South, and all the vices on the side of the North.

In the final days of June, the head-quarters of General Lee were at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. General Ewell, who had preceded him there, was then ordered to send Early's division to the eastern side of South Mountain, so as simultaneously to threaten Harrisburg and Baltimore. Other divisions were sent in various directions, charged with the task of burning bridges, and destroying railways and canals, so as to hinder the advance of the Federals. Large contributions were exacted from the towns, and in a certain sort were paid for; but, as these payments were necessarily made in Confederate paper money, the value of which, under the best of circumstances, was far below the nominal amounts, and which the Federal Government might repudiate if the South were subdued, the position of the people thus forced to support their enemies can hardly be described as enviable. Nothing, however, was done by the populace to oppose the invaders. Lee's army was naturally regarded with feelings of awe, and an undrilled peasantry can never do much against an organised host of soldiers, armed, disciplined, and well commanded. The Marylanders and Pennsylvanians preferred to wait in quiet until the Federal army could come to their assistance. This it was not long in doing. Orders for a forward movement were issued by General Meade the very day he assumed command—viz., the 28th of June. Maryland was entered in the course of that day, and the garrison at Harper's Ferry was called in, under an incorrect impression, on the part of General Meade, that it was destitute of provisions. The Federal Army of the Potomac was then concentrated in and around the city of Frederick, Maryland. On the 29th of June, General Lee's forces moved in an easterly direction towards Gettysburg. With the exception of two corps, Meade's army was moved northward at the same time; but on the morning of the 30th the Federal commander changed his line of march, and directed the whole of his corps towards Gettysburg. Thus the two hostile armies were moving in parallel lines on the same place. Gettysburg was indeed a position of importance to both; for, besides being the capital of the county in which it is situated, it is a central point to which many roads converge. Lee was ill-supplied with information as to his adversary's movements. The cavalry had not yet rejoined him, and it was only by a difficult march round the right flank of the Federals, and therefore between them and Washington, that Stuart was enabled, on the 2nd of July, to recombine his detachment with the main body of the Confederate army. On the two previous days, Lee had scarcely any means of ascertaining what

Meade was doing; so that in marching on Gettysburg he was ignorant of the fact that the Federal commander was marching there too.

At this moment, the position of the Southern Confederacy was one of extreme peril. Nearly all the defenders of Richmond had been sent to join Lee in his invasion of the North; and the naked condition of the Confederate capital, and of the country surrounding it, became known to the Federal Government by an accident, which, it would seem, ought to have been turned to better account. Captain Dahlgren, in command of a small body of cavalry, captured an orderly, carrying a despatch from Mr. Jefferson Davis to General Lee. The Southern President appeared by this document to disapprove of the advance into Pennsylvania. He spoke of Richmond being scantily supplied with troops, and stated that no assistance could be furnished by Beauregard from South Carolina. "General Ely," he added, "is positive that the enemy intend to attack here [*i.e.*, at Richmond], and his scouts bring intelligence which, if I believed it, would render me more anxious for the city than at any former time." With the knowledge of these facts in their possession, it may appear singular that the Federal Government did not at once make a movement upon Richmond. For this purpose they need not have diverted a very large part of their army, and the effect of such a blow, had it been attended by success, would have been immeasurable. But the dread of possible contingencies was always tying the hands of Northern Ministers and Generals; and it must of course be conceded that if a comparatively small Federal force had been long detained before the defences of Richmond, it might have been overwhelmed by the return of Lee before the object had been attained.

The army of General Meade was within a few miles of Gettysburg on the 30th of June. A little to the north, but moving in the same direction, was the army of General Lee. Meade ascertained the proximity of his adversaries in the course of that day, and, pushing forward with celerity, entered Gettysburg on the morning of the 1st of July. In the meanwhile, the Confederates continued their advance, and at ten A.M. one of their divisions became engaged with Reynolds's corps on the western side of the town, a little beyond a line of hills called Oak Ridge. Reynolds rode forward to superintend his troops in person, but was almost immediately killed by a rifle-bullet. The command of the corps then devolved on General Doubleday, who was enabled to bring three divisions into action; yet the Confederates were not checked. The scene of the fighting was a small open valley, consisting of ploughed fields bounded by thickly-wooded uplands. The encounter was prolonged and desperate, and the Southerners themselves admitted that the Federals fought well. Before his death, General Reynolds had sent orders to the 11th corps, under Howard, to come to his support as quickly as possible. This body was to the south of Gettysburg, and it was some time before it could turn towards the north-west, cross the Oak Ridge, and deploy into the little valley. Its arrival was eagerly desired by the overmatched Federals in the latter position; but it was not until about one P.M. that Howard, riding in advance of his troops, reached the field of action. He took command of the entire force, and his men, coming up shortly afterwards, occupied a position to the right of the 1st corps. Notwithstanding this accession of strength on the Northern side, the Southern troops continued to gain ground. The 11th Federal corps, consisting principally of Germans, who had acquired a bad name in consequence of their panic at Chancellorsville, was driven back in broken heaps, though not without a very creditable attempt to withstand the enemy. The discomfiture of this body spread dismay through the rest, and a retreat towards Gettysburg soon afterwards set in. Losing all sense of order, and yielding once more to a feeling of unreasonable terror, the Germans now dashed wildly through the town, and sought refuge on the slopes of a hill to the south, the summit of which was occupied by a cemetery. The Confederates followed in hot pursuit; those of the fugitives who were still crowded in the streets of Gettysburg were mown down by musketry and artillery; and many of them, seeing no other escape from immediate death, laid down their arms, and surrendered.

By this time, General Hancock had been sent forward by Meade to take the principal command, and, with the assistance of Howard, he formed the broken corps afresh on the summit of the rising ground. The Southern Generals, Hill and Ewell, were at first disposed to resume the attack at once, but, as the evening drew near, and the exact strength of the Federals was not known, it was considered advisable to abstain from further action for the present. The Confederates therefore occupied the town, and prepared for renewed action on the following day. In the course of the night, General Meade arrived at Cemetery Hill from his head-quarters at Taneytown, to the south-east, and, having examined the position, posted his troops in a semi-circular line, of which the convex centre was towards Gettysburg. The hill formed part of a curving ridge, which in some portions was rocky

and thickly wooded; and the left flank of General Meade, lying to the south-west of Cemetery Hill, rested upon an almost perpendicular peak, covered with forest-trees, called the Round Top. To the west and north of this ridge was a narrow valley, between one and two miles in width, beyond which the heights known as Oak Ridge ran nearly parallel with the first line of hills. On the morning of July 2nd, the Confederate line of battle was formed on the slopes of the further ridge; its right facing the Round Top, its left overlapping Gettysburg, and turning somewhat to the south. Believing that the whole Confederate army was in his front, General Meade had on the previous evening hastened up all his outlying corps, and his entire force was on the ground by seven A.M. on the 2nd, with the exception of the 6th corps, which did not arrive until two P.M. The Confederates had concentrated their divisions by about the same time, and it was seen on both sides that an action of a desperate character would presently ensue. The Federals held a very strong position, the advantages of which they augmented by throwing up breastworks and other defences. Lee questioned the prudence of attacking an enemy so formidable in numbers, and so well entrenched on commanding hills. But these considerations were overruled by the suggestion that to retreat without a further engagement might have been attended by consequences absolutely fatal. The Confederate commander afterwards stated in his official report that he had not intended to fight a general battle at so great a distance from his base, unless attacked by the enemy; but that, finding himself unexpectedly confronted by the Federals, he saw the difficulty of withdrawing through the mountains with his large trains, unless he could first strike a heavy blow against his opponent. A battle thus became almost unavoidable, in the opinion of some of the subordinate Generals; and Lee determined to fight, though it would appear that he and Longstreet were both apprehensive of the result, and doubtful as to the propriety of an offensive movement.

The key of the Federal position was Cemetery Hill, which was regarded as the centre of the line, though it lay much more to the right than to the left. Here General Meade established his head-quarters; and at about a quarter past four in the afternoon, while talking with General Sickles—who, on the extreme left, had seized some rising ground in advance of his assigned position, the propriety of retaining which seemed doubtful to the chief commander—the Confederate batteries opened fire. Skirmishes had occurred throughout the morning among the corn-fields and orchards covering the valley; but nothing of importance took place until the middle of the afternoon. Under cover of their guns, the Confederates then advanced simultaneously against the extremities of the opposing line, and the Federal left, commanded by General Sickles, was vehemently assaulted by Longstreet in person. Sickles was an amateur soldier—by profession, a lawyer; and neither his ability nor his knowledge was equal to the position in which he found himself. But his courage, as he had shown at the battle of Chancellorsville, was all that could be desired; and he clung to his position with grim tenacity. After a while, however, he was badly wounded, and carried from the field; his men were driven back with terrible loss from the advanced position which he had imprudently taken up; and the Southerners pushed on towards the eastern ridge. Meade now strengthened his left by the 5th corps under Slocum, and the Federal guns did murderous execution among the Confederates, who lost some of their best officers. Longstreet headed the attack with remarkable gallantry; fresh troops arrived in support of those whom he already commanded; and at one time the summit of the ridge was nearly gained. But the Federals were being continually reinforced, and the Southern troops were finally compelled to retire towards the undulating ground, near the Emmetsburg road, which Sickles had previously occupied, but from which he had been expelled. While the left was thus assailed, General Ewell attacked Cemetery Hill, and demonstrations were also made against other portions of the Federal line. These attempts, however, were not well supported, nor sustained with sufficient spirit; consequently, although some breastworks were temporarily carried, the general result of the day's operations was that the Confederates were driven back with enormous loss. But the loss was not wholly on one side: Meade's troops also had suffered very severely, and their commander was doubtful, when night closed in, whether his army could bear another attack. Orders were drawn up by the Chief of the Staff against the contingency of a retreat; but, on considering all the circumstances of his position—the valour which his men had shown, and the formidable nature of the rugged hills on which he was entrenched—Meade determined to remain, and once more offer battle on the following day.

The struggle began again on the morning of the 3rd; this time, on the left of the Confederate line. The assault was conducted with so much vigour that for a while Meade was apprehensive lest his right flank should be turned; but, after a desperate effort, the Confederate left was hurled back, and

the fighting was then transferred to the centre and the Federal left. Great delay, however, ensued in carrying out these later movements, and the time was turned to good account by the Federals in adding to their outworks, and strengthening the batteries which were to sweep the intervening valley. At half-past twelve P.M., a furious cannonade was opened from upwards of a hundred guns forming the batteries of Longstreet and Hill, as well as from Ewell's artillery, stationed in the neighbourhood of Gettysburg, and directed against the slopes of Cemetery Hill. The Federals replied with equal vehemence, and for two hours the narrow valley blazed and roared with this infernal interchange of fire and death, which tore great

ON THE SHENANDOAH.

limbs from the trees, splintered the rocks, and scattered destruction far and wide. Then the Confederate brigades descended the hill on which they had been posted, and moved against the Federal line. The slaughter was excessive, for the men were within full range of the Federal guns—guns of enormous size and power. Nevertheless, they pressed forward with devoted gallantry, and Pickett's Virginians even planted their colours within the hostile works. But the less experienced troops were in time staggered by the obstacles before them, and, after wavering in their march, halted, and then fell back in confusion. Pickett's regiments, composed of men who were justly regarded as among the best troops in the army, were exposed, by the retreat of their comrades, to the utmost fury of the adversary. Attacked both in front and flank, these courageous men were swept off the works they had captured, and at length, though unwillingly, forced to retreat. In that desperate struggle, every brigadier of the Virginian division was killed or wounded, and, out of twenty-four regimental officers, only two escaped unhurt. Leaving an enormous proportion of their number dead or wounded on the ground, the Virginians retired to the slopes from which they had started, and Longstreet, apprehending an immediate advance by the Federals, made hasty preparations for defending his position. Lee himself rode amongst the shattered ranks, re-assuring the soldiers by his calm and sympathetic manner. The several detachments were formed again, under cover of the woods, and the men were ordered to lie on the ground until the moment when they should be attacked. But no attack came. The Federals were exhausted, and had spent nearly all their ammunition. The third day's battle, therefore, came to a close about six o'clock in the evening. Detached engagements of a rather desultory nature took place in other parts of the line, but were attended with no important effect. The attack had not been well planned, and General Longstreet afterwards admitted to an English officer* that the Confederates had made a mistake in not concentrating their army more, and in attacking with 15,000 men, instead of 30,000. The Southerners had found the position of their opponents too strong to be carried, and it was obvious that any further attempt would lead only to the worst results.

On the other hand, Meade saw that it would be highly imprudent on his part to follow up his success by any attack upon the enemy. He

* Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle, who wrote an account of the battle.

confessed to having lost during the campaign upwards of 23,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing. The number was probably more even than that, and the ammunition of the infantry had by this time very nearly run out. The Federal commander therefore remained quietly within his lines, probably expecting the speedy retreat of his adversary. Lee had in truth determined to abandon a country in which little could be gained, and everything might be lost; but it was not necessary to act with precipitation, and the greater part of the 4th was devoted to burying the dead, and sending the wounded to the rear. At night, the several corps began their retreat, and by the morning of the 5th the whole force was out of view of the Federals. General Sedgwick, with the sixth corps, was sent in pursuit, and came up with the Confederate rear-guard on the evening of the 6th. The position, however, could not have been attacked without great risk, and the main body of the Federal army marched on Middletown in a direction parallel with that of the Southerners. Part of the Confederate train moved by the road through Fairfield, and the rest by way of Castletown, guarded by General Imboden. The great number of the waggons exposed them, while passing through the mountains, to the attacks of the Federal cavalry; yet they succeeded in reaching Williamsport without serious loss. At that place they were attacked on the 6th, but the assault was repelled by General Imboden, and detachments of Meade's cavalry were subsequently defeated by General Stuart, and pursued for several miles in the direction of Boonesborough. The Federal army crossed the South Mountain on the 9th, and Meade then established his head-quarters at Antietam Bridge.

The Confederates had by this time reached Hagerstown, where they arrived on the night of the 6th and early morning of the 7th; but their situation was still extremely perilous. A violent storm of rain, occurring on the night of the 4th, had so swollen the waters of the Potomac as to render the fords impassable. Two of the bridges had been swept away; a pontoon-bridge had been burned by the Federal cavalry, which had stayed for a little while at Falling Waters and Williamsport; and a Northern detachment now re-occupied Harper's Ferry. The discomfited army, with its immense train of waggons and ambulances, was compelled to halt at Williamsport until by some means the river could be passed. Entrenchments and batteries were thrown up to guard the position, and boats were built with a view to restoring the pontoon-bridge as soon as might be. The Federals lay in force barely two miles off, but did not dare to attack. Meade had taken the advice of his Generals as to whether an assault would be advisable; and the majority were in favour of awaiting the arrival of reinforcements. It was thought that Lee, being unable to cross the Potomac, might make a desperate effort to drive away the Federals, who had begun to fortify their position by defensive works, and that this would probably entail on the Confederates another and more crushing defeat; but the Southern commander had no mind for so hazardous an attempt, and he rested until the subsiding waters should enable him to cross. Late on the 13th of July, and early on the 14th, the movement into Virginia commenced. On discovering the fact, the Federal cavalry made a spirited dash at the Confederate rear-guard, which was covering the approaches to the bridge; but the assailants were driven back with considerable loss, and by one P.M. the whole of Lee's army was again in the Old Dominion. Two guns, three battle-flags, and a large number of prisoners, are said to have been captured by the Federals in this final action, though their opponents vehemently denied the statement in most of its features; but the Confederates, in the main, were beyond the reach of danger.

On the 15th of July, Lee halted between Martinsburg and Winchester, where he remained for some days. A cavalry reconnaissance was pushed forward by the Federals from Loudon Heights, opposite Harper's Ferry, and an engagement of some magnitude took place; but in the end the Federal detachment retired, and at night they took up a position amongst the neighbouring hills. The bulk of the Northern army followed the cavalry in a few days, crossing the Potomac at Berlin, and moving up the Loudon Valley. Lee was retiring along the valley of the Shenandoah. He had taken care to guard the northern passes through the Blue Ridge, and, having conveyed the greater part of his forces across the Shenandoah River, he now directed his course towards Chester Gap, by means of which he could enter the valley of the Rapidan. An advanced corps of the Federals, however, was not far from his rear, and on the 23rd of July, General French ascertained that a Confederate detachment was in the act of crossing the Shenandoah. Following the line of retreat on the 24th, he passed over several ridges of that mountainous country, only to find the enemy's pickets still retiring before him, and taking advantage of every favourable point to dispute the Federal advance. When, on the evening of that day, the last ridge was about to be attacked, General Meade, under a mistaken im-

pression that the whole Confederate army was in front, and about to offer battle, sent orders to his lieutenant to withhold from immediate action. Other corps and divisions of the Northern army were hurried up during the night, but in the morning the Confederates had disappeared. The troops whom General French was about to engage were simply the rear of the Confederate force; the main body had crossed the river previously, and was now far away.* Thus ended the second invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania. It had entailed a loss of at least 50,000 men, if both armies are taken into the account; and it had been unproductive of the slightest good to the Confederate cause, while it made still more apparent the ever-increasing power of the Federal Government, and its ability to encounter the Southerners wherever they dared to show their flag.

CHAPTER LIII.

The Conscription Act—Riots in New York—Collisions with the Military—Enforcement of the Draft, and Measures of the Government—Riots in Boston and other Places—Results of the Conscription—Renewed Attack on Charleston—The Federals establish themselves on Morris Island—Unsuccessful Attack on Fort Wagner—Subsequent Bombardment of the Fort—Second Assault, on the Evening of July 18th—Another Repulse—Opening of Parallels—Fort Sumter reduced to Ruins—Bombardment of the City of Charleston—Progress of the Siege of Fort Wagner—Evacuation by the Confederates of Forts Wagner and Gregg—Refusal to surrender Fort Sumter—Campaign of General Taylor (Confederate) in the Country to the West of New Orleans—Confederate Discomfitures on the Right Bank of the Mississippi—Capture of the City of Jackson by General Sherman—Fall of Yazoo City—Campaign of the Guerilla Chief, Morgan, in Kentucky—Advance into Indiana and Ohio—Capture of Morgan, and his subsequent Escape from Prison—President Lincoln on the Progress of the War—Withdrawal of the Confederate Envoy from England.

Affairs did not go on very smoothly in some of the Northern States while the Northern armies were resisting invasion and triumphing over rebellious communities. The conscription created a hostile feeling in certain quarters, and in New York a series of riots of an alarming character spread panic among the respectable classes. The populace of that city had a very strong conviction that the draft could not be legally enforced. Several judges of the State confirmed this view, and steps were taken to have the matter fully argued in the courts. But the Government, wanting the men, was not inclined to wait until the lawyers had discussed all the subtleties of the case; and the New York mob, being equally disinclined to submit, took the law into their own hands.

The first day of the conscription—July 11th—passed off quietly. It was not until Sunday, the 12th, that it was determined to resist the draft by violence, and, if necessary, by bloodshed. That determination was formed in the most deliberate manner. Some inhabitants of the ninth district of the city met secretly on the Sunday, and arranged their plans. On the morning of Monday, the 13th, organised parties of men went about to the various shops and work-places, persuading the artisan population to join the movement, and in some instances compelling them. A large body then proceeded to the conscription office, and a violent attack upon the building was made with heavy paving-stones. Having forced their way in, the crowd broke the ballot-boxes and furniture, destroyed the lists, put the provost-marshal to flight, and beat another official so severely that he was taken home for dead. The house was next saturated with turpentine, and set on fire; the flames spread to the entire block, and the mob resisted the efforts of the firemen to put them out. From hour to hour, the number of the rioters increased, and their ranks were largely recruited by the criminal classes, who abound in New York. Persons were assaulted, robbed, and beaten until they were insensible. Houses were attacked and ruined; a reign of terror set in, and any man suspected of Abolitionism stood in the utmost peril of his life, if found in the streets. An armoury was sacked and set on fire, and the mob, now provided with deadly weapons, became more ferocious than before. The police were not numerous, and of soldiers there were scarcely any. Many gallant attempts to disperse the rioters were made by the constables and firemen, and these conflicts often ended for a time in the discomfiture of the ruffians; but the tumult would break out immediately afterwards in some other quarter. Fifty marines were sent against the evil-doers, only to be ignominiously defeated, and so violently handled that several died of their injuries. All through the

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War; Captain Chesney's Campaigns in Virginia, Maryland, &c.; Tenney's History of the Rebellion; Annual Register for 1863.

ensuing night, fires were burning in many directions, alarm-bells were ringing, and the feeling of consternation was so general that few dared go to bed, not knowing what might happen before morning. And now the hatred of the negro, which has always been a powerful sentiment in New York, declared itself in acts of horrible atrocity. Black men and women were hunted down without mercy, and many were slain with every aggravation of cruelty. Shops and stores kept by persons of African race were pillaged, and the Coloured Orphan Asylum was set on fire. During four days, the mob had almost complete mastery of the city. Barricades were erected, and even women and children joined in the rising. Colonel O'Brien, of the militia, was foully murdered, and the body was then dragged about the streets, and subjected to indignities too horrible to be described. The Governor of the State declared the city under martial law on the 14th, but the mob still kept the upper hand. Only when a large military force was thrown into the town, and the rioters had lost many of their number by powder and shot, was tranquillity restored. On the evening of the 16th, armed opposition to the authorities was at an end, and the two sides were left to count up their costs in dead and wounded.

While the disturbances were at their worst—viz., on the 15th—a notification, signed by Colonel Robert Nugent, the provost-marshal of the city, gave the people to understand that the draft had been suspended in New York and Brooklyn. The corporation also voted 3,000,000 dollars, to defray, in the case of the poorer conscripts, the commutation sum of three hundred dollars which the Act of Congress permitted any one to pay in lieu of personal service; and other municipalities in the State followed this example. These facts probably contributed to the pacification of the city; but the statement of the provost-marshal proved to be founded in error. On the 17th of July, the War Department at Washington issued a circular informing the proper authorities that no orders had been issued countermanding the draft; on the contrary, the enforcement of that measure was to be proceeded with as rapidly as possible, and the military were to co-operate with the civil officers in giving it effect. It might have been supposed that this announcement would re-kindle the fires of civil strife, or even lead to that organised insurrection of the State which was at one time dreaded. But the rage of party violence and mob brutality had burnt itself out. From day to day, the ring-leaders of the recent disturbances were arrested by civil process, tried, and sent to prison; yet no attempt was made to resist the authorities. Popular tumults are a species of madness, the crisis of which is commonly succeeded by exhaustion. A mob which will encounter armed soldiers one day, while the passion of antagonism possesses all its members, will obey the mandates of a few constables a day or two later, when the tigrish fit has passed, and despondency has set in with physical fatigue and nervous reaction. New York was now strongly guarded; but no further necessity arose for military aid. The Federal Government, however, feared that the enforcement of the draft might provoke a renewal of sedition, and every precaution was therefore taken. The State troops, whose loyalty was regarded as doubtful, were assisted, and to some extent watched, by large bodies of Federal soldiers from the Army of the Potomac. The open places were occupied by cavalry, artillery, and infantry; armed vessels were so stationed as to command the streets with their guns; arrangements were made for sending reinforcements with the utmost despatch; and the command of the Eastern Department was transferred from General Wool (a veteran of the war of 1812) to the more vigorous hands of General Dix—he who in the early days of secession, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, wrote to a subordinate, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

Several of the rioters were found to be Irishmen, whose dislike of the negro was well known. The labour of the black man entered into serious competition with that of the immigrant from Cork or Galway; and the former was hated by the latter with the twofold hatred of race and of industrial rivalry. By the native population of New York —both of the city and the State—the negro was detested as the original cause of the war, and consequently the source of innumerable evils, of enormous loss of life, heavy taxation, diminished trade, and commercial ruin. The Democrats were in a large majority all over New York, and the Democrats, as a rule, had never been earnest about the war. Therefore the draft was regarded as an unwarrantable invasion of personal liberty, and party leaders were glad to avail themselves of mob-violence for defeating an unpopular law. But the Federal Government stood firm, and, when the day arrived for reopening the lists, everything passed off quietly. Some concessions, however, had been made to the malcontents. The State Governor, Mr. Horatio Seymour, having represented that the numbers required from the city of New York were in excess of the fair proportion, a reduction of more than one-half was permitted in some districts. It was also announced by the Governor that the legal questions at issue would be tested in the

proper courts; so that the leaders of opinion had more to lose than to gain by any further resort to turbulence. The decisions, when given, were conflicting; but for the most part they upheld the action of the Government. Still, it was only too clear that the conscription was resented in several quarters, and even in some where opposition might have been least expected. Alarming riots took place at Boston, at Portsmouth (New Hampshire), and in Holmes county (Ohio); and at Boston and Portsmouth it was found necessary to employ the military. Nevertheless, the draft resulted in a gain to the army of about 50,000 men, and in the accumulation of a fund of 10,518,000 dollars, derived from the fines paid instead of service. The number of men thus obtained fell considerably short of the number anticipated and required; yet it was a substantial addition to the forces of the Union. Several of the Western States were not subjected to the draft at all, because of their having sent an excess of volunteers; and in other parts of the West the quota was small, for the same reason. It was evident that the main strength of the Government lay in the younger States, where life was stronger and more adventurous than in the old settlements. Even New England was beginning to grudge the sacrifices of the struggle. Yet it cannot be said that there was anything like a general desire to abandon the cause of the Union, or recognise the independence of the South. Impatience at the length of the war, and at its sanguinary character, was felt in various directions; but the great mass of the people were still determined to win. The opposition to the Government came chiefly from the extreme Democrats, who would have granted to the Confederates very nearly all that they required.

It was now resolved to make a third attack on Charleston. That city had already successfully resisted two powerful assaults; but the Federals were bent on accomplishing their purpose sooner or later. General Gillmore, the hero of Fort Pulaski, was summoned to Washington to arrange with the Government the details of a fresh attempt. It was settled that a military force should seize Morris Island, and from that point bombard Fort Sumter. The troops were to be aided by a strong fleet under Admiral Dahlgren; and it was hoped that the monitors and iron-clads would be able to enter the harbour, to pass the batteries, and to reach the city. An army was collected on Folly Island, to the south of Morris Island, and early in July batteries were erected among the woods. Under cover of these guns, a brigade of 2,000 men, commanded by General Strong, prepared to assail the position which it was first desired to occupy. The southern end of Morris Island was defended by seven hundred Carolinian infantry, two companies of artillery, and some other forces, under the direction of General Ripley, who acted as the subordinate of Beauregard. Strong's attack, which took place on the 10th of July, was successfully conducted, and the Southerners were driven back to Fort Wagner, situated near the further end of the island. The fort was strongly constructed, and armed with nearly twenty guns of various calibre, nearly all covering the only approach to the walls, which was along a barren and shifting beach, extremely narrow, and subject to frequent overflow. Being in communication with Charleston, the armament and garrison of this work could be easily maintained at its highest standard, and any attacking force was within reach, not merely of the guns in Wagner itself, but of those in Fort Sumter, and of the adjacent batteries. After forcing the Confederates to take shelter within their lines, the Federals refrained from commencing an immediate assault upon the works, owing to the exhaustion which they had already suffered from the heat of the day. During the night, two fresh regiments of Confederates were sent to Fort Wagner, to reinforce the garrison; but at daybreak on the 11th an assault was made by the troops of General Strong, who, proceeding along the narrow neck of land between the sea on the right hand and a marsh on the left, advanced in good order to the outer defences. A Connecticut regiment, which occupied the front position, crossed the *glacis*, and leapt into the ditch; but all attempts to climb the parapet were defeated by the terrific fire of the Confederates. At length the storming party was compelled to retreat, losing many gallant men in struggling back to the Federal lines, as well as in the attack itself. General Gillmore did not care to repeat the experiment without further preparations, and for the present determined to proceed against the fort by the erection of opposing batteries, which were aided by the fire of the monitors. The garrison suffered greatly from the artillery of their foes, and from the suffocating heat engendered in the bomb-proof galleries by the July sun, and the continual discharges of the cannon. The troops, however, could be frequently relieved, and occasional sallies varied the monotony of passive defence.

A terrible bombardment was opened on the 18th of July. The Confederate guns replied feebly, and the garrison in Fort Wagner saw that they would shortly have to defend the walls against a renewed assault. Their anticipations were realised that very

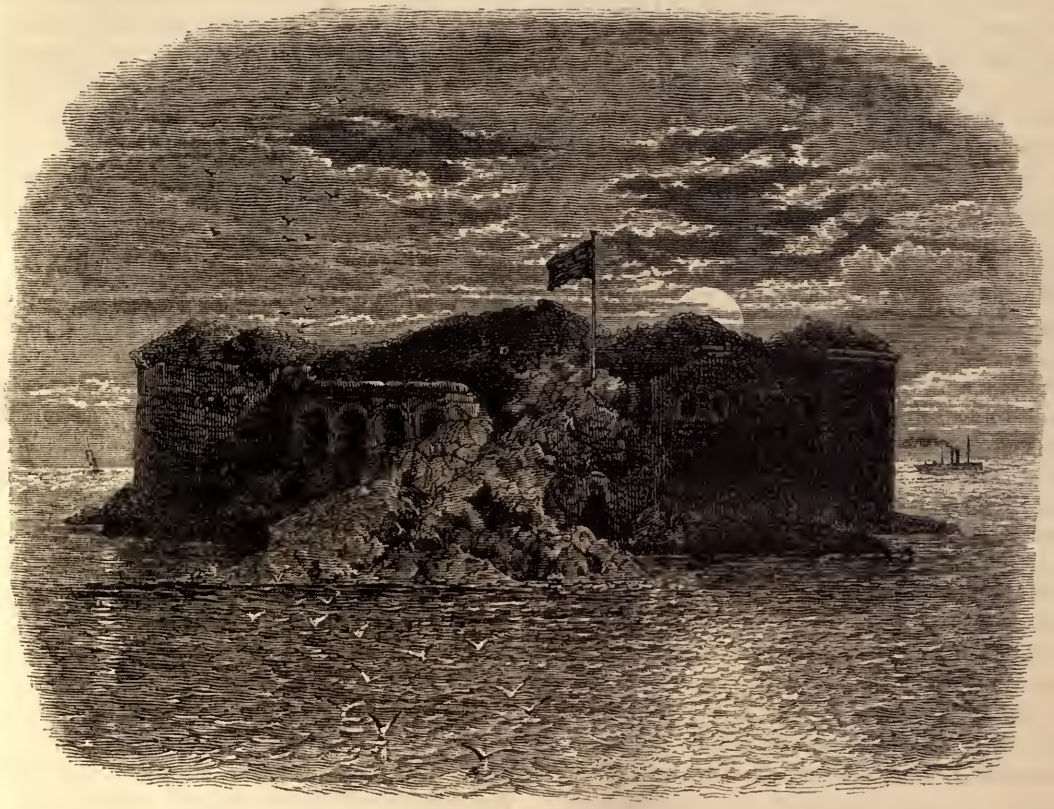
evening. In the midst of a thunderstorm, the Federal columns were formed upon the beach. The head of the first brigade consisted of a negro regiment, and the whole body, consisting of blacks and whites, pushed steadily on, under a concentrated fire from Forts Wagner, Gregg, and Sumter, and from the batteries on James and Sullivan's Islands.

GENERAL STUART.

The attempt to mount the walls was fiercely resisted by the Southerners, who poured into the ranks of their enemies a stinging fire of musketry —aided, whenever the antagonists came to close quarters, by the action of the bayonet and the sword. The dead and dying dropped from the ladders into the mud and ooze of the ditch, and the first brigade was repelled by the vigour and determination of the defenders. This, however, did not deter the second brigade from advancing to the assistance of the first. A lodgment was effected in one of the angles of the fort, and a fierce encounter was kept up in that confined space for about an hour; but the assailants were at length driven out, and forced to retire. General Strong had by this time been wounded, and nearly all the superior officers had fallen. Owing to some error, the third brigade did not arrive to the support of the two first; and when the attacking forces had regained their own positions, it was found that their numbers had been fearfully reduced. The Confederates in the fort had lost a hundred and seventy-four in killed, wounded, and missing; but the position was almost as strong as ever. General Talliaferro, who was then in command of the garrison, estimated that nine thousand shot and shell had been hurled against the works; yet the walls were but slightly injured. The fort was constructed of compact sand, which dulled and turned aside the heaviest projec-

tiles, while such damages as were inflicted could be easily repaired.

Parallels were now opened against the fort, and the Federals proceeded with all the regular gradations of a siege. The iron-clads in the surrounding waters frequently engaged Fort Wagner and Fort Sumter; but the garrison of the former were regularly reinforced and periodically relieved, and the batteries were strengthened by fresh guns, which were conveyed thither during the concluding noon, but the defenders of Fort Wagner had in the meanwhile repaired the injuries which had been inflicted during the morning. The bombardment continued during the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August; and whenever the Confederate flag at Fort Sumter was shot away, it was immediately replaced, though he who bore it aloft stood in imminent danger of being slain in the act. By the 21st, the southern wall of Sumter was a mere pile of rubbish; on the north, the stones were



FORT SUMTER IN RUINS.

part of July, and in the early days of August. The breaching batteries of the Federals were opened on the 17th of the latter month. They were directed, however, not against Wagner, but against Sumter, which was reached by firing over the intervening fort. The distance from the batteries to Sumter was not far short of three miles; but the ramparts crumbled before the awful concentration of power now brought to bear on them. Forts Wagner, Gregg, and Sumter were bombarded by the Federal iron-clads, and, replying with energy, added to the horrible roar which filled the air. The vessels were compelled to withdraw at about one P.M., by which time the men were almost exhausted by heat and fatigue. They returned in the after- crumbling into a mass of ruins; several guns had been dismounted, and others removed; but the garrison themselves had lost scarcely any of their number. Forts Wagner and Gregg had suffered very slightly, whilst the inner line of defences, extending across James Island in the direction of Sullivan's Island, had been greatly strengthened by the Southern forces.

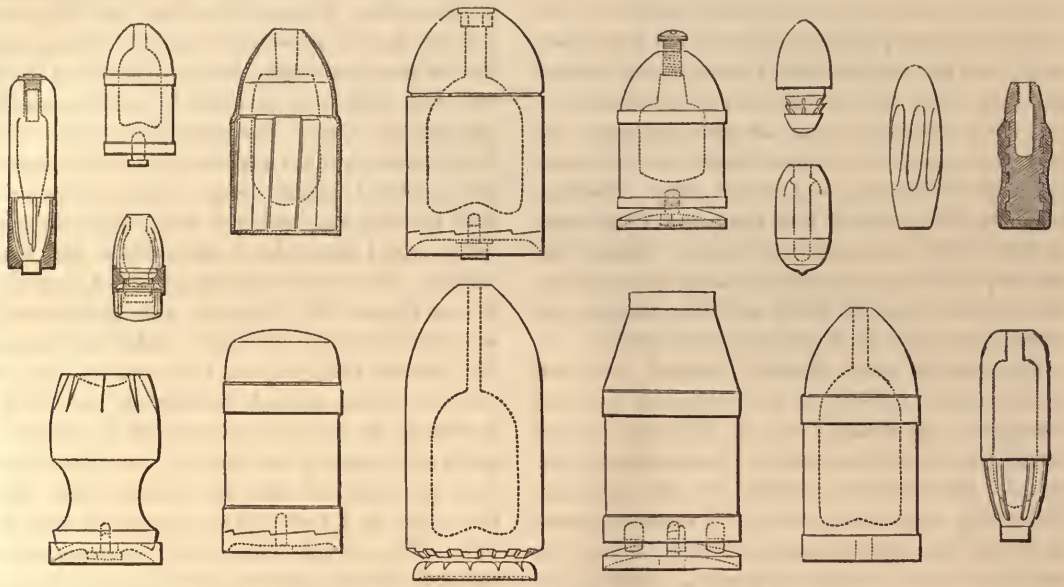
Encouraged by the effect he had produced on Fort Sumter, General Gillmore now demanded the surrender of that position, and of the works on Morris Island, on pain of the city of Charleston itself being bombarded if the requisition were refused. The letter containing this information was sent to General Beauregard on the night of

August 21st; but the Confederate commander was away at the time on a reconnaissance, and, before an answer could be returned, the bombardment opened upon the city at one A.M. on the morning of the 22nd. It necessarily produced the utmost consternation among the sleeping inhabitants, who, rushing confusedly into the streets, made for the open country. General Beauregard sent a remonstrance to his opponent with respect to this sudden attack upon the city. He remarked that among nations not barbarous the usages of war prescribe that, when a city is about to be attacked, timely notice shall be given, so that non-combatants may have an opportunity of withdrawing beyond its limits; that generally the time allowed is from one to three days, but that General Gillmore had given only four hours' notice. Beauregard characterised this mode of warfare as "atrocious, and unworthy of any soldier;" and he warned his adversary that if he fired again on the city without giving a more reasonable time for the removal of non-combatants, he should feel impelled to employ such stringent means of retaliation as might be available. General Gillmore's reply was to the effect that he had been steadily advancing for a long time, and that an attack upon the city itself was to be expected, and should therefore have been guarded against by a timely removal of the women, children, and old people. He had reason to believe that many of these had in fact left the place long before; but, as several might still be there, he would give them until eleven P.M. on the 23rd before he renewed the bombardment. It cannot be doubted that the action of General Gillmore was hasty and inconsiderate, and he seems himself to have admitted as much by his subsequent concession. The strong point with Beauregard was the want of sufficient notice: he simply weakened his case by taking advantage of an oversight in the original despatch sent to him by General Gillmore, from which the signature had been accidentally omitted. The authenticity of that despatch could not reasonably be doubted, since it was delivered by an officer of the staff; yet Beauregard, on account of this merely technical defect, refused to receive the missive.

The bombardment of Charleston re-commenced at the expiration of the stated time, but did not long continue, owing to the speedy explosion of an immense Parrott gun, called by the soldiers "the Marsh Angel," which was employed in this particular work. In the meanwhile, the parallels were being steadily pushed forward towards Fort Wagner; the Confederate rifle-pits were carried at the point of the bayonet on the 26th of August; and a fifth parallel was then completed within two hundred and forty yards of the main work. Nevertheless, the opposing fire from the Confederate forts and batteries continued as strong as ever, and the fleet of Admiral Dahlgren, being unable to pass the barriers defending the inner harbour, could do nothing to outflank the several positions which the army was endeavouring to take in front. The losses of the Federals increased from day to day, and the men were discouraged at the seemingly endless nature of their task. The sappers could only work at night, and even then were often brought down by aid of the powerful moonlight. Yet General Gillmore held firmly to his purpose, and now determined to open on Fort Wagner a bombardment more powerful than any which had gone before. This was to continue day and night without any cessation, and during the hours of darkness the gunners were to work by calcium lights, which had already been tried with good effect. The new bombardment commenced on the 5th of September, and prevailed for forty-two consecutive hours. The land-batteries were assisted by one of the iron-clads, which fired enormous shells from its eight broadside guns; and the garrison, compelled to keep watch against any assault that might be intended, lost many of their number in exposed positions. The work was in fact no longer tenable, therefore preparations were made for the withdrawal of the troops. It was resolved to abandon Fort Wagner, together with Fort Gregg, situated at Cumming's Point, which is the northern extremity of Morris Island. The evacuation commenced at nine o'clock on the evening of September 6th, when the guns were spiked, and fire was applied to the magazines. No explosion followed, as the matches failed to operate; and while the Federal sappers were mounting the deserted parapet of Fort Wagner, the last of the Confederate garrison were quitting the island. Their retreat was scarcely interrupted by the enemy, and on the following morning the Federals were compelled to repair the ramparts, to protect themselves against the batteries in Fort Moultrie and on James Island, which were immediately turned upon the positions just abandoned by the Southerners. It was believed by Admiral Dahlgren that Sumter must be surrendered now that Morris Island was in possession of his colleague. The fort was little better than a ruin; its artillery could no longer be worked, and the ground was held merely by a detachment of infantry, commanded by Major Elliott. To this officer Admiral Dahlgren sent a demand for the surrender of the fort. Elliott communicated with General Beauregard, and then he replied that the Admiral might have Sumter when

he could take it. An attempt to obtain possession of the place was made by the iron-clads, assisted by a military force, on the 9th of September; but it was not successful. Some of the crews who had landed were received by so hot a fire that the survivors speedily surrendered, and the vessels thereupon retired. This put a termination, for the time being, to the Federal successes before Charleston. The city and the remaining forts were occasionally bombarded; but it was not until the final days of the civil war that this stronghold of rebellion submitted to the authority of the Union.

The summer of 1863 was distinguished by several



VARIOUS FORMS OF PROJECTILES USED IN THE AMERICAN WAR.

Confederate movements in the Western States. General Taylor, son of the celebrated Mexican commander who was at one time President of the Union, conducted some bold operations in the semi-isolated tract of country lying to the west of New Orleans. At the head of a body of Texan cavalry—men inured to war by frequent encounters with the Indians, and themselves almost as wild and uncivilised as the red men whom they had vanquished in many a savage battle—he advanced against the towns of Plaquemine, Donaldsonville, and Thibodeauxville, which he successively captured. On the 23rd of June, he took Brashear City, lying to the south-west of the other places, but was compelled to abandon it after the surrender of Port Hudson. An attempt to surprise the fort and garrison of Helena, Arkansas, was made on the 4th of July, by a force under General Holmes. The attack was pressed with great vigour, and resisted with equal spirit. The Confederates lost heavily in this desperate effort, and several of their number were taken prisoners while endeavouring to retreat. Helena is situated on the western bank of the Mississippi, and it was hoped, by acquiring possession of it, to draw off some of the Federal troops from before Vicksburg. But the attack was made on the very day when Vicksburg surrendered; and thenceforward the Confederates appear to have regarded the entire possession of the great river by the Federal armies as a misfortune beyond remedy. They were even obliged to give up the line of the Arkansas River, to relinquish Fort Smith and Little Rock, and to retire southwards in the direction of Louisiana.

These events took place in August and September; and during the ensuing autumn and winter the Confederates under General Price held possession of the barren country between the Ouachita and the Arkansas. Skirmishes of cavalry frequently occurred, and the scanty population of those regions suffered much from the miseries of war; but no events took place of a nature to affect the general objects for which the two sides were contending. The Federal cause was now prevailing in many directions, and Sherman added to his previous reputation by capturing the town of Jackson, situated to the east of Vicksburg, on the 16th of July. It was here that General Johnston was stationed, and, although it was altogether unlikely that that commander would at any time be in a position to wrest Vicksburg from the powerful hold

of Grant, he might have harassed the further proceedings of the Federals by desultory attacks on their rear. Sherman was therefore sent with four army-corps against the Southern General, who had fortified his position by a line of field-works. An attempt to carry those works by assault resulted in failure, and Sherman sat down before the lines, with the purpose of reducing them by his heavy artillery. Johnston, however, had no intention of making a permanent defence. Setting fire to his stores, he crossed the Pearl River, and retreated in an easterly direction to the town of Meridian. Jackson was then entered by Sherman; but it was now little more than a heap of ruins, nor was the surrounding country in any better condition. The writer of a letter published in one of the newspapers stated that the land between Vicksburg and Jackson was completely devastated; that no subsistence of any kind remained; that all growing crops had been destroyed when possible, and that live stock had been either used or brought away. Sherman is said to have asserted that the people must leave, be fed by the Government, or starve. Yazoo City was occupied by a combined naval and military force about the same time; and this brought the summer campaign in Mississippi to an end.

The guerilla chief, General Morgan, was now giving much trouble in the southern parts of Kentucky. A strong body of Federals was stationed near Jamestown, on the Cumberland River; but Morgan seized on Columbia, to the north-west of that city, and on the 4th of July marched thence on Greenbriar Bridge, where Colonel Moore was entrenched with a body of Federal troops. The position was so well defended that Morgan was forced to retreat. He then attacked Lebanon, where a savage encounter took place in the streets. The General's brother, in command of one of the leading regiments, was killed at the head of his men; and, to overcome the Federal resistance, Morgan set fire to the houses. The Union troops then surrendered, and the place was sacked by the enraged Southerners, who were exasperated by the opposition which it had taken them so much trouble to overcome. It was impossible, however, to hold the town now that it was won; for the Federal cavalry were advancing to its rescue. Morgan's troops therefore retreated through Northern Kentucky, plundering and devastating in every direction, and defying the efforts of their own commander to establish better discipline. The guerilla chief found no support amongst the people whose lands he was invading, and in the very spirit of desperation he crossed the Ohio, and entered Indiana, which had hitherto been almost wholly exempt from the infliction of civil war. Pillage and ruin marked his course in this as in the more southern State; the local militia was quite inadequate to stop the tempest of destruction which threatened to sweep over the whole country; and even Ohio caught the fever of alarm. But Morgan had thrust himself into a position of greater peril than he perhaps anticipated. The Federal cavalry were following in his wake, and threatening to cut off his retreat, while neither in his front nor in his rear could he depend upon any assistance from the people. He accordingly turned towards the east, and, entering the State of Ohio, menaced the town of Cincinnati. His object was to escape, if possible, into Western Virginia; but the pursuit was too hot to allow him to effect this purpose. Troops were converging from all quarters; the fords over the Ohio were guarded by militia; gunboats paraded the river; the roads were obstructed by felled trees; and the guerillas soon found that they were enclosed within a trap. The men were laden with plunder, and unable to move with that celerity which could alone have given them the faintest chance. The whole country for miles around was roused against the invaders; yet Morgan still did his utmost to save the force under his command. He planted field-guns on the banks of the Ohio, near an island named Buffington, and thus endeavoured to cover the passage of his troops, who could only cross by swimming; but a Federal gunboat silenced the adverse artillery, and Morgan then tried to get over at another point, near Belleville. The second attempt was as unsuccessful as the first, and the guerillas fled in disorderly retreat. Being actively pursued, they were taken prisoners from time to time, and on the 26th of July, Morgan himself, a few of his officers, and some of his troopers, were surrounded by several detachments of the Federals, about three miles south of New Lisbon, Ohio, and compelled to surrender. Morgan, together with his superior officers, was sent to the Ohio Penitentiary for safe detention. It was probably considered that, as guerillas, these men were not entitled to the courtesies usually shown to prisoners of war; and there were also some questions of retaliation which affected their position. They had certainly been guilty of many crimes, and the desperate character of Morgan was such as to render it very advisable that he should be kept in close custody. He found means, nevertheless, several months later, to effect his escape. He and his companions were treated as felons, and considered themselves free to adopt any available means for regaining their liberty. The story of their escape is very remarkable. Working

at irregular intervals of time, so as to avoid the visits of the jailors, they excavated a tunnel beneath the floor of their cell, and under the walls of the prison. On the night of the 27th of November, Morgan and six other officers passed through this tunnel, armed with knives, and so got out into the open air. It was raining heavily, and the sentries had retired under shelter. This enabled the fugitives to scale the two exterior walls of the jail by means of a rope-ladder made of strips of bedding; and on gaining the outside of the penitentiary they separated, and went in different directions. General Morgan and Captain Hines started by train for Cincinnati, but, on nearing the town, feared that their flight had by that time been discovered. Dreading to run the risk of being re-arrested at the terminus, they slackened the progress of the train by putting on the brake, jumped out, hurried to the Ohio River, and, finding a boat at hand, crossed to the Kentucky shore. Morgan was there furnished with food, money, and a horse, and after much trouble succeeded in reaching the Confederate lines.* Such, at least, is in substance the narrative that was published at the time; but in several of its details it seems to pass the bounds of credibility. At any rate, it is not easy to believe in such an escape, unless upon the supposition that the jailors at the penitentiary, the guards of the railway-train, and perhaps some others, were connected with the plot. Still, it is certain that Morgan escaped; and it was not long before he raised a fresh body of cavalry, and once more became a name of terror in the West.

The operations of the spring and summer had undoubtedly been very favourable to the Northern cause. It was not without reason that President Lincoln, writing on the 26th of August to a political body in Illinois, observed that peace did not appear so distant as it had done. The committee to whom he addressed himself had invited him to attend a meeting of "unconditional Union" men, and it was in reply to their arguments in favour of peace that he expressed the opinion to which reference has been made. He remarked that there were three ways of obtaining peace: first, by suppressing the rebellion; secondly, by giving up the Union; thirdly, by adopting some compromise. Mr. Lincoln did not believe that any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union was then possible. "A compromise, to be effective," he observed, "must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people, first liberated from the domination of that army by the success of our own army." But no hint had come from the Confederates of a desire to enter into terms of compromise. The President assured his correspondents that, if a proposition of this nature should come, it would not be rejected; but as yet there was no sign of any such thing. The Union committee of Illinois appear to have been dissatisfied with the Government policy as regarded the negro. Mr. Lincoln therefore entered into that difficult question in replying to their arguments; but simply reiterated what he had often before affirmed—that his partial emancipation of the slaves was prompted solely by the hope that he should be able in this way to get the better of the rebellion, and did not proceed from any desire to solve the problem of negro bondage, apart from that supreme consideration. It must be admitted that the President had a rather undignified way of canvassing opinions before all sorts of audiences; but his letter to the Illinois committee derived a certain value from its emphatic assertion of the writer's belief that the Union cause was steadily moving towards success.

About a month earlier, the rival President, Mr. Jefferson Davis, had come to the conclusion that it would no longer serve any purpose to retain the Confederate agent, Mr. Mason, in England. Mr. Mason was one of the two commissioners despatched to Europe in the latter part of 1861, and seized on board the *Trent* mail-steamer by Captain Wilkes. Neither he nor Mr. Slidell, who went to Paris, had been able to do the slightest service to the Southern Government; and on the 21st of September, Mr. Mason wrote to Earl Russell, the Foreign Secretary of State, to the effect that he had been instructed by his principals, in a despatch dated the 4th of August, to consider his commission to England at an end, and to withdraw at once from the country. "The reasons for terminating this mission," said Mr. Mason, "are set forth in an extract from the despatch, which I have the honour to communicate herewith. The President believes that 'the Government of her Majesty has determined to decline the overtures made through you for establishing, by treaty, friendly relations between the two Governments, and entertains no intention of receiving you as the accredited minister of this Government near the British Court. Under these circumstances, your continued residence in London is neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity of this Government, and the President therefore requests that you consider your mission at an end, and that you withdraw with your secretary from London.'" When Mr.

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War, Vol. III., chap. 6, where the alleged facts are derived from a report in the *Richmond Examiner*, reprinted in the eighth volume of the Rebellion Record.

Mason arrived in England, the popularity of the Confederate Government was at its highest, and the unfortunate affair of the *Trent* had created the utmost feeling of antagonism and anger against the Government of the United States. It seemed not unreasonable to hope that in a little while the Confederacy would be recognised by the British Queen, and accepted with acclamation by at least a large proportion of the British people. Those days had passed. The Southern league had still many friends in England; but it was evident that they could not make their will prevail against the judgment of men who saw that the Confederacy was an anachronism in the nineteenth century, and contained in it no principle of perpetuity, no seed of enduring life. Those who sympathised with the crumbling republic of slave-holders might yet plan in secret the building and armament of fresh *Alabamas;* but it was certain that, unless the Confederacy was recognised by the Union itself, it would not be recognised by Great Britain. Mr. Mason, therefore, did well to retire from the scene of his defeat, carrying with him his mortified aspirations and his bankrupt hopes.

ESCAPE OF MORGAN.

FEDERAL LINES AT CHATTANOOGA.

CHAPTER LIV.

Affairs in Tennessee—Inactivity of Rosecrans—Remonstrances of the Federal Government—Advance of Rosecrans towards the Tennessee River—Retreat of General Bragg to Chattanooga—Movement of General Burnside into Eastern Tennessee—Surrender of Cumberland Gap to the Federals—Enthusiastic Reception of Burnside—Reinforcements sent to Bragg—Evacuation of Chattanooga by the Confederates—Continued Advance of Rosecrans—Unsuccessful Attempt to surprise his Columns in Detail—The Battle of Chickamauga—Fighting on the 19th of September—Indecisive Results—Renewed Action on the 20th—Retreat of the Federals within the Lines of Chattanooga—Appointment of General Grant to the Command of the West—Despatch of large Federal Reinforcements to the Banks of the Tennessee River—The Army of Rosecrans beleaguered—Arrival of Hooker's Corps—The Confederates compelled to relinquish a Part of their Position—Despatch of Longstreet against Burnside in Eastern Tennessee—Arrival of Generals Grant and Sherman at Chattanooga—Plan of concerted Operations—Weakness of the Confederate Position—The Battle of November 25th—Defeat of the Confederates, who retire to the Inner Parts of Georgia—Burnside besieged by Longstreet at Knoxville—Attempt to starve out the Garrison—The Town relieved by Sherman—Retreat of Longstreet to the Borders of Virginia—Qualities of Sherman and his Army—Operations of Longstreet in December, 1863—Military Position in the South-west at the Close of the Year.

To pursue their advantages in Tennessee was now one of the chief objects of the Federal Administration. After the battle of Murfreesborough, at the beginning of the year, Rosecrans refrained for several months from any important operations. Detachments from his main body had several encounters with the enemy; but for the most part the Federal Army of the West maintained an observant attitude. Early in June, however, the Washington Government considered that Rosecrans should take measures for driving Bragg into Georgia, and thus securing Eastern Tennessee. It was believed that the ranks of the Confederate General had been greatly weakened by the despatch of reinforcements to General Johnston, in the neighbourhood of Vicksburg; and it was therefore thought that the time was singularly propitious for an advance. Rosecrans himself did not share this view. He represented that his army was not then prepared for a forward movement, and that his subordinates doubted the advisability of active operations until the fate of Vicksburg had been determined. Notwithstanding these opinions, General Halleck, the Commander-in-Chief of all

the Federal armies, still considered that something should be done, and, without positively ordering Rosecrans to fight, expressed the dissatisfaction of the President's Government with the inactivity that had so long prevailed. Influenced, apparently, by Halleck's representations, Rosecrans, on the 24th of June, commenced a series of movements from Murfreesborough, for the purpose of forcing Bragg to retreat from his position on the Duck River. In this design he was completely successful. Some scattered actions occurred on various parts of the line, and Bragg, finding himself in danger of being outflanked by his adversary's occupation of some of the mountain-passes, retired to Chattanooga, on the south side of the Tennessee River, not far from the borders of Georgia and Alabama, though nearer to the former than the latter. The town was a place of some importance as a seat of industry, and as a meeting-point of several lines of rail; and here General Bragg determined to make a stand. He fortified his position, and constructed defensive works at the crossing of the river, and as far up as Blythe's Ferry. His retreat had been much vexed by the Federal cavalry, and his operations were hampered by the desertion of several of his men belonging to Tennessee, who, now that their State was about to be abandoned, considered, according to the true Southern view of Confederate claims, that they had done everything which could in reason be demanded of them. But as soon as he had entrenched himself at Chattanooga, Bragg felt tolerably secure against Federal attack.

That Rosecrans might have every assistance in his movement against the Confederate General, Burnside was directed to march from the Ohio into Eastern Tennessee. Great slowness, however, continued to mark the proceedings of the Federals, owing partly to the prevalence of heavy rains. It was about the 4th of July when Bragg withdrew to Chattanooga; it was not until the 16th of August that Rosecrans commenced his advance on that town, and that Burnside left Camp Nelson, in Kentucky, for the scene of his ulterior operations. The first of these Generals had much to do in the way of repairing rails, and constructing roads across the Cumberland Mountains; and the action of the latter was dependent on that of his colleague. The progress of Burnside was scarcely disputed by the Confederates, who retired before him, and united their small scattered forces with those of Bragg. General Buckner was among the Confederate officers who retreated towards Chattanooga; but two of his brigades were cut off from the main body. One of these held Cumberland Gap, and Mr. Jefferson Davis was greatly incensed at the readiness with which, on the 9th of September, the position was yielded to two Federal detachments, without a shot being fired in its defence. Cumberland Gap commands one of the principal roads from Kentucky into Tennessee, and its surrender exposed Eastern Tennessee and South-western Virginia to hostile invasion, besides breaking the line of communication between the Confederate seat of government and the region where Bragg was desperately contending against superior odds. In his march through Eastern Tennessee, Burnside was received with enthusiasm, and the populace displayed in the most fervent manner their attachment to the old Union and the old flag. The inhabitants of that mountainous land had never been well-affected to the Confederacy, and Burnside was hailed as a deliverer wherever his forces penetrated.

The delay in Burnside's march, caused by his turning aside to reduce the Confederate position in Cumberland Gap, prevented his joining Rosecrans as early as was desirable. In the meanwhile, Bragg was receiving reinforcements from the Army of the Mississippi, from Lee's Virginian Army, and from other sources, and was ultimately enabled to present a much more formidable front to his adversaries than would have been possible a short time before. The army under Rosecrans reached the northern bank of the Tennessee River, opposite Chattanooga, on the 20th of August, and preparations for passing the stream were completed by the 4th of September. On that day, a large part of the army crossed over to the southern shore, and even threatened the communications of Bragg with the country in his rear. The position became untenable, and on the 7th it was abandoned. Chattanooga was then occupied by a Federal corps, and Bragg retreated to Lafayette, in Georgia. Here he concentrated his divisions, and matured his plans for resisting the enemy. The forces of Rosecrans were now divided into three columns, widely separated from one another by the defiles of a mountainous region, extending in a south-westerly direction from the southern side of the Tennessee River towards Alabama. Rosecrans believed his antagonist to be weaker than he really was, and that he might safely advance in loose order against a flying foe. Bragg, however, considered that he could attack these scattered bodies in detail, and thus secure a victory, or rather a series of victories, such as would have been utterly beyond his reach had the several corps been united. But he was met by an unexpected degree of opposition in one of his subordinates. General D. H. Hill objected to making a forward movement against the Federal officer, General

Thomas, who was encamped at the foot of Look-out Mountain, to the left of the Federal advance; and the duty was consequently assigned to Buckner, in combination with General Hindman. The movement resulted in failure. Owing, it was alleged, to the dilatory proceedings of Hindman, Thomas had time to withdraw among the mountain-passes, and by about the middle of the month the two other corps, under McCook and Crittenden, effected a junction with the one which had been so seriously menaced. Simultaneously with the attack upon Thomas, General Polk was to fall on Crittenden's corps, forming the centre of the three advancing bodies; but he was as unsuccessful as Hindman and Buckner, and on the 18th of September the whole of the Federal army stood on the western bank of Chickamauga Creek. Not far to the east were the Confederates, and it was obvious to both sides that a general action must presently ensue.

By this time, General Longstreet, with the divisions of Hood and McLaws, had been despatched by Lee to the support of Bragg, and the advanced brigades of the reinforcement had already arrived. Rosecrans felt that his line was weak towards the left, and he feared lest he should be cut off from Chattanooga. He therefore, on the evening of the 18th, moved some of his divisions from the right to the opposite extremity, and on the following morning the two armies were fronting one another in a narrow valley formed by two lines of hills called Mission Ridge and Pigeon Mount—the former to the west, the latter to the east. Between the two uplands flowed Chickamauga Creek, which the Confederates had by this time crossed, so as to seek their enemy. The ground was uneven, and covered with oak-woods; it therefore presented many opportunities for effective manœuvring. The line of battle, roughly speaking, ran north and south; the Federals facing towards the east, the Confederates towards the west. Bragg was desirous of executing the very movement which Rosecrans dreaded. He would gladly have interposed between his adversary and Chattanooga; but the Federal commander thwarted any attempt of this nature by the change which he effected in his front. On the morning of September 19th, Rosecrans brought on an engagement by moving forward a brigade of Thomas's corps, which attacked the Confederate right wing. The fighting soon became general; a sanguinary and hotly-contested action strewed the field with dead and wounded; and for awhile the Confederates seemed to be carrying all before them. When night put an end to the battle, however, the Southerners had been checked, if not compelled to relinquish some portion of the ground they had won. Still, they were in advance of the morning's positions, and had gained possession of the road to Chattanooga, besides having driven the Federals about a mile west of Chickamauga Creek, almost to the foot of Mission Ridge.

General Longstreet, the most eminent and capable of Lee's lieutenants, arrived at Bragg's head-quarters near midnight on the 19th, together with an additional division, and was placed in command of the left wing. At the same time, a fresh disposition of the forces was carried out by Bragg's directions, and it was ordered that the action should recommence at daybreak on the following morning—that of Sunday, September 20th. The night was an anxious one for the Federals. Rosecrans was still uneasy about his communications with Chattanooga, and, on the representations of General Thomas, who commanded in that direction, again transferred some of his troops from the right to the left. While this rather dangerous movement was in course of execution, the Confederates began their attack. It was now nearly ten o'clock in the day, for, owing to some error or negligence, the Southern troops had not opened fire at the early hour originally contemplated. The delay had enabled the Federals to throw up breastworks, and to strengthen them by repeated additions. Against these entrenchments the right wing of Bragg's army repeatedly hurled itself, but without any permanent gain. On the left of the Confederate line, however, General Longstreet met with almost uniform success. His men rushed forward with fierce impetuosity, and interposed themselves between the two wings of the Federal army, where the removal of the centre, to strengthen the left, had created a wide gap. Operating in both directions at once, the Confederates, headed by Longstreet in person, struck confusion into the Federal line. Several of the divisions were thrown into extreme disorder, and Rosecrans rode off to Chattanooga, to secure his supply-train, and his pontoon-bridges over the Tennessee River. At this critical moment, Hood, one of the bravest of the Southern Generals, fell severely wounded, and the Confederate advance was momentarily delayed while another commander was being put in his place. The Federals now rallied; reinforcements were concentrated at the weak points; and a fresh stand was made on the lower slopes of Mission Ridge. The day, however, was beyond retrieval. Advancing once more with fresh vigour, the right wing of the Confederates, under Polk, carried the opposing breastworks; the left wing, after a brief repulse, also moved forward; and the whole Federal

army retreated, but for the most part in such good order that Bragg thought it prudent to refrain from pursuit. Longstreet was exceedingly desirous of following on the track, but his chief countermanded the orders he had given with that view. That the Federals had not been utterly routed, was due to the firmness with which General Thomas clung to his position on the left, and to the promptitude with which General Granger, on hearing heavy firing in the distance, sent up the reserves from Rossville. Longstreet was the chief hero on the Confederate side. In neither army did the principal commander greatly distinguish himself.

The sacrifices on both sides had been very severe. It has been estimated that the Confederates lost 12,000 men, and the Federals 16,000. Such statements are seldom very exact; but it is certain that large numbers were removed from the ranks, either by death or serious injury. General Bragg confessed that two-fifths of his army had been taken from him; and on that side alone three Brigadier-Generals had been killed. The Federals, however, were the greatest sufferers. Thirty-six of their guns were captured, and large quantities of small arms were left behind upon the field. Rosecrans was considered to have exhibited so little generalship that he was shortly afterwards succeeded by Thomas, whilst McCook, Crittenden, Negley, and Van Cleve, were suspended from their commands, that inquiry might be made into their conduct. Of the Confederate superior officers, the only one removed from the scene of the recent operations was General Polk, who was thought to have acted with hesitation in the battle of the 20th. Much blame was thrown by the Southern public on Bragg himself, for not having completed a victory which had been so well begun; but Mr. Davis refused to recognise these complaints. Even in removing Polk, he paid a high compliment to that officer for his past services, and promised him a speedy appointment to some new command.

On quitting the banks of the Chickamauga, the Federal corps retreated to Chattanooga, where they speedily entrenched themselves. On the 23rd of September, General Bragg appeared before the Union lines, and, finding them too strong to be taken by assault, determined to invest the position. Attempts were made to cut off all the sources on which the Northerners depended for their daily needs; but these endeavours were defeated by the activity of the Federal cavalry, though the supply of food still remained a matter of great difficulty. The position of the army at Chattanooga threatened disastrous results, if it could not be relieved; and the authorities at Washington saw in General Grant the man most likely to cope with existing troubles. He was accordingly appointed to the command of the West, and large bodies of troops were set in motion to provide him with the necessary means for acting decisively. The 11th and 12th corps, under Hooker, were transferred from the Army of the Potomac to that of Tennessee. These two corps consisted of 23,000 men, who, together with their artillery, baggage, and animals, moved from the Rapidan, in Virginia, to Stevenson, in Alabama—a distance of 1,192 miles—in seven days, during which they crossed the Ohio twice.* With the advance of autumn, several columns were converging on Chattanooga, to the relief of the Federals; and Bragg's forces, though continuing to watch the imprisoned enemy, could do little else. Burnside's operations in Eastern Tennessee had prevented his joining Rosecrans in time to avert the catastrophe of Chickamauga; and he was now withheld from marching to the succour of his comrades at Chattanooga by the operations of a Confederate detachment. Yet Bragg either could not or would not make a direct attack on the Federal position; and, while every day brought rescue nearer to the Federals, it rendered still more problematical the chances of ultimate success on the part of their adversaries. Among those who were hurrying towards the invested city was General Sherman, who, immediately on receiving his orders, started from Vicksburg, and advanced towards Athens, in Alabama, near the borders of Tennessee. He was now appointed to succeed Grant in the Tennessee Department, and, while at Iuka, Mississippi, on his route to Athens, was directed to march on Bridgeport, a small town situated on the north side of the Tennessee River, four-and-twenty miles to the west of Chattanooga. Thomas was by this time in the principal command at the beleaguered place; and one of the designs which he was endeavouring to carry out was to open a road along the southern bank of the Tennessee, so as to establish a connection between Hooker's force, which at the close of October had arrived at Bridgeport, and the main army. The base of the Federal army was at Bridgeport and Stevenson (both in Alabama), and the regiments were supplied from depôts at Nashville and Louisville (in Tennessee and Kentucky) by a single line of rail. The southern side of the Tennessee River was in possession of the enemy, with the exception of Chattanooga and the surrounding lines; and the road on the north side was rendered impassable by the Confederate sharp-

* Report of the Secretary of War, Nov. 2nd, 1863.

shooters, who fired across the stream. The Federals were consequently obliged to bring all their supplies in a circuitous way from a distance of fifty or sixty miles; and when the weather was rough and stormy, as it frequently became with the deepening days of autumn, the army stood in no little danger of starving. It was therefore of the highest importance to open the river, and secure a shorter communication with the military base.

The arrival of General Hooker at Bridgeport relieved the troops at Chattanooga from any further anxiety about their supplies; and, as we have seen, Sherman was on his way to the same point. Thomas now directed his principal engineer officer, General W. F. Smith, to seize the mouth of Look-out Valley and the neighbouring heights, on the southern side of the river (the side on which Chattanooga itself is situated), while Hooker crossed from Bridgeport, on the opposite bank. On the night of October 27th, Smith descended the river in boats to Brown's Ferry, accompanied by infantry and engineers. Landing at the mouth of the valley early on the following morning, with but slight opposition from the enemy, who had guarded the locality very weakly, the Federal commander made good his position in the contemplated spot, and immediately proceeded to construct a pontoon-bridge, which, though nine hundred feet in length, was put together in five hours. During the same day (the 28th), Hooker crossed the river at Bridgeport, and marched eastward, so as to join the force already in possession of the entrance to Look-out Valley. This movement was not unknown to the Confederates. Generals Bragg and Longstreet observed its progress from the brow of Look-out Mountain, but at the moment refrained from attacking, lest a general action should be brought on with inconvenient precipitancy. On the night of the 28th, however, Longstreet assailed a detachment of Hooker's corps, which was separated from the rest on the western side of Look-out Creek; but the attempt was entirely unsuccessful, and the Confederates then abandoned the position to their opponents, and retired across the creek, leaving behind them a large number of dead and wounded.

Bragg now determined to detach Longstreet against General Burnside, who was occupying Knoxville and Kingston, in Eastern Tennessee. This, however, had the effect of weakening the Confederates before Chattanooga to so serious an extent that their position became extremely hazardous. General Grant, who had arrived at Chattanooga on the night of October 20th, repeatedly and urgently telegraphed to Burnside to hold Knoxville at all costs, while he himself operated against Bragg. The railway from Bridgeport to Brown's Ferry was speedily repaired by the Federals, who, being now in possession of both shores of the river, were enabled to obtain their provisions by a much shorter route, and were thus rescued from impending famine. The Northern troops were in a far better position, in every respect, than those of the South, and Bragg, whose abilities were not of a shining order, had to deal with an adversary of very superior powers. The arrangements of the Confederate General were indeed marked by extraordinary carelessness. His divisions were widely scattered, while the Federals were adding to their numbers, and concentrating their forces at the most available points. Sherman reached Chattanooga on the 15th of November, and was speedily instructed by General Grant as to the part he was to assume in the attack which it was resolved to make with as little delay as possible. A division of his troops was to be marched to Trenton (west of Look-out Mountain), so as to threaten the enemy's left flank; and under cover of this movement the main body was to cross General W. F. Smith's pontoon-bridge at Brown's Ferry, and enter a concealed camp on the north side of the Tennessee River. Ultimately the troops were to be re-conveyed to the southern side of that stream, near the mouth of Chickamauga Creek, and to take up a position on the left of Grant's line of battle, while Hooker and Thomas operated in other directions against the Confederate masses. The general arrangements, as the reader will have observed, were of a complicated character, and were designed to deceive and surprise the enemy. Over the frail causeway of the Brown's Ferry bridge, which had already been damaged by the rising waters of the river, and by rafts which the Confederates had sent floating down the current, the men and horses of Sherman's corps advanced on the 23rd of November from the southern to the northern shore, under heavy torrents of autumnal rain. When all but one division had got across, the bridge broke up; but, in the main, the first part of the operation had been accomplished. On the same day, Grant ordered General Thomas to push forward a reconnaissance from the lines of Chattanooga. The result of this movement was that with but little fighting the Federals captured some rifle-pits, and occupied a small hill between Chattanooga and Mission Ridge. Just before this event, Bragg had set in motion additional reinforcements for Longstreet; but they were recalled, on its becoming evident that the Federals were about to undertake operations of a very menacing character.

The arrival of Sherman's corps had raised the

total strength of Grant to nearly 90,000 men, while Bragg had only about half that number with which to defend his lines. The Confederate General felt the weakness of his position and the insufficiency of his resources. Perceiving how seriously his right was threatened, he drew off a whole division from his peril in which he stood. He evacuated Look-out Mountain after dark, relinquished the valley of Chattanooga, and re-formed his line of battle along Mission Ridge; his front directed nearly to the west, his right covering Chickamauga Station, and his left overlooking the little town of Rossville.

VIEW FROM LOOK-OUT MOUNTAIN.

left on Look-out Mountain, while still retaining that position with a most inadequate force. On the morning of the 24th of November, his army was thinly distributed along an irregular line of twelve miles, reaching from the western slopes of Look-out Mountain to a point near the outfall of Chickamauga Creek into the river with which it blends. The fighting on that day was not considerable; yet the combined operations of the Federals were such as to make General Bragg still more sensible of the The morning of the 25th was foggy; but when the mists cleared off, the Confederates, from their high ground, beheld the dark masses of Sherman's corps (which had recrossed the Tennessee on the previous day) advancing towards the extreme right, in the vicinity of Chickamauga Station. Against this attacking force a heavy fire of artillery was opened; but the Federals swept on, and presently attained the base of the ridge. Then the cannonade slackened, and the sharp rattle of musketry broke forth,

NORTHROP LEADING THE ATTACK AT KNOXVILLE.

Sherman's division was endeavouring to scale the steep and difficult ground occupied by the Confederate right wing, commanded by General Hardee. The attack was pressed with the utmost gallantry, and maintained for a full hour; but the breastworks which the Southerners had erected were manned by stubborn troops, the incessant flash of whose rifles carried death into the Federal ranks at every discharge. Sherman's men at last reeled back to the rear; but Grant ordered his subordinate to renew the attack. Again did those devoted soldiers move up to the assault. The ground in many parts was slippery with blood, and, rising sharply towards the barricades, presented difficulties of no ordinary kind. Yet the breastworks were once more reached, in the face of a terrific fire, both of artillery and musketry. A desperate combat took place in front of the batteries; but again the heroic masses of Sherman's corps were hurled back into the valley. Grant now directed a general movement on the left centre of the Confederates. Here also the opposition was most determined, and resulted in fearful carnage; but the weak point in the Confederate line had at length been struck. A whole brigade of Hindman's division gave way; the Federals leaped into the trenches, and scattered their antagonists right and left; and the routed line fell back towards Ringold, to the south-east of the Confederate position. Thousands of prisoners were taken, and munitions of war to a large amount fell into the conquerors' hands. General Hooker started in pursuit, and on the 26th the Confederates retired from Ringold, after an unsuccessful attempt to hold that place. They then took up a position on a line of hills called Taylor's Ridge, where they presented so menacing a front to their opponents that on the 27th General Grant determined that the pursuit should not be pushed any farther, but that Hooker should remain at Ringold, whilst Sherman, at the head of a strong force, marched against Longstreet. By this time, Cleveland, lying to the east of Chattanooga, had been occupied by a portion of Sherman's command, and the railway between that place and Dalton had been effectually destroyed, so as to prevent the possibility of a flank movement against the column advancing upon Knoxville. Bragg had completely lost the confidence of the Southern people. Though personally supported by Mr. Jefferson Davis, he was removed from his command, and the direction of the Georgian forces was for a time conferred on Hardee, whose stubborn courage and good generalship on the 25th had won the admiration of all.

It is now time to consider what was passing at Knoxville. That town is situated on the East Tennessee and Georgia Railway, south of Clinch River, and north-east of Chattanooga. The point is one of great strategical importance, since it commands the whole valley of the Upper Tennessee; and on this account Grant had ordered Burnside to do his utmost for the retention of his post, threatened by the advance of Longstreet from the army before Chattanooga. Burnside was in command of two corps; but they were not very strong in numbers, and the several divisions were distributed at considerable distances from one another, and from the centre at Knoxville. A sudden attack on these scattered forces seemed not unlikely to be attended by success. Longstreet left the neighbourhood of Chattanooga in the first week of November. He took with him about 12,000 men, who were to be reinforced by the two divisions which he expected to find at Sweetwater, near Loudon; but, on arriving at that place, he discovered that the forces stationed there had been ordered to join Bragg on the banks of the Tennessee, and that some had already started. He was therefore obliged to rest contented with the regiments he already had in hand, strengthened by about 5,000 cavalry under General Wheeler. It had been part of his engagement with Bragg that he was to be furnished with supplies; but no supplies were forthcoming, and he was compelled to halt for some days at Sweetwater, whilst he sent out foraging parties to collect corn, thresh it, and bring it into a proper condition for being made into bread. Not only were his men ill-supplied with food; they were also destitute of tents, and poorly furnished with clothes. Longstreet, however, had the confidence of his troops as much as Lee himself. He had been associated with many victories, and entire reliance was placed on his ability to overcome the most adverse circumstances with which he was likely to be encountered. He accordingly marched forward towards Knoxville, strong in the devotion of his men; and, having crossed the Little Tennessee, came into collision with two divisions of Burnside's forces on the 16th of November, at a place called Campbell's Station. The attack was vigorously conducted, but the Federals held their antagonists in check sufficiently to effect their retreat within the fortifications of Knoxville. Those fortifications extended from hill to hill round the town; and within the works were collected nearly 15,000 infantry and artillery together with a proportion of cavalry. Knoxville was invested by General Longstreet on the 17th and 18th of November, and on the second of those days an assault was undertaken against one of the principal outworks, which was carried after an

obstinate resistance. During the height of this action, a breastwork was charged by the Confederate infantry. A galling fire from the enemy caused them to waver and hang back, when Captain Stephen Northrop, an Englishman, formerly connected with one of the British regiments, mounted his horse, and, spurring across the plain without any companion, rode up to the Federal entrenchment. This splendid conduct had its effect upon the men. They rallied, and dashed forward; and, as the work was taken, Northrop was borne away with a rifle-ball through his shoulder, the scabbard of his sword broken by another, and the point shattered by a third.*

Although one of the outworks was now in possession of the Confederates, General Longstreet doubted his ability to carry the whole of the fortifications by assault. It was equally impossible to reduce the place by a regular siege, for which it was not at all likely that time would be allowed by the vastly superior forces under General Grant. There was consequently nothing to be done but to cut off the supplies, and thus reduce the town by famine. This, however, was in itself a work of time, and after the total defeat of Bragg it became evident that the plan was no longer practicable. A large body of Federals would soon be marching to the relief of Knoxville, and Longstreet feared to be caught between two fires. He therefore fell back on his first idea of an assault. The attack was to be made on the morning of the 29th of November, and Fort Sanders, or College Hill, was the point selected for the difficult and perilous attempt. The necessary preparations were completed on the night of November 28th; and early on the following morning the storming-parties were sent forward. The Federal batteries having been silenced, these brave men moved across the open ground, and gained the edge of the ditch; but it was then seen that there were no scaling-ladders, and, while the assailants were pausing in hesitation as to what they should do, the Federals poured so deadly a fire into their ranks that the column was broken and disorganised. Some of the men clambered up the side of the works on to the parapet, but were immediately shot down or captured. The ditch was choked with dead and wounded; and when a number of hand-grenades were thrown into the staggering mass, its cohesion was entirely destroyed, and nothing remained but to retreat.

Though greatly disappointed by the result of this attempt, Longstreet still maintained his positions round the town, the garrison and inhabitants of which began to suffer from shortness of provisions. Sherman, however, was now on his road to Knoxville, and it was known to the army, from the reports of prisoners, that Bragg had been defeated before Chattanooga, and that succour could not be long in arriving. Marching with rapidity, and only pausing to repair broken bridges or construct new ones across the rivers by which the country was intersected, Sherman reached the vicinity of Knoxville on December 5th. Longstreet, though lately reinforced, knew that he was not strong enough to resist the united armies of Burnside and Sherman; and when the latter arrived upon the spot, he found that his adversary had already departed. He had quitted his lines on the previous night, and had moved in a north-easterly direction to the borders of Virginia. Sherman met Burnside outside the fortifications, and proposed to him to pursue Longstreet with a force sufficient to ensure the withdrawal of the Confederates from Eastern Tennessee; but the offer was refused by Burnside, who is said to have exhibited some jealousy of his distinguished colleague. He declared that Granger's corps, in addition to his own, would be sufficient to guarantee Knoxville against further attack, and that the pursuit could be undertaken by his cavalry. Very little, however, was done to harass Longstreet's rear. The Federal horsemen were roughly handled by the retreating army at a small village on the cross-roads leading to Rogersville and Cumberland Gap; after which nothing more was attempted. Sherman returned to Chattanooga, and shortly afterwards Burnside, whose health was failing him, solicited recall, and was superseded by General Forster, from the Department of North Carolina.

The fame of Sherman was now almost equal to that of Grant. He was at the time in his forty-fourth year, and during the early period of the civil war had been regarded with disfavour as a man of inferior abilities. The test of actual service, however, had shown that he was possessed, not merely of the very ordinary gift of courage, but of real military genius, of tireless energy and quick discernment. He was born at Lancaster, Ohio, on the 8th of February, 1820; but his parents belonged to the New England State of Connecticut. More remotely, the family came from the English county of Essex, for Sherman's progenitor was one of the early settlers in Massachusetts, where he arrived in the year 1634. These facts are interesting, as showing the thoroughly Northern character of this remarkable man, and explaining the energy with which he threw himself into the suppression of a Southern and slave-holding revolt. Sherman's

* Pollard's Third Year of the War.

troops were proud of their General; their General was equally proud of them. Referring to the recent course of events in one of his official despatches, he said:—"In reviewing the facts, I must do justice to the command for the patience, cheerfulness, and courage which officers and men have displayed throughout—in battle, on the march, and in camp. For long periods without regular rations or supplies of any kind, they have marched through mud and over rocks, sometimes barefooted, without a murmur, without a moment's rest. After a march of four hundred miles, without stopping for three successive nights, we crossed the Tennessee, and then turned more than one hundred miles north, and compelled Longstreet to raise the siege of Knoxville, which gave so much anxiety to the whole country." It is a well-known fact in military affairs that good officers make good soldiers. Doubtless it is equally true that good soldiers contribute to the formation of good officers, or at any rate furnish them with that material without which the highest genius is incapable of effecting great results. In Sherman and his troops were to be found all the elements of success, and a series of triumphs attended their operations wherever they carried the flag of the Republic. Nearly three years of civil war had taught the Americans, both of the North and of the South, to be soldiers in every sense of the word. They were no longer the amateurs who had been helplessly driven to the slaughter in the dark and evil days of 1861. They had acquired the professional feeling and the professional habits of veterans, to whom war is not an affair of declamation in the first instance, and of panic in the second, but a stern and terrible duty, to be faced with courage and borne with resolution. In the earlier part of the struggle, the fighting-men of the South, from their greater familiarity with arms and active exercises, had shown more military virtue than their brethren of the North; but the scale was now inclining in favour of the other side. Freedom had its heroes, as well as slavery; and not merely its heroes, but its men of genius and success. In Grant and Sherman alone, the Union found a guarantee that in the end its cause would certainly prevail.

Towards the close of 1863, the Federals at Knoxville advanced their posts some thirty miles in the direction of Virginia. Longstreet, on the frontier of that State, was watching them closely, and in a little while he had the opportunity of making an effective movement. On the 14th of December, a detachment of Federal cavalry, under General Shackelford, was stationed at Bean's Cross-roads, on the north side of the Holston River, at a distance of five-and-twenty miles from Knoxville. This fact coming to the knowledge of Longstreet, he moved down the valley, in the hope of cutting off the small isolated body of horsemen. Shackelford was driven from the cross-roads, and forced back six miles to the rear, with some loss in prisoners; but the alarm had spread before the attack actually began, and a brigade of infantry was moved up in support of the cavalry. The united force then assumed so strong a position that Longstreet declined any further attack. On the following day, the Federals entrenched themselves, expecting a battle of some magnitude; but, after a little skirmishing, Longstreet's divisions retired, carrying with them a large amount of supplies, which they had had time to seize, and which proved a very welcome addition to their stores. The Confederate General withdrew to Rogersville, near the Virginian borders, and for some time contented himself with a policy of observation. The campaign of Tennessee was over, as far as concerned the year whose history we are at present relating. That Western State had been snatched from the grasp of the Confederacy, and the forces of the Union were in a favourable position for acting against Virginia and the Carolinas. Taylor's Ridge, and the Great Smoky Mountains, were now the chief barriers interposing between the south-western armies of the two belligerents. The passes were held by Confederate troops, and it remained for a later date to disclose whether they would be able to maintain their positions, or be compelled to yield once more to the full tide of Federal strength.

CHAPTER LV.

Renewed Operations in Virginia—Crossing of the Rapidan northward by General Lee—Strong Position of the Federals on Bull Run—The Confederates retire—Operations of General Imboden (Confederate) West of the Blue Ridge Mountains—Advance of General Meade towards the Rappahannock—Defeat of the Confederates, who retire southward across the Rapidan—Operations by Meade in the Wilderness—Unsuccessful Movement against the Confederates—Retreat of the Federals—Incursions of General Averill into Western Virginia—Winter Campaigns—Actions in the West—Close of the Year 1863—Mr. Lincoln's Message to Congress—State of the Slavery Question—The President's Amnesty Proclamation—Message of Mr. Jefferson Davis—Complaints of Violations of Neutrality on the Part of England—Allusions by Mr. Davis to the French Intervention in Mexico—General Halleck's Declaration as to the future Conduct of the War—Mutual Complaints of Ill-treatment of Prisoners—Gigantic Preparations by the North for the Campaigns of 1864—Incursion of General Sherman into Mississippi—Wanton Destruction of Private Property—Defeat of General W. S. Smith (Federal) by General Forrest (Confederate)—Sherman retires to Vicksburg—Capture of Fort Pillow by the Confederates—Treacherous Slaughter of the Garrison—Expedition of General Banks into the Interior of Louisiana—His Advance to Mansfield—Vigorous Opposition of the Confederates—Defeat of Banks, and Disorganisation of his Army—Renewed Fighting at Pleasant Hill—Retrograde Movement of the Federals—Perilous Position of Admiral Porter's Fleet in the Red River—Desperate Fighting on the Sabine River—Operations in Florida and North Carolina—A Fresh Draft ordered—Grant appointed to the Command of all the Armies of the United States—Attempts on Richmond.

A RENEWED movement on the part of the Confederate Army of Virginia was undertaken in the autumn of 1863. At that time, the Federals under Meade were encamped in and around Culpepper, and Lee considered the opportunity favourable for an attack on his adversary's right flank, so as to sever its communications with the base at Alexandria. Meade's forces had been considerably weakened by the despatch of Hooker's corps to Chattanooga, and by the sending of regiments to New York for the enforcement of the Conscription Act. But Lee's army also had been reduced by the divisions sent to General Bragg, and by the granting of numerous furloughs; so that the relative condition of the two hosts was much the same as it had been. Meade, however, had not merely to guard against his military opponent, but to keep watch over a hostile population. He had found it necessary to prescribe the oath of allegiance to all residents between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, under pain of arrest; and this weakness was obviously a source of strength to the Confederate General. It seemed, therefore, not improbable that a vigorous attack might be attended by results of sufficient importance to repay the cost.

On the 9th of October, General Lee crossed the Rapidan, and advanced on Madison Court House. The advanced guard of the Federals was attacked next day near James City, a short distance west of Culpepper, and forced to retire. Meade, declining a general action, retreated towards Alexandria, having first destroyed or removed his more exposed depôts. As the Northern troops withdrew, the Southerners followed, and some sharp skirmishes took place between the Confederates, under Ewell and A. P. Hill, and the rear-guard of the Union forces. The main body of the Federals, however, continued beyond the reach of their opponents, and, on gaining the further side of Bull Run, began to fortify themselves. By the middle of October, Meade's army was safe from further attack, and Lee had no choice but to retrace his steps. The country into which he had now penetrated had been so completely laid waste by the operations of the contending armies for two years and a half as to be quite incapable of sustaining a large body of men, and the Confederate General was too far from his stores to transport the supplies necessary for so great a number. The vicinity of the entrenchments round Washington and Alexandria, moreover, made the position very dangerous, and nothing was to be gained by a farther advance, while it was evident that a good deal might be risked. After destroying the railway from Cub Run southwards to the Rappahannock, the Confederate army returned on the 18th of October to the line of that river, their rear covered by Stuart's cavalry. The Federal cavalry, under Kilpatrick, started in pursuit, but were driven back, after an animated engagement. Lee now took up a position on the Rappahannock, stationing his forces on both sides of the Orange and Alexandria Railway. He had again shown his ability to advance in the direction of Washington; but of substantial advantages to his cause he had achieved none.

West of the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Confederate officer, General Imboden, distinguished himself by some brilliant operations. Having been sent to secure the passes into the Shenandoah Valley, he surprised and captured a Federal regiment at Charleston, close to Harper's Ferry, then garrisoned by a Northern force. This occurred on the 18th of October, and the Federals afterwards advanced from the Ferry, with a view to attacking Imboden; but the Southerner rapidly withdrew, carrying with him a large amount of captured pro-

perty, and numerous prisoners, including several commissioned officers. A column was sent in pursuit, but effectually kept at bay; and Imboden got safely off, without suffering much loss. A period of inactivity succeeded to these movements, and nothing more was done on either side until the 7th of November. On that day, General Meade, having previously repaired the railway destroyed by Lee, suddenly left his encampments, and moved southwards. On the north bank of the Rappahannock he encountered a strong body of Confederates, occupying the very earthworks which the Federals had themselves erected at an earlier date. A desperate action ensued, and the Confederates were driven across the river with heavy loss. Next day, the Federals continued their march to Culpepper, and Lee, who had been taken by surprise, and who does not seem to have recognised until then the immense improvement in the Northern armies and officers which had recently taken place, was compelled to retire with some precipitation across the Rapidan.

Meade did not pursue, and would probably have closed the year's campaign with this signal success —which had enabled him to send nearly two thousand prisoners, seven field-pieces, and a good many colours, to Washington—had not the Government urged him to take further measures. The Northern press insisted that the time had come for the capture of Richmond, and demanded an immediate advance. It was therefore determined by the Federal commander to separate the two wings of Lee's army by a sudden movement on Orange Court House. The Rapidan was crossed on the 26th and 27th of November, and the Federal troops again entered the tangled and woody country known as the Wilderness. Heavy rains shortly afterwards set in; it was found necessary to cut roads of communication between the scattered corps, and to build bridges over the streams and morasses; and very little progress had been made at the end of the month. Lee in the meanwhile had been concentrating the several divisions of his army to meet the Federal advance, and by the 30th of November was well prepared for resisting his opponent. On the morning of that day, an attack was to have been made on the Southern troops; but these were found to be so strongly posted on the banks of Mine Run, so numerous, and so covered by formidable batteries, that Meade thought it safer to decline battle. An assault by the Confederates would probably have been fatal to him, and Lee, seeing his own advantage, was in favour of taking the initiative; but his colleagues, believing that Meade would shortly commit himself to some rash action, recommended a policy of waiting, and the favourable opportunity passed. After nightfall on the 1st of December, Meade began to retire across the Rapidan, and on the morning of the following day was within his former lines. The Northern public were extremely disappointed with the result of the movement, and Meade was for a time severely blamed; but it is difficult to see how he could have done better under the circumstances into which he had been forced.

During the months of November and December, General Averill, of the Federal cavalry, made some daring incursions into Western Virginia, with a view to the burning of stores and the destruction of railway lines useful to the enemy. The tearing up of a large portion of the rail passing from Richmond to Knoxville and Chattanooga was a great misfortune to the Confederates. It severed the communication between Virginia and Tennessee, and rendered still more precarious and menacing the position of General Longstreet at Rogersville. Laden with plunder, Averill returned across the mountains in the dead of winter. Terrible storms prevailed in those wild regions, and the icy condition of the roads made quickness of movement impossible. The soldiers were obliged to swim the windings of Craig's Creek seven times in four-and-twenty hours; but the Confederates who were trying to intercept Averill suffered even more. They were in the saddle day and night, excepting for a few hours between midnight and dawn. When they slept, it was with the torpor of extreme cold and utter exhaustion, and they were beaten up with swords, as the only means of rousing them. Many were frozen to death; several were taken from their horses senseless. Torrents of rain fell on them, and froze as it descended; and in the solitary mountain-paths the ice was hewed from the roads before the horses could ride over them.* It was the retreat from Moscow on a small scale; yet these men were not retreating, but endeavouring to hinder the retreat of others. The Union cavalry were better provided, and therefore suffered less, though still very severely. Their commander discovered the plans of his enemy by some intercepted despatches, and was thus enabled to evade the hovering masses of the Confederates, and to regain the friendly country from which he had started. A Confederate raid executed about the same time by Fitzhugh Lee, son of the General, was characterised by equal daring, but did not result in any striking success.

The other military events of the latter part of 1863 were neither numerous nor important. In

* Narrative in the *Richmond Examiner*.

September, an attempt was made to seize a fort at the mouth of the Sabine River, separating Louisiana from Texas, near which 40,000 bales of cotton were known to have been accumulated; but the movement was defeated. On the 5th of November, an attack on Brownsville, situated on the Rio Grande, at the extremity of Texas, and therefore on the borders of Mexico, was anticipated by the Confederates blowing up the fort and abandoning the place, the possession of which enabled the Federals to close a port of entry through which supplies of war-materials were frequently introduced into the Southern States. Subsequently, Corpus Christi, and the coast of Texas to within a hundred miles of Galveston, were occupied by the Northerners, and the Government of the Union, notwithstanding a few reverses, began to make its power felt in the extreme south-west. With the approach of winter, the operations of the chief armies slackened in some degree, and there was greater opportunity for reviewing the situation on both sides. The annual Messages of the rival Presidents were anticipated with great interest, for it was seen that the Federal and the Confederate Governments had never before stood in the same relative positions. The North was clearly obtaining the mastery, and might be expected to assert her claims with redoubled force. The South was failing in resources and in military power, and might possibly reveal a disposition to come to terms. It was on this account that men listened with eagerness for the utterances of Mr. Lincoln and of Mr. Davis.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

Mr. Lincoln's Message bears date December 8th. Referring to the all-important question of negro bondage, the President remarked that the policy of emancipation, and of employing black soldiers, had

given to the future a new aspect, about which hope, fear, and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. "As a matter of civil administration," he continued, "the Government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State, and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that, if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. It came, and, as was anticipated, it was followed by dark and doubtful days. Eleven months having now passed, we are permitted to take another view. The rebel borders are pressed still further back, and, by the complete opening of the Mississippi, the country dominated by the rebellion is divided into distinct parts, with no practical communication between them. Tennessee and Arkansas have been substantially cleared of insurgent control, and influential citizens in each, owners of slaves and advocates of slavery at the beginning of the rebellion, now declare openly for emancipation in their respective States. Of those States not included in the Emancipation Proclamation, Maryland and Missouri, neither of which three years ago would tolerate any restraint upon the extension of slavery into new territories, only dispute now as to the best mode of removing it within their own limits. Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States' military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labour from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks."

Anticipating that the time was near at hand when the national authority would again be established in the States where it had for some time been suspended, Mr. Lincoln had thought fit to issue an Amnesty Proclamation, bearing date the same day as the Message, and sent for the approval of Congress together with that document. The proclamation promised full pardon, and restoration of rights of property—except as to slaves, or where the rights of other parties had supervened—to all persons, with certain exceptions, who had directly or indirectly taken part in the existing rebellion, on condition that they took, and kept inviolate, an oath, to be registered for permanent preservation, and to be expressed in these terms:—"I do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the union of the States thereunder; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all Acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court." The persons excepted from the benefit of this pardon were the civil and diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who had left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all military and naval officers of the Confederation above the rank of colonel in the army, or of lieutenant in the navy; all those who had left their seats in Congress, or who had resigned commissions in the national army or navy, to aid the rebellion; and all who had in any way treated coloured persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, when found in the service of the United States. It will be seen that these exceptions were numerous; but they do not appear to include more than the ringleaders of the rebellion, and persons exceptionally guilty. The proclamation had reference also to the re-establishment of local governments in the seceded States, for which purpose various provisions were made. In the latter part of his Message, Mr. Lincoln said:—"While I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the Acts of Congress. For these and other reasons, it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restoration of forfeited rights, which he has clear constitutional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon the terms which he shall deem wisest for the public interest. It should be observed, also, that this part of the oath is subject to the modifying and abrogating power of legislation and supreme judicial decision."

The Message of Mr. Jefferson Davis, delivered about the same period, referred in a depressed tone to the position of the Confederacy, and to the results of the recent military operations. As regarded the foreign relations of his Government,

the writer complained of unfriendly conduct on the part of neutral Powers. The course pursued by France and England he described as betraying a partisan leaning to the side of the North; and he was particularly severe on Great Britain for her alleged favouring of the Union. While (according to Mr. Jefferson Davis) tens of thousands of men were being engaged in Ireland to swell the Federal armies, strained constructions were placed by the Queen's Government on existing statutes, and new enactments were proposed, and questionable expedients devised, for precluding the possibility of purchase by the Confederate Government of vessels that were "useless for belligerent purposes, unless armed and equipped outside of the neutral jurisdiction of Great Britain." The state of the public finances was referred to as demanding the earliest and most earnest attention. The issue of Treasury notes had been increased until the currency in circulation amounted to above 600,000,000 dollars, or more than threefold the amount required by the business of the country. It was only in this way that the war expenses could be met; for the duties on imports merely sufficed to discharge the ordinary current needs of Government, and the people had a violent dislike to direct taxation. Mr. Davis, however, relied on the resources of the country as ample, and counted on the devotion of the citizens for making any necessary contributions. The unanimity of the South in prosecuting the war, the cruelty of the North in not permitting the South to have her own way, and the impossibility of the Union ever subjugating the Confederation, were topics on which Mr. Davis dilated, as he had dilated before, with a feverish persistency that betrayed his latent doubts. He had appointed a fast-day in March; he had appointed another in July, on account of the "recent reverses" sustained by the Confederate arms; and the prospects of the rebellion were no better in December than they had been in the spring or summer.

Mr. Davis alluded to one subject which, strangely enough, was entirely passed over by Mr. Lincoln. This was the invasion of Mexico by French troops. On the 31st of October, 1861, the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain signed a convention, engaging themselves to combined operations against Mexico, in consequence of several outrages on foreigners committed in that Republic, and of the inability of the three Powers to obtain payment of arrears due to various fund-holders. Spanish troops landed at Vera Cruz in December, and a British naval and French military expedition arrived in the early part of January, 1862. When, however, it became known to England and Spain that one part of the French project was to establish a Mexican Empire under the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, those Powers declined to take any further steps, and withdrew from the convention in May. The expedition now remained solely in the hands of the French, who, defeating the armies of President Juarez, established a Provisional Government in June, 1863. In the following month, an Assembly of Notables at Mexico decided on the establishment of a limited hereditary monarchy, with a Roman Catholic prince as Emperor, and resolved to offer the crown to the Archduke Maximilian. A regency was at once established, and on the 3rd of October —a day heavy with evil fate to him—the Archduke intimated that he would accept the crown, if it were the declared will of the people, expressed by means of a *plébiscite*. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Davis addressed his Congress. "The events of the last year," he said, "have produced important changes in the condition of our southern neighbour. The occupation of the capital of Mexico by the French army, and the establishment of a Provisional Government, followed by a radical change in the constitution of the country, have excited lively interest. Although preferring our own government and institutions to those of other countries, we can have no disposition to contest the exercise by them of the same right of self-government which we assert for ourselves. If the Mexican people prefer a monarchy to a republic, it is our plain duty cheerfully to acquiesce in their decision, and to evince a sincere and friendly interest in their prosperity. If, however, the Mexicans prefer maintaining their former institutions, we have no reason to apprehend any obstacle to the free exercise of their choice. The Emperor of the French has solemnly disclaimed any purpose to impose on Mexico a form of government not acceptable to the nation; and the eminent personage to whom the throne has been tendered declines its acceptance unless the offer be sanctioned by the suffrages of the people." The condition of Mexico undoubtedly affected the Southern States more than the Northern, for Mexico was the immediate neighbour of the new Confederation; but, inasmuch as the Federal Government had never relinquished its claim to those Southern States, and as Mr. Lincoln was confident that they would soon be restored to the Union, it seems remarkable that the Presidential Message delivered at Washington should have made no allusion to so radical a change in the political forms of an American country. It is also remarkable that Mr. Davis should have been content to see a monarchy established at his very doors by a European potentate. Such an act was in direct contravention of the celebrated Monroe

Doctrine, which denied the right of any Power in the old world to interpose in the affairs of the North American continent. This doctrine had always been a great favourite of the Southern Democratic party, with whom, indeed, it had originated; yet Mr. Jefferson Davis, the existing leader of that party, was willing to set it aside. The probable explanation of these facts, as regards both Presidents, is that neither felt himself at that time in a position to challenge such a Power as France on a question not immediately affecting the national interests.

At the close of 1863, those feelings of acrimony which are always engendered by civil war had become even more instead of less extreme. The Federal Commander-in-Chief, General Halleck, had recently issued a declaration of instructions for the future conduct of the war, which were to the effect that the Northern armies were to subsist, as far as possible, upon the country where they might be operating, though at the same time receipts were to be given for everything taken, so that all persons of approved loyalty might at some future time be remunerated for their losses. It was hoped that by these means the troops would be enabled to move more rapidly and easily, while the enemy would be deprived of supplies if he should re-occupy any district previously passed over by the Union forces. The receipts of a Federal commander were certainly worth more than the paper money of a Confederate; and if the system of living upon the enemy's country be defensible at all, it was at that time put in force by the Northern Government with as much consideration for individual interests as the case permitted. But the South was loud in denouncing this resort to a system similar to what Lee had adopted in his invasions of Maryland and Pennsylvania. There were also many complaints of the treatment to which Southern prisoners were subjected in Northern jails. In particular, Captain Calvin C. Morgan, brother of the guerilla chief, alleged that he and his fellow-officers had been treated in the Penitentiary of Ohio with the most horrible barbarity. These complaints, however, were not all on one side. General Halleck asserted that the conduct of the Confederate authorities towards their prisoners of war was absolutely unparalleled in its systematic brutality. Charges and counter-charges of the same nature had been made, nearly a century before, by the American and British Generals in the War of Independence. In all such cases it is probable that the statements are exaggerated; it is also probable that they contain a good deal of truth; for prisoners of war are seldom treated with generosity, nor are they often the absolute martyrs which their friends assert. In July, 1862, a system of exchanges had been established; but this was now abandoned, and each Government blamed the other for the altered circumstances. In the summer of 1863, the difficulties which had arisen with relation to this subject, and to certain threats of retaliation for occurrences on each side which the other regarded as unjustifiable and cruel, induced the Vice-President of the Confederacy, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, to seek an interview with the authorities at Washington, which he doubtless thought might be turned to further advantage as a means of introducing peace-negotiations. He started from Richmond in a Confederate steamer on the 3rd of July, but on the following day, when within a few miles of Newport News, near the mouth of the James River, was stopped by a Federal vessel bearing an order from Admiral Lee which forbade further progress. Some negotiations ensued, but Mr. Stephens was finally informed that the customary agents and channels of communication were considered by the Secretary of War to be sufficient for all needful military conferences. This put an end to Mr. Stephens's mission, and the controversy from that time became still more embittered. The Federal Government undoubtedly seems blamable in having declared null and void the paroles given by Federal prisoners. General Halleck alleged that the step was a retaliatory measure for the bad feeding of the Northern prisoners at the South; but this very fact ought to have made him all the more willing to obtain the liberty of the prisoners by consenting to their promise not to serve again. It is asserted, in mitigation of any harshness which Mr. Davis's agents may have shown towards those whom the chances of war had thrown into their hands, that the scarcity of provisions at the South, and the feeble guards which the dwindling armies of the Confederacy could furnish to prevent the escape of prisoners, necessitated scanty supplies and exceptional rigour.* The excuse seems fair, as far as it goes; but it is difficult not to believe that on both sides a good deal of personal bitterness and exasperation was imported into the treatment of the captured.

In this state of mutual irritation, the two belligerents entered on the campaigns of 1864. The new year opened in comparative quiet. The winter season was not favourable to active operations, and both sides were glad of a little respite and breathing-time; but the North was determined to pursue the struggle on a scale of even greater vastness than

* Colonel Fletcher's History of the American War, Vol. III., chap. 8.

that of previous years. The estimates of the Government were based on an army-organisation of a million men. Supplies were provided with the most lavish profusion. New drafts were ordered, and put in execution throughout all the loyal States. Arms, ammunition, clothing, subsistence, medical stores, and forage, were accumulated in enormous proportions, and the most elaborate agencies were created for the transportation of great armies, and the insuring of constant communication between one army and another, and of all with the seat of Government. Money was forthcoming to any extent that might be required; for Congress knew it might depend upon the willingness of the people. The combined efforts of all the Federal hosts were to be made in the spring; but at a still earlier date General Sherman was to conduct a series of operations in Mississippi. It was arranged that he should march from Vicksburg on Jackson, and thence proceed to Meridian, a small town situated in the eastern parts of Mississippi, not far from the borders of Alabama. At the same time, a large cavalry force, under Generals W. S. Smith and Grierson, was to move down the Mobile and Ohio Railway, and effect a junction with Sherman at his ultimate point of destination. The expedition was ready by the 3rd of February, and on that day it started from Vicksburg, under the personal leadership of the eminent General who had so brilliantly distinguished himself as the coadjutor of Grant. To say that it was successful, is hardly to convey a correct idea of what ensued. The Federal army met with scarcely any opposition, and employed itself mainly in burning what remained of Jackson, in ruining villages and private houses, in plundering farms, and in devastating a wide extent of country. From the testimony of Northern writers themselves, it seems impossible to doubt that the conduct of the Union troops on this occasion was needlessly cruel and wholly unjustifiable. Many civilians, including women and children, were rendered homeless by the destruction of their dwellings, and reduced to the worst extremities of want by the pillage of their possessions. In one respect, however, the losses of the people do not deserve commiseration. As the Northerners advanced into the country, negroes flocked to their standard to the number of about five thousand in the whole campaign; and these of course received their liberty, and were sent northward. Many white refugees also sought the protection of the Federal lines, and it was evident that the power of the Union was being recognised in those remote regions in more ways than one.

While at Meridian (which he reached in eleven days), Sherman made what he afterwards described as "the most complete destruction of railroads ever beheld." The object of this measure was to damage the communications of the enemy, and to cut off from the western armies of the Confederation the large supplies of corn which were derived from Mississippi. The work was accomplished with great expedition, and Sherman then began to look out for the cavalry force under General W. S. Smith, which was to have arrived from Memphis by the 10th of February. It afterwards turned out that that officer did not even start until the following day; that he proceeded not much more than half the distance; and that, after a signal reverse, he retraced his steps on the 22nd. General Polk, who was now in command of all the Confederate troops in that department, had crossed the Tombigbee River, into the interior parts of Alabama, on the approach of Sherman's army; but he had previously ordered his horsemen to operate against the cavalry of the invaders. The Confederate troopers were under the directions of General Forrest, a man of humble origin and great ignorance, rough in manners and coarse in speech, yet possessed of genius as a military leader. Smith's retreat had been caused by the operations of this commander, who, encountering his adversary at Okolona, on the borders of the prairie country, inflicted on him a very serious defeat, attended by circumstances of panic. This closed the campaign. Sherman, finding that he was not joined by his cavalry, retreated to Vicksburg, and abandoned all further operations for the time.

It had been part of the Federal plan that Admiral Farragut should attack Mobile while the army was advancing in the same direction, and that General Thomas should make a movement against Johnston, so as to prevent his sending any reinforcements to the threatened positions. This portion of the design, however, could not be carried out, owing to the derangements consequent on the defeat of Smith. Farragut bombarded Fort Powell, at the entrance to Mobile Harbour, but was obliged to retire with the loss of a gunboat; nor was Thomas at all successful in his demonstration against Johnston. The Confederates were now in a position of command, and Forrest, entering Western Tennessee and Kentucky, captured the city of Jackson on the 23rd of March, compelled the surrender of Union City on the 24th, and sacked Paducah on the 26th. Appearing on the 12th of April before Fort Pillow, on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, Forrest prepared to storm the works, after two demands to surrender had been refused. The fort was to a great extent garrisoned by negro troops; and when the attack-

ing forces at length moved to the assault, and with irresistible energy got within the fortifications, the sight of these coloured warriors so excited their fury that the offer to surrender then made by the whites was totally disregarded. The blacks threw down their arms, and fled towards the river; but the Confederates, from their positions of advantage, poured a terrific fire into the unhappy Federals, without discrimination of colour, of age, or of sex, and did not cease till the greater number had been slaughtered. What makes this crime still worse is the fact that, as the Confederate troops approached the fortifications, a flag of truce was flying. It has been alleged, as an excuse for this execrable crime, that some steamers were seen ascending the river, crowded with what appeared to be reinforcements; but it is idle to pretend that this can in the slightest degree palliate the action by which General Forrest has eternally disgraced his name.*

FORT PILLOW.

General Banks, who was still in command at New Orleans, was directed to conduct an expedition during the early spring into the interior parts of Louisiana. The army was to march in three columns, and its operations were to be supported by a flotilla under Admiral Porter, which was to force a passage up the Red River. On the banks of the same river, General Steel was to co-operate by advancing from Little Rock, Arkansas, at the head of 10,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry. The Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department was General Kirby Smith, whose forces were but small in comparison with those arrayed against him. He directed General Taylor to obstruct the course of the Red River; despatched Generals Price and Marmaduke to harass the march of Steel through the swamps and forests of southern Arkansas; and prepared to meet his enemy in such positions as would make defeat more probable. To hinder the progress of the Federal gunboats up the Red River, it was determined to defend Fort de Russy, situated about fifty miles from the confluence of that stream with the Mississippi. The exposed situation of the fort, however, was such that its retention could not be much prolonged

* The facts were shortly afterwards fully investigated by a Committee of Congress, whose report reveals horrible atrocities.

when attacked, as it now was, by a large and formidable force. The works were carried by assault on the 13th of March, and two days later the Federal gunboats, with their attendant transports, joined Franklin's force at Alexandria. General

FLIGHT OF NEGROES FROM FORT PILLOW.

Albert L. Lee, with the cavalry of Banks's army, was ordered, on the 28th of the month, to march upon the old French settlement of Natchitoches, and that town was occupied on the 31st. Admiral Porter had by this time arrived at Grand Echore, on the Red River. On the 6th of April, the army moved from Natchitoches towards Shreveport, with General Lee's cavalry in advance. Next day, the leading column encamped at Pleasant Hill, and on the 8th reached Mansfield. All this while, General Taylor was retreating northwards into a country rendered extremely difficult by the marshy nature of the soil, and the density of the pine-forests. He was now joined by detachments of Green's cavalry from Texas; and with these dashing troops the Federal cavalry were constantly engaged between Natchitoches and Mansfield. Price's infantry had, moreover, arrived at Shreveport, so that Taylor felt himself much stronger than at the commencement of the campaign; but he was at the same time sensible that the nature of the country had become less favourable to defence. Beyond Mansfield, the forest gave place to open fields, and, although his orders were to pursue his retreat until he reached Shreveport, Taylor con-

sidered that existing circumstances justified him in assuming the initiative at once. He therefore took up a position three miles to the south of Mansfield, where, on the 8th of April, an action of a serious nature was fought. It was a disastrous day for the Federals. The several divisions of General Banks's army were widely separated by the tracts of woody country through which they were toiling, and were also greatly encumbered by an unnecessary amount of baggage, stowed away in numerous waggons, which blocked up the narrow paths leading through the forest. Green's cavalry, which had for some time been falling back before the Federal horsemen, suddenly found themselves supported by two divisions of infantry, and, turning with fiery suddenness on the pursuing troops, threw them into disorder. Other Confederate forces were hurried up, and the Federals, abandoning their artillery, fled with precipitation. In rear of the baggage-train, the 3rd division attempted to make a stand; but nothing could stop the advance of the Confederates, or the flight of their opponents. Arms and accoutrements were cast aside, and even those regiments which were filled with a better spirit were swept away by the terrified rush of the fugitives. The pursuit was at length checked by the 19th corps, under cover of whose guns General Banks retired towards his former camping-ground at Pleasant Hill.

At this spot it was at first decided to take up a position, and await the further action of the Confederates. The army, however, was in so shattered a state, and, as regarded many of its corps, was so destitute of arms, that it was soon afterwards resolved to continue the retreat. Kirby Smith ordered his subordinate to pursue with vigour; but the Confederates were too much exhausted to press their advantage with alacrity. They followed slowly, but during the afternoon of the 9th came into collision with the Federal 19th corps, which, together with some other troops, was stationed on a rising ground. The action that ensued was fierce and prolonged, and the right wing of the Confederates gave way with heavy loss. The left wing was to some extent successful; but, on the whole, the Federals retained their ground, and even recovered several of the cannon which they had abandoned on the previous day. After nightfall, the Confederate infantry retreated eight miles, under pretence of seeking for water; but it was evident that they had found their adversaries too strong for them. Nevertheless, the position of General Banks was so difficult, if not absolutely critical, that the commonest prudence dictated a further movement to the rear. The army accordingly fell back to Grand Echore, where it enjoyed the protection of the gunboats. Admiral Porter had penetrated higher up the river than that point, but had returned on hearing of Banks's disaster. His own movements were attended by many perils. The shores of the river were crowded with Confederate infantry, and it was necessary to sweep the woods with grape-shot to enable the gunboats to pursue their return voyage. One of those boats, moreover, had been blown up by a torpedo, and, whilst the army was halting at Grand Echore, two transports were captured by the enemy. The low state of the water in the Red River, and the consequent difficulty of keeping up the line of supplies, now caused the army to fall back on Alexandria. The march commenced on the afternoon of April 21st, and was continued on the following day, when the Confederates pursued, and occasionally came into collision with the retreating troops. A sharp action took place on the 23rd; but the Federals continued their retrograde movement without much obstruction, and on the 27th reached their temporary place of destination.

The position of the fleet continued to be serious. The vessels were caught by low water above the falls of Alexandria, and Admiral Porter despaired of getting them out that season. Indeed, he considered that he might find it necessary to destroy the greater part of his squadron; but from this calamity he was delivered by the ingenuity of Lieut.-Colonel Bailey, acting engineer of the 19th army corps, who proposed to construct a series of dams across the rocks above the falls, so as to raise the water high enough to permit of the vessels passing over. The best engineers ridiculed the idea as impossible; but Colonel Bailey was so sanguine of success that Admiral Porter requested him to undertake the work. General Banks placed at his disposal a body of 3,000 men, with two or three hundred waggons; the neighbouring steam-mills were torn down for material; trees were felled by soldiers from Maine, who in their own country had been accustomed to the forest-work called "lumbering;" quarries were opened; flat-boats were built to bring down stone from above; and every one worked with zeal, though few had any belief in success. One of the most remarkable characteristics of American armies is the power of adaptability to the most unlooked-for circumstances which is possessed by the several regiments. This is explained by the fact that few of the men are soldiers by profession, but that most have followed some industrial pursuit; so that, when any sudden emergency arises, there are certain to be men specially qualified to execute the particular work that is

required. Such was the case on the present occasion, and a very difficult piece of engineering was carried out with results which, perhaps, would have been impossible in any other army. The falls were about a mile in length, and were filled with rugged rocks, over which the water raced furiously. The work was commenced by running out from the left bank of the river a tree-dam, made of large trunks, strengthened with brushwood, brick, and stone, and cross-tied with heavy timber. Four large coal-barges were then filled with bricks, and sunk at the end of the tree-dam. From the right bank of the river, cribs filled with stone were built out to meet the barges; and all these works had to be prosecuted in spite of a current which coursed onward at the rate of nine miles an hour. After eight days of indefatigable labour, the completion of the enterprise seemed near at hand. On the morning of the 9th of May, however, the pressure of water became so great that two of the coal-barges were swept away. Porter, seeing this unfortunate accident, and doubting whether the persons employed on the undertaking would have resolution enough to renew their toils, galloped up the river-bank to where some of his gunboats were anchored, and ordered four of them to attempt the passage. The first of these vessels to obey the Admiral's injunctions was the *Lexington*. "She entered the gap," says Porter, in an official narrative addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, "with a full head of steam on, pitched down the roaring torrent, made two or three spasmodic rolls, hung for a moment on the rocks below, was then swept into deep water by the currents, and rounded-to safely into the bank." The three others followed more or less dexterously, and all were greeted with deafening cheers by the soldiers congregated on the banks. With admirable hopefulness and determination, the men then set to work repairing the dam, in which, however, Colonel Bailey decided to leave a gap of fifty-five feet, while at the same time he built a series of wing-dams on the upper falls. This was accomplished in three days, and the large vessels on the upper falls were then enabled to pass down, and get safely into smooth water.*

The main army of General Banks was now at Alexandria, in the neighbourhood of which the soldiers are said to have revenged their recent discomfiture by a wanton destruction of towns and villages. On abandoning the pursuit of Banks, Kirby Smith turned on Steel, who had by this time penetrated as far south as Camden. At that city he learned the defeat of his chief commander, and at once commenced a retreat to Little Rock, whence he had started. He was pursued by Kirby Smith, whose movements, however, were delayed by his adversary having destroyed the bridges over which he had passed. The road lay through a marshy and desolate country, where all the ways were involved in a sea of mud, consequent on heavy rain. It was some time before the Confederates could come within sight even of the rear-guard of the retreating Federals; but at length, on the 30th of April, the fugitives were encountered on the banks of the Saline River. In the midst of marsh and forest, with the river at his back and the enemy in his front, Steel, brought at length to bay, made a desperate stand. The Confederate divisions, as they arrived on the ground, were hurried forward to the attack; but the men, wearied out by their long march, fought with but little animation. Under a deluging descent of rain, and in the ooze and mire of a plashy soil, the combat continued for some hours. It was attended by no results of value to the Confederates, for on the approach of night the Federals, abandoning several of their waggons that were imbedded in the mud, crossed the river, and gained the shelter of Little Rock. The Confederates then retired towards the lower Red River Valley, with a view to further operations against Banks; but the Federal commander had learned sufficient of his enemy to hold him in dread. Having burned Alexandria, he retreated, about the middle of May, to the neighbourhood of New Orleans. The failure of the expedition excited much indignation at the North, and an inquiry was instituted into the causes of the disaster. A considerable minority acquitted General Banks of any serious blame; but the majority of the court condemned the whole plan which it had been sought to carry out, as well as the methods adopted towards that end.

A portion of the force before Charleston, South Carolina, was despatched in February on an expedition into Florida. General Gillmore has recorded that the objects in view were, to procure an outlet for cotton, timber, &c.; to cut off one of the enemy's sources of commissary supplies; to obtain recruits for coloured regiments; and to inaugurate measures for the speedy restoration of Florida to her allegiance, in accordance with instructions to that effect received from the President.† The first object of attack was the city of Jacksonville, burned by the Federals nearly a year before; and here the troops landed, with but little opposition, on the 7th of February. The Confederate com-

* Report of Rear-Admiral Porter to Mr. Gideon Welles.

† General Gillmore to the Secretary of War, Jan. 31st, 1864.

mander, General Finnegan, retreated in a westerly direction, and established himself at Lake City, on the Florida Central Railway. Gillmore shortly afterwards returned to Hilton Head, South Carolina, and General Seymour, whom he left in his place, with directions to maintain a strictly defensive attitude, imprudently undertook an expedition against Lake City. For this enterprise no proper provision had been made, and its termination was such as might reasonably have been anticipated. Finnegan was attacked in a swamp some fifteen miles from the town; but, after a contest of four hours, the Federals were driven back with great loss, and compelled to retire behind St. Mary's River. The Northerners could now do nothing more, as regarded Florida, than hold the stations on the coast; and the interior of the State continued for a long while free from invasion, and even from active menace.

Some misfortunes also attended the Federals in North Carolina. General Pickett, with two brigades of Southerners, threatened the enemy at Newbern about the commencement of February, and captured a large part of a Vermont regiment, stationed to guard the railway between Newbern and Beaufort. He then retired to Kingston, carrying with him several prisoners, and a large amount of Government stores. The capture of Plymouth, situated on the south bank of the Roanoke, about eight miles from its mouth, and held for a long time past by 2,400 Federals, was a more serious matter. General Hoke, in command of two brigades from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with a cavalry regiment and seven batteries of artillery, appeared in the rear of the town on the 17th of April. A vigorous attack resulted in the surrender of the garrison on the following day, though not without so determined a resistance as to cost the assailants dear. Even after the capture of the entrenchments, and of the town itself, General Wessel continued to hold out in Fort Williams; but, on the magazine exploding, and several of the troops quitting the work, in order that they might make their submission, the gallant commander was unable any further to prolong his resistance, and therefore surrendered on the 19th. During the attack on Plymouth, the proceedings of the Confederate army were greatly assisted by the action of a steam-ram, which, passing the fort at the mouth of the river, attacked two of the enemy's gunboats, sank one, compelled the other to retire, and prevented the despatch of reinforcements to the beleaguered garrison. In the latter part of April, the Federals felt themselves under the necessity of abandoning the town of Washington, on the Tar River, which, in a spirit of wanton destruction, they committed to the flames. General T. N. Palmer, the chief commander of the district, published an order of the day, dated May 3rd, severely denouncing the conduct of the troops who had been concerned in this act. The ranks, he truly remarked, were being disgraced by men who were "not soldiers, but thieves and scoundrels, dead to all sense of honour and humanity." It was certainly high time that some Federal commander should raise his voice against acts of barbarity which were now becoming frequent in many directions.

The demand for soldiers was again urgent at the North. Bounties amounting to some hundreds of dollars were offered to every re-enlisting volunteer, and to every fresh recruit; but the ranks were not filled up with as much alacrity as was required, and on the 1st of February Mr. Lincoln ordered a draft of 500,000 men in three years. On the 29th of the same month, an Act of Congress for reviving in the army the grade of Lieutenant-General (which, excepting in the case of General Scott, had been discontinued since the death of Washington, for whom it had been created) received the sanction of the President, who immediately sent to the Senate for confirmation the appointment of Major-General Grant to that honour. Grant shortly afterwards left the department of Tennessee for Washington, that he might be formally invested with his higher rank. The ceremony took place on the 9th of March; on the 11th, Grant was back in Tennessee; and on the 12th the President appointed him to the chief command of all the armies of the United States, in place of General Halleck, who was relieved from that position at his own request. At the same time, Halleck was made Chief of the Staff; General Sherman was assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi; and General J. B. McPherson was placed in command of the Department and Army of Tennessee. Grant left Nashville on the 19th of March for Washington, and proceeded thence to the Army of the Potomac, where his head-quarters were for a time to be fixed.

Two attempts on Richmond, of a very rash and ill-judged character, were made in the early part of 1864, a little before the appointment of Grant to his higher command. General Sedgwick was directed to conduct a reconnaissance across the Rapidan on the 5th of February, so as to distract the attention of the Confederates while General Wister, of Butler's command, advanced towards the Chickahominy, in the hope of surprising the rebel capital. The enemy, however, was found to be so well prepared that Wister considered it imperative

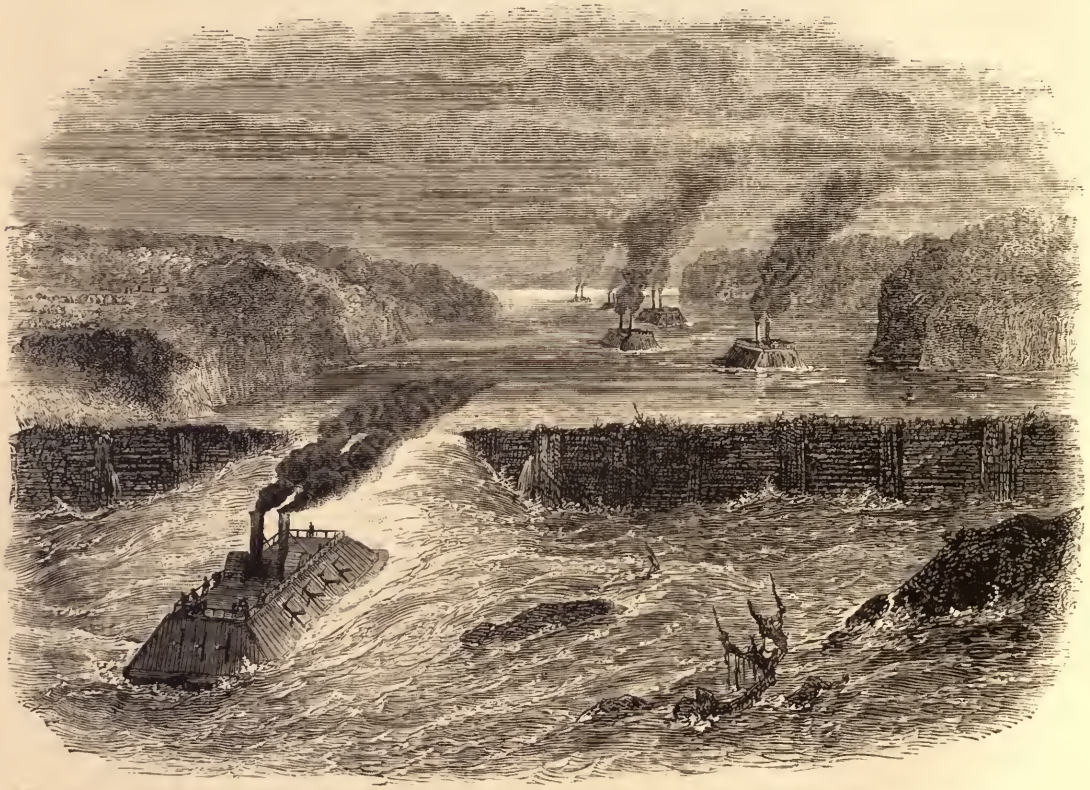
to retire with all speed. Another movement with the same object was commenced on the 27th of the month. It was hoped that the raiders would be able to liberate the Federal prisoners of war, and perhaps to capture Mr. Jefferson Davis and the members of his Government, even if they were afterwards compelled to relinquish the city. General Kilpatrick was the officer selected for leading the principal column; and while he marched direct on Richmond, Colonel Dahlgren and General Custer were to threaten the city from other points, and thus divide the forces of the defenders. This time, the enterprise was not known beforehand by the Southerners, and for a while all went well. Custer drew off Stuart and his cavalry towards Charlottesville, and then retreated across the Rapidan to the main army. Kilpatrick pushed on through an almost deserted country, burning bridges and tearing up rails, and on the 1st of March arrived within sight of Richmond. But here his good fortune ended. Dahlgren, who was to have made his demonstration against the city from the south side of the James River, was evidently not approaching, and Kilpatrick retreated across the Chickahominy, followed by Wade Hampton's cavalry. It afterwards appeared that Colonel Dahlgren (a son of the well-known Admiral) had been unable to cross the James; that on the evening of the 2nd of March he found himself close to Richmond, on the west side; that, being confronted with powerful forces, he endeavoured to rejoin Kilpatrick; but that he had been pursued and killed, with the capture of several of his men. His body was stripped, plundered, and mutilated—a piece of barbarity which the Confederates excused by saying that some orders were found on his person, directing the released prisoners to pillage and burn Richmond, and to kill Mr. Davis and his "traitorous crew;" but it seems probable that these orders were forged by the enemy, as a means of palliating his own misconduct. The expedition was of a romantic rather than a practical character, and it fell to pieces before the stern resistance of facts which had not been correctly estimated.

CHAPTER LVI.

The Federal Armies on the 1st of May, 1864—Objects which General Grant proposed to accomplish—Plans for the Future Campaigns—Armies of the Confederate States—Crossing of the Rapidan by the Federal Army of the Potomac—Fighting on the 5th of May—Renewal of the Battle on the 6th—Indecisive Results—Grant shifts his Position towards Fredericksburg—A Series of Desperate Actions—Operations of the Federal Cavalry under General Sheridan—Death of General Stuart (Confederate)—Career of Sheridan—Movement of General Butler to the South of Richmond—Arrangements for the Defence of that City—Beauregard's Scheme for defeating Butler and Grant—The Project over-ruled by Mr. Davis—Butler compelled to retire behind his Entrenchments—Operations by Sigel in the Shenandoah Valley—His Defeat by Breckinridge—New Positions of Grant on the North Anna River, and subsequently on the Chickahominy—Further Engagements, with Terrible Slaughter—Plan for combined Operations against Richmond—Advance of General Hunter on Lynchburg—His Defeat by the Confederates—Repulse of Sheridan by Wade Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee—Grant's Flank March—Federal Attack on Petersburg—Bermuda Hundred abandoned by the Confederates—Severe Fighting at Petersburg. and Failure of the Federal Attempts to take that City—Collateral Operations—Depression of the Federal Troops—Springing of a Mine before Petersburg—The Assault repulsed—Unsuccessful Character of the Campaign.

When General Grant succeeded to the chief command of all the armies of the United States, in March, he found himself at the head of a force overwhelming in point of numbers, and provided in the most ample measure with the resources of modern warfare. A few weeks later—on the 1st of May—the available military strength of the Federal States was upwards of 770,000. To this immense army the Confederates could only oppose much scantier legions. Even so enormous a force, however, would have been useless, had it lacked commanders of sufficient capacity. But the North could now depend on the services of tried and able officers; and in Grant was to be found a directing mind which would assuredly not fail in energy or intelligence. His leading idea, as related by himself after the termination of the war, was that active and continuous operations by all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to complete and speedy success. The armies of the East and of the West, he was not slow to perceive, acted independently of one another, and without concert; while the enemy, taking advantage of his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from one point to another, was enabled to reinforce any army that might be particularly pressed, and also, during seasons of Federal inactivity, to furlough large numbers of men, who were then at liberty to return to their homes, and

assist for a few months in reproductive labours. General Grant therefore determined to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed hosts of the Confederacy, thus preventing his opponents from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of the Northern armies, and allowing them no possibility of repose for refitting, or for the production of fresh supplies. He also resolved to strike continuously against the forces of the enemy, until, "by mere attrition, if in no other way," nothing should be left them but submission.*



BAILEY'S DAM ON THE RED RIVER.

To crush out the heart of the rebellion by simultaneous operations on a vast scale, was the scheme favoured by General Grant. He proposed to march against Richmond with the armies of the Potomac and of the James River, while Sherman, in command of the three armies of the Cumberland, Tennessee, and Ohio, was to move towards Atlanta, in the State of Georgia. For the protection of Richmond, General Lee had less than 58,000 men of all arms. In other parts of the Confederacy, the armies of the South were formidable rather by the fighting qualities of the soldiers, and the ability of the Generals, than by positive numbers; but altogether the assemblage of armed men, when we consider both sides, was probably greater than any one nation has ever set in hostile array. If to the forces of the North already referred to we add 222,000 for those of the South—and this appears to be a probable estimate—we reach a total of nearly a million.† And these were for the most part men of the same race and the same tongue, whose mutual animosity derived additional heat and rancour from the very affinities of the contending sides. In the Federal armies, however, were many thousand men of foreign origin, recruited from the large bodies of emigrants constantly arriving in America. These, and the much larger population of the Northern as compared with the Southern States, enabled the Government of Mr. Lincoln to put such gigantic armies in the field, and, after repeated losses of the most appalling character, to be ready with fresh legions for yet grander enterprises. Even more remarkable, however, was the

* Report to the Secretary of War, July 22nd, 1865.

† Elaborate details are given (apparently on good authority) by Colonel Fletcher in his History of the War.

ability of the South to bring forward a force of more than 200,000 men, after the subjugation of many of the Western States.

The new movements of the Federal armies were to commence as early in May as possible. The Army of the Potomac had by this time been re-organised, and now consisted of three instead of five corps. These were wielded by Hancock, Sedgwick, and Warren, while the principal commander continued to be Meade, under the general directions of Grant, in his new capacity as head of the entire forces of the Union. On the 4th of May, the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, driving in the Confederate pickets, and advancing through the dense shades of the Wilderness in a south-easterly direction. General Burnside, with the 9th corps, remained for awhile at Warrenton, north of the Rappahannock, to protect the line of communication with Washington. Lee's forces, like those of his opponent, were divided into three corps, which were commanded by Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Ewell, and occupied a position round Orange Court House, on the Orange and Alexandria Railway, south-west of Fredericksburg. As it seemed probable that the Federals would try to sever the communication of the Southerners with Richmond, Lee ordered the larger part of his army to march towards the advancing foe, while with the rest he watched the fords of the Upper Rapidan, that he might guard against a flank attack on his left. In the early morning of the 5th, the vanguard of Ewell's corps came into collision with the Federals on the banks of a small stream called Wilderness Run, near the plank-road which figured in Hooker's battles. After a fiercely-contested action, in which success seemed now to incline to the one side, and

GENERAL SHERIDAN.

then to the other, the Confederates remained in the more favourable position, although their brilliant courage and lavish expenditure of life had enabled them to do little more than check the Federal advance. The battle lasted the whole day, and was distinguished by the utmost valour and resolution on both sides; but on the approach of night the two armies stood fronting one another on much the same ground as at first, and but little space separated their opposing ranks. Grant had sought to outflank his enemy on the right, so as to get between him and Richmond; but in this he had failed.

With the following morning, the struggle commenced again. The Federal army was drawn up across the Orange and Fredericksburg road;—the right, under Sedgwick, covering Germania Ford; the centre, under Warren, posted at Wilderness Tavern; and the left, under Hancock, drawn up to the south-east of Chancellorsville. The reserve, under Burnside, which had crossed the Rapidan during the previous night, was stationed in the rear, with orders to support Sedgwick, should support be needed by him, or, in the event of the worst happening, to cover the retreat of the army towards its base. The Federal line of battle extended over about five miles, and throughout the whole of its course was involved in tangled woods. Owing to the thickness of the trees, it was impossible to employ cavalry, to execute any complicated manœuvres, or to make much use of artillery. Hard hand-to-hand fighting was what lay before the two combatants, and in this the day was not deficient. Grant (who, in rear of the centre, was acting in concert with Meade) ordered an advance of his whole line, and for some hours the battle swayed to and fro with changeful fortune. The Federal left attacked with such irresistible fury that the Confederates under Wilcox and Heth were scattered in utter rout, and Lee, for once, almost lost his equanimity as he saw the ruin that had overtaken some of his trusted divisions. Had it not been for the timely appearance of General Longstreet with McLaws's division, the disaster would have been even more extreme. Longstreet had lately returned from the West, and his arrival on the present occasion saved the Confederate right from a crushing reverse. The attacking force was driven back with the loss of many prisoners, and Grant then ordered the greater part of Burnside's corps to strengthen the line between the left and the centre. The movement was scarcely completed when Lee directed a vehement attack on the Federal positions. This was headed by Longstreet, who in a little while fell seriously wounded—struck accidentally, like Jackson at Chancellorsville, by a volley from his own men, who, seeing some officers through the trees, mistook them for Federals. Another Confederate General (Jenkins) was killed by the same discharge; and the sad calamity introduced a feeling of confusion and dismay into the attacking force. The movement was only partially successful, and that but for a brief while. Ultimately, after a great deal of hot fighting in all parts of the line, during which the Federal right wing was in some degree overlapped, the Confederates were repulsed, and the Union troops in the main retained their ground.

Finding his own right seriously menaced, and that of his adversary not turned, as he had hoped, Grant resolved, on the 7th, to shift his position so far as to make Fredericksburg his base of operations, and to relinquish all hold on Germania Ford, while retaining possession of the other passages over the river. This change of front was safely accomplished, and, on the morning of the 8th, General Lee withdrew from the slightly advanced position he had gained. It then became evident that Grant's object was to seize Spottsylvania Court House, a rather important strategical point, as being situated at the junction of several roads. Longstreet's corps, now commanded by General Anderson, had been sent thither on the previous night, and was already in possession of the place when, on the following day, a large body of Federal infantry arrived. Lee sent up additional troops on discovering what his antagonist was endeavouring to effect, and the fighting on the 8th resulted in the Confederates retaining their position. Very little occurred on the 9th; but, in the course of some rather unimportant fighting, a Confederate rifle-bullet brought death to the brave, experienced, and veteran Federal commander, General Sedgwick. Towards night, Grant ordered another advance against the enemy. The right wing crossed over to the south bank of the Upper Po; but, after an encounter with the opposing troops, the Federals withdrew to the northern side of the river.

The forces under General Grant occupied, on the morning of the 10th, pretty nearly the same position as that which they had held the day before. The line stretched about six miles on the north bank of the Po, with the wings thrown forward, and the centre withdrawn somewhat to the rear. Severe fighting again took place, and the Federal losses throughout the day were estimated to exceed 10,000. This was perhaps in excess of the fact; but it is certain that the slaughter was great, without any commensurate gain. The Confederates were driven to their breastworks, but were not compelled to abandon their chief positions. Nevertheless, they had lost a large number in dead, wounded,

and captured, and on the morning of the 11th General Grant was sufficiently satisfied with the progress he had made, during the six days' struggle, to write to the Secretary of War, "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all the summer." The 11th was a day of comparative rest. It rained heavily, and both sides were glad of any excuse for repose. After nightfall, General Hancock, with the 2nd corps, moved from the right of the Federal line to the left, and before dawn on the 12th took up a position opposite the right and right centre of the Confederates. The manœuvre was executed with so much secresy that Hancock's men were close to the Confederate entrenchments before their adversaries had any idea of the approaching danger. They carried the first line of rifle-pits with a rush, and captured a whole division of Southerners, but, on attempting to storm the second line, were heavily repulsed. Still, Hancock held on to the entrenchments he had first seized, and was even enabled to carry away some of the captured cannon, though the greater number it was found necessary to leave behind. In other directions the Federal attack was wholly unsuccessful, and night once more closed on a scene of carnage too horrible for detail, and not repaid by any important gain, either on the one side or the other. Lee fell back a short distance on the 13th, but his hold on Spottsylvania Court House was not relinquished. Six days of comparative inactivity, varied by occasional engagements of a minor character, followed this tremendous series of battles. Torrents of rain had converted all the ways into so many muddy channels, and manœuvring was impossible until the weather should change, and the roads become more dry.

During the 9th, the Federal cavalry under General Sheridan had been despatched on an expedition against Lee's communications. Marching with great quickness, this officer crossed the North and South Anna rivers, destroyed a depôt of supplies at Hanover Junction, and penetrated within the outer entrenchments around Richmond. At this point he was met by the Confederate cavalry under Stuart, and a very animated encounter ensued, ending in the defeat of the Federals, after they had seemed on the point of winning. The skirmish was rendered memorable by the death of Stuart, who was shot while leading on his men. He was carried to Richmond, where he lingered for some hours; but towards evening mortification set in, and he breathed his last that night. Though a young man, not much more than thirty years of age, he had made himself a great name by his gallantry, his daring, and the splendid abilities as a cavalry officer which he had exhibited from the commencement of the war. He was now succeeded in his command by Wade Hampton, also a soldier of high capacity and established fame. Sheridan, the Federal leader on this occasion, had likewise acquired renown by his valour, energy, and dash. He was born of humble Irish parents at Albany, in the State of New York, and in 1864 was thirty-three years of age. In the Western Department, and afterwards in Virginia, he had on several fields displayed such brilliant qualities that by many he was entitled "the Murat of America." He had won the principal command of the cavalry in the Army of the Potomac, and it was not long before he found many opportunities of rendering high service to the Northern cause. Although his men were driven back in their encounter with Stuart, the main object of the movement had been accomplished. Supplies had been burned, and railways torn up; the Confederate horsemen who had threatened Grant's communications had been drawn off; and Sheridan now retired across the Chickahominy, satisfied with what he had done towards the furtherance of the general design.

Contemporaneously with these movements, General Butler was operating against the city of Petersburg, south of the James River and of Richmond. His force consisted of two corps of infantry, commanded by Generals Gillmore and W. F. Smith, together with a large body of cavalry, a fleet of gunboats and transports, and five iron-clads. The head-quarters were at Yorktown and Gloucester Point, on the York River, and, by sending his forces up the James, Butler was enabled to threaten the Confederate capital by water, at the same time that Grant and Meade were threatening it by land. His infantry he despatched by this route on the same day that the main body of the Federals crossed the Rapidan; and having stationed a detachment, consisting chiefly of negro troops, at City Point, to protect the line of the river, he disembarked the major part of his force four miles above the mouth of the Appomattox, which flows into the James a little to the north-east of Petersburg. Here he threw up entrenchments on the 6th of May, and on the 12th advanced in force towards Richmond, after two previous attempts, from which he had been compelled to recede. The Confederate forces at Richmond had recently been augmented by troops drawn from Charleston and North Carolina, and all the reinforcements, consisting of about 19,000 men, were under the direction of General Beauregard. The principal command in the beleaguered city was in the hands of General Bragg, recently appointed military adviser and Chief of the Staff to Mr. Davis; but his discretion, together with that

of the other generals, was much hampered by the Southern President, who still retained the superintendence of all operations, and often altered to a considerable extent the plans that were submitted to him.

A battle was fought to the south of Richmond on the 13th of May, when General Gillmore seized the outer line of field-works extending in a south-westerly direction from Fort Darling, situate at Drury's Bluff on the James River. Instead of pushing forward vigorously, the Federal commander remained contented with what he had achieved, and Beauregard, who was stationed at Fort Darling, formed a plan to attack Butler before he could complete his entrenchments, and thus, if so much could be accomplished, to cut him off from the river, and from his base at Bermuda Hundred. For this purpose he desired to withdraw 15,000 men from the Army of Virginia, and believed that with such a reinforcement, if the movement were made without delay, he could overwhelm Butler, cross the James, and fall suddenly on Grant's left flank whilst Lee was engaging him in front. The details of this scheme he sent to Mr. Davis on the night of May 15th; but when his aide-de-camp arrived at the official residence, that gentleman had gone to bed, and his attendants refused to wake him, on the ground that he was over-worked and ill. As the matter was urgent, however, the Chief of the Staff was induced to repair to Beauregard's head-quarters, and listen to his exposition of what he desired to attempt; but Bragg would not take on himself the responsibility of ordering on his sole authority so bold and hazardous an enterprise. Another message was sent to Richmond, and Mr. Davis at once set out for the external lines, that he might personally consult with Beauregard on the measures by which he hoped to deliver Richmond. Those measures seemed to him, in some respects, extremely hopeful; but he refused his concurrence on hearing that the withdrawal of troops from General Lee might necessitate for a time the retreat of that commander. He finally ordered Beauregard to attack his adversary with the force then at his disposal. On the morning of the 16th, the Confederate forces commenced an energetic assault on the Federal positions; but the movement was only partially successful, owing to the prevalence of a thick fog, and to the disorder which fell upon several of the divisions in their endeavour to work out a rather complicated plan of action. Beauregard was not properly supported by his reserves; but at four o'clock in the afternoon he determined to make a final effort towards forcing the Federals back to their entrenched camp at Bermuda Hundred. Already they had been driven from their rifle-pits, and their right flank was turned. It seemed, therefore, not unlikely that a vigorous attack might lead to further results. But a heavy fall of rain, which commenced about this time, delayed the formation of the Confederate ranks, and, when darkness supervened, General Beauregard felt compelled to countermand his former orders. Butler, however, thought it prudent to retire behind his entrenchments. He had lost many prisoners and some guns, and Beauregard, throwing up an opposing line of works, watched his adversary with eager vigilance. The advance on Richmond in that direction had turned out a complete failure; yet Butler maintained his position, and was of assistance to Grant and Meade in diverting a considerable force from the army under General Lee. Beauregard did indeed send a portion of his command to that army, as soon as he felt secure within his new lines; but he was obliged to keep 10,000 men at hand, to repel any further attempt that might be made by Butler.

It was part of the Federal plan to move against the Confederate capital from many directions at once; and, in addition to the various armies whose operations have just been described, a fourth, under General Sigel, was despatched up the Shenandoah Valley. One of the objects of this expedition was to sever the communications between Virginia and Tennessee by seizing stations on the great line of railway running from Richmond to Knoxville. Several columns were accordingly set in motion; but they were opposed with great ability by General Breckinridge, who had for some time been guarding the passes from Western into Eastern Virginia. Sigel marched from Winchester and Strasburg, moving thence up the north fork of the Shenandoah; and a battle took place at Newmarket on the 13th of May. Breckinridge's force was far from numerous, and some of his troops, consisting of students from the military college of Lexington, Virginia, were little more than boys; but the Confederate General attacked his German opponent with great confidence and spirit, and, marching round his left flank, so as to cut him off from the bridge by which he had just crossed the north branch of the Shenandoah, inspired him with so much anxiety as to the fate of his army that his movements became wild and desultory, and his men were speedily driven back in confusion to the shelter of their artillery, which was posted in a cedar-wood. The battery was gallantly charged by the youthful soldiers of Breckinridge's army, when the Federals, staggered by the suddenness of the onslaught, gave way at all points, and the guns were captured. The bridge, however, was

held by too large a force to permit of its being taken by Breckinridge's feeble ranks. Over this bridge, Sigel's defeated regiments made their way, and fell back to Strasburg without being pursued by the enemy. Six guns and several stands of arms had been lost by the Northerners, and property to a large amount was destroyed, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Confederates. Other divisions of the Federal forces from Western Virginia were at the same time checked in their advance by Confederate columns; and Breckinridge now felt that he could safely despatch the greater portion of his army to the assistance of General Lee.

Up to this time, it cannot be said that Grant's plans had been attended by any great measure of success. The Federal commander, it is true, still held his positions in front of General Lee's army; but he had advanced only a little way towards the great object of his attack, and neither he nor his lieutenants had been able to do more than create a feeling of anxiety and watchfulness at the Confederate capital. The Southern forces had been so well handled, so ably directed, and so expeditiously moved from one point to another, that they seemed to their opponents more numerous than they really were. Grant was already demanding reinforcements, and was beginning to consider whether he must not seriously modify his first scheme of operations. It soon became evident to him that he could not force his way through the Southern army, and he therefore proposed to outflank it, and to compel its retreat towards Lynchburg, lying on the James River to the south-west of the threatened city. He accordingly moved his immense army down the left bank of the Ny River towards Guinea's Station on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railway. The river was crossed on the 22nd of May, and a new position was taken up between that stream and the North Anna. The Federals were thus somewhat nearer to Richmond than they had been at first, and the right flank of General Lee was gravely threatened. The change of position had been attended by numerous skirmishes, some of which had almost assumed the character of general actions, and the Confederate commander, moving simultaneously with his antagonist, was prepared to defend the Virginia Central Railway, and the strategical position of Hanover Junction. The Union troops now endeavoured to cross the North Anna, and on the 23rd and 24th of May much fighting occurred on both sides of the channel, as each of the two armies tried to secure positions of advantage. Several of the Union corps established themselves for a time on the south bank; but Lee made his dispositions with such masterly skill that the scattered portions of the Federal force were unable to effect their junction, and Grant, seeing that he was in great danger of a serious reverse, quietly withdrew his troops to the northern shore, and proceeded down the peninsula formed by the Mattaponey and Pamunkey Rivers to Hanovertown. There he crossed the Pamunkey, and, forming a base of supplies at the White House, marched in a north-westerly direction up the Chickahominy. He was now on much the same ground that McClellan had occupied in the spring and summer of 1862, and Lee, who had made a corresponding flank movement, took up a position to the north and north-east of Richmond, where he could combine with the divisions under Beauregard for the defence of that town at its most vulnerable parts. Several minor actions of distinct corps had occurred during the march from the Pamunkey to the Chickahominy; but these had little effect on the relative positions of the contending forces.

On the 30th of May, General Lee was reported to be on the Mechanicsville road, with his right wing at Shady Grove. Grant's right extended in the direction of Hanover Court House; the right centre was on the Shady Grove road, the left centre on the Mechanicsville road, and the left wing a little in the rear. The fighting on that day, though considerable in some quarters, was not important in its results, nor was there any engagement of a serious character for some few days. The Federal commander continued to receive reinforcements, and on the 31st was joined by the 18th corps, under General Smith, forming a portion of Butler's command. These troops had been embarked on transports at City Point, moved with celerity down the James River, and then sent up the York River and Pamunkey to the White House. On the same day, the head-quarters of General Grant were five miles south-east of Hanover Court House, and less than that distance west of Hanovertown. His line of battle faced west on its right, and south-west on its left, and extended a distance of six miles across Tolopotamy Creek, a tributary of the Pamunkey. The position of the Confederates was such that they covered the Chickahominy with cavalry supports, thrown out on the left towards Hanover Court House, and on the right towards Bottom's Bridge. Sharp fighting occurred on the 1st of June; both armies contending for the possession of Coal Harbour, which was finally retained by the Federals. Thus, since his crossing of the Pamunkey, Grant had steadily advanced towards the enemy, who had to some extent receded. He now determined to

drive his opponent, if possible, across the Chickahominy, and to secure a place where he could ford that stream. The attack was to have been on the evening of the 2nd, but, owing to heavy rain, it was postponed until the next morning. The day, however, did not pass without fighting, though no material results ensued to either belligerent. In the early morning of the 3rd, the Federal troops were lying behind their breastworks, when orders were given for an advance. The corps commanded by Hancock attacked with its usual vigour, and Breckinridge's line was driven back; but the success of the Northerners was short-lived. Hancock's men were repulsed with great slaughter to their former lines, and in other directions the Confederates held their ground against the utmost endeavours of their foe. For the most part, the Federals fought with little animation, and, dismayed by their frightful losses (which in killed, wounded, and missing are said to have amounted to 13,000 men, with many officers of distinction), refused during the afternoon to obey the orders of General Meade for a fresh advance. Shrinking from a further encounter at close quarters, they began to throw up entrenchments, and to push forward siege operations against the breastworks of their opponents. In reporting to his Government the events of that day, Grant wrote:—"We assaulted

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at half-past four A.M., driving the enemy within his entrenchments at all points, but without gaining any decisive advantage. Our troops now occupy a position close to the enemy." It would seem from this that Grant himself admitted the futility of his operations. His new movement had in fact been as unsuccessful as his first; but on the other hand it must be borne in mind that Lee had done nothing more than hold his own, and had been totally unable to drive off his adversary. At seven o'clock on the evening of the 3rd, the Confederates suddenly attacked Smith's brigade and Gibbon's division, but, after a furious combat of half an hour's duration, were completely repulsed. On the following morning (June 4th), Lee's left wing, in front of General Burnside, was found to have been drawn in during the night; yet for the most part the opposing lines continued close to each other.

About this time, Sigel was removed from his command of the Shenandoah army, and succeeded by General Hunter, who was ordered to advance without delay up the valley to Lynchburg. Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry, was despatched from the army of the Potomac, with directions to break up the Virginia Central Railway, and effect a junction with Hunter; while Butler was commanded to employ his utmost efforts to obtain possession of Petersburg. The object of the Federal commander was to isolate Richmond as much as possible, to cut off its sources of supply and its means of reinforcement, and then to renew his operations on the south side of the James River, and therefore in the rear of Richmond. The country in which General Hunter was to act was very poorly supplied with Confederate troops. The Southern forces, in fact, consisted of only a few regiments of cavalry (mounted and dismounted), and the communications between Lynchburg and the army of General Lee were menaced by Sheridan's squadrons. Hunter was directed by his superiors to live on the country, so as not to be burdened by baggage, and effectually to destroy the railways and the James River canal. The land, moreover, was to be so completely desolated that no Confederate force which might come after should be able to find the means of subsistence. Marching up the north fork of the Shenandoah, Hunter defeated a Confederate force which attempted to cover Staunton, and then took possession of that town. This was about the close of May, and shortly afterwards Hunter was attacked by the irregular cavalry of Gilmor and Mosby, who defeated a part of his forces, and burned the whole of his train. The Federal commander next advanced on Lynchburg, which was defended by the division under Breckinridge. After an ineffectual attempt to take the town, Hunter commenced a retrograde movement, fearing that he should be overpowered by the Confederate reinforcements, and might even be unable to keep open his communications by way of the Shenandoah Valley. In the first instance he retired on Salem, hotly pursued by the Southern cavalry, who destroyed many waggons, together with thirteen pieces of artillery and several caissons. Ultimately he succeeded in escaping across the mountains into Western Virginia; but in the course of this movement his men suffered much from want of food in the wild and desert country through which they were compelled to make their way. Sheridan likewise had been defeated by the cavalry of Wade Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee. The Federal commander had not made even a distant approach towards the contemplated junction with Hunter, and his opponents followed up their success by a movement against the Federal depôts of the White House, which narrowly escaped falling into their hands. The position had been protected by a line of entrenchments, extending south of Gaines's Mill to the bank of the Chickahominy. These works had saved the depôts from capture, and they also enabled General Meade to rest in quiet and comparative safety, while he made preparations for the flank march to the southern side of the James River which Grant had by this time determined on executing.

In the second week of June, a detachment from General Butler's army, moving southward, crossed the Appomattox by a pontoon-bridge, and advanced on Petersburg. Meade at the same time moved towards his left under cover of a feigned operation on Richmond. The Chickahominy was crossed near White Oak Swamp, and the James River near the mouth of a small affluent called Deep Bottom. General Butler still remained at Bermuda Hundred, a small peninsula formed by a bend of the James River; and beyond the Federal lines at this point were the Confederate entrenchments which Beauregard had thrown up after his defeat of Butler on the 16th of May. The Confederates were by this time greatly over-matched in point of numbers; but Beauregard was so impressed with the necessity of defending all his positions that he strained every nerve to save them from capture by the daily-increasing hosts of the Federals. The attack on Petersburg was under the direction of General W. F. Smith, who appeared before the city on the evening of the 15th of June. Beauregard telegraphed to Richmond for reinforcements; but

before these could arrive, Smith had taken a portion of the defences. The assault was to have been seconded by Hancock's corps from the Army of the Potomac; but that body had mistaken its road, and failed to join the army of General Smith until after nightfall. By this time the Confederates had been to some extent reinforced, and on the morning of the 16th of June the struggle was renewed Beauregard was on the spot in person, and saw how terribly his men were outnumbered, even without those accessions which were perpetually reaching his opponents. He again sent to Richmond for reinforcements, and also requested to be informed whether he should give up Bermuda Hundred or Petersburg, as it was no longer possible to hold both. After waiting some time without receiving any reply, he determined to relinquish the former of those positions, though its abandonment would permit of a land and naval force being sent up the James River to the southern side of Richmond, which was the point most open to attack. The entrenchments in front of Butler were therefore secretly evacuated, and the men added to the scanty forces still holding desperately to Petersburg.

The Federal operations against that city were now being pushed with great energy, and on the afternoon of the 16th an alarm was raised that the last line of defences had been carried, and that the victorious soldiers were bursting into the town. Beauregard had left the front to obtain a little rest and refreshment, when a sergeant of artillery, galloping through the street, cried loudly that all was lost. The General hastened back in the direction of the entrenchments, and was speedily met by a crowd of panic-stricken fugitives. He eloquently exhorted them to halt, telling them that the fate of Virginia depended on their firmness. The stream, however, poured on, and Beauregard, drawing up his escort across the road, ordered them to shoot down any who refused to obey his commands. The reinforcements from Bermuda Hundred came up at this moment; the ranks were re-formed; and the men, to some extent re-assured, were led back to the works they had prematurely abandoned.* The disaster reported by the sergeant of artillery had been greatly exaggerated by dismay and apprehension; yet it was true that the Federals were pressing their attack very closely. Three distinct corps were engaged before Petersburg, and Butler, relieved of the forces in his front, was advancing against the Richmond and Petersburg Railway, so as to prevent the despatch of reinforcements from the Confederate capital. The assault continued during the early hours of the night; but at about eleven o'clock the incessant rattle of musketry and roar of artillery began to diminish. From a despatch of Burnside, which fell into the hands of the Confederates, it appeared that the attacking forces, notwithstanding the success which they had obtained, were getting dispirited at the stubbornness of the enemy's resistance. Beauregard took advantage of the pause which now set in to withdraw his troops to a shorter line in the rear, and the entrenchments designed to cover this new position were constructed during the night by his weary and almost exhausted soldiers, whose difficulties were rendered still greater by the want of proper tools. The Union troops, however, were equally worn out, and it was not until noon that preparations were completed for a renewed attack. Shortly afterwards, Beauregard was reinforced by the arrival of General Anderson's corps (formerly Longstreet's), which had overcome the resistance offered by Butler on the line of railway. Severe fighting was prolonged during the whole day, and on the whole the Confederates retained the new line which had been traced out by their commander. The entrenchments were strengthened during the night of the 17th, and on the 18th of June the Federals were driven back at all points, with heavy loss. Smith was ordered to retire from before Petersburg, and to reinforce Butler at Bermuda Hundred. A large part of Lee's army had been transferred from the northern to the southern side of Richmond, and Grant, despite his flank march, from which he had hoped to gain so much, was still confronted by his indomitable antagonist.

By this time the Federals had suffered enormous losses, and were greatly dejected as to the prospects of the campaign. It had been found necessary to recruit their decimated ranks by soldiers who had had little or no experience in warfare; and these men were likely to depress the spirits of their comrades still further by liability to unreasonable panic. Grant saw that for the present it would be imprudent to renew active operations; but, with his usual tenacity of purpose, he clung firmly to that which he had gained. He ordered the erection of counter-works to those of the enemy, and raised a line of entrenchments of more than ordinary strength. On the 21st and following days, he endeavoured to turn the right flank of his opponents; but the corps despatched on this expedition was routed by the Southerners. Grant also sent out a cavalry expedition on the morning of June 22nd,

* Several of these details of the operations against Petersburg were given by General Beauregard to Colonel Fletcher, and are included by him in his useful work on the events of the civil war.

the object of which was to cut the communication between Petersburg and Lynchburg by the South-side Railway. It was divided into two columns, which penetrated as far as the junction of the Richmond and Danville Railway with that of Petersburg and Lynchburg. After a few temporary and delusive successes, accompanied by some degree of injury to the lines, the detachment, while on its backward march to rejoin the main army, was defeated on the Weldon Railway, though supported by a body of infantry, and, abandoning its train and artillery, retreated, with the loss of many prisoners, to the lines round Petersburg. On the 1st and 2nd of July the troops arrived in camp, broken up into straggling parties, and presenting, in the appearance both of men and horses, unmistakable evidence of their fatigue and distress. More than a thousand negroes had followed the column; but most of these were shortly afterwards recaptured by the Confederates.

The weather was extremely hot and oppressive, and both armies suffered much from this cause alone. A long drought set in, and, at every movement of the opposing ranks, enormous clouds of dust rose into the air. The Federals were plainly disheartened. Although safe in their positions from any serious reverse, they were exposed to frequent and harassing attacks on the out-pickets. Butler's army was kept in constant anxiety by repeated sorties from the entrenchments in his front; and from time to time engagements took place, of no great magnitude in themselves, but tending to weary and exasperate men who had already undergone much and achieved little. During the cavalry expedition which set out on the 22nd of June, Sheridan was ordered to proceed from the White House to the camp before Petersburg, in order to supply the place of those who had been detached from the main body. On the evening of the 24th, he was attacked while on his march, and, although he succeeded in beating off the enemy and saving his trains from capture, he lost nearly five hundred men in the struggle. Thus, everything conspired to depress the attacking forces, and the evil influences of the time were visible in the looks and bearing of the men. It was stated in an American publication of the day that the troops were thoroughly worn out. The loss of officers had been so great that captains were sometimes commanding regiments, and majors brigades. The soldiers complained that they had no longer the leadership of their old officers; the officers alleged that the spirit of the soldiers had declined. "My men do not charge as they did thirty days ago," said the leader of a storming party which had made an unsuccessful attempt against the outworks of Petersburg. Even some of the chief commanders showed the effects of the campaign in broken health, in want of harmony with their colleagues, or in a failure of energy and skill. Divisions and corps which had formerly been remarkable for daring and gallantry now fought without animation, and suffered themselves to be captured without resistance.* The army was at once exhausted and dispirited, and yet the major part of its work still remained to be accomplished.

Towards the close of June, the Federal army was fewer by 15,000 men than it had been when General W. F. Smith made his first attack on the lines before Petersburg. Notwithstanding the strong positions held by General Grant, and his ability to communicate with the North by means of the James River, it became a question whether the expedition against Richmond must not be abandoned. At this moment of depression, Lieutenant-Colonel Pleasant, belonging to a Pennsylvanian regiment in Burnside's corps, proposed to run a mine under one of the approaches to the Confederate entrenchments before Petersburg, and, having created a gap by its explosion, to surprise the town by capture in the crisis of confusion and alarm created by the catastrophe. The plan was adopted, though reluctantly; and, while the mine was being excavated, Hancock's corps and Sheridan's cavalry were sent to the north side of the James—whether to execute a feint, or to conduct a serious attack on the Confederates in that neighbourhood, is a matter of uncertainty. Engagements of importance were fought in the direction of Richmond on the 27th and 28th of July, and Lee considered it necessary to withdraw four divisions from the opposite bank of the river, leaving only three in the vicinity of Petersburg. Grant and Meade saw that, if the mine was to be exploded at all, the proper moment had arrived. Hancock was ordered to re-cross the James on the night of the 29th, but to move with secrecy, so as to leave the enemy in ignorance of the change that had been effected; and large bodies of Federals were concentrated in front of Petersburg, to take advantage of the explosion. More than three weeks had been consumed in the construction of the mine, which was of a very elaborate nature, and was provided with several lateral galleries in connection with the main passage. The charge consisted of eight thousand pounds of gunpowder, and these were placed in the chambers on the 27th of July. General Beauregard had had some suspicion that such a work was in progress, and, as far as he could,

* United States *Army and Navy Journal.*

had prepared against any casualty by the erection of extra batteries in rear of his entrenchments. The explosion took place between four and five o'clock on the morning of the 30th of July. It resulted in the formation of a cavity nearly two hundred feet in length, sixty feet in width, and twenty feet in depth. The defenders of the parapets were struck with consternation, and began to retire into the town; but Lee and Beauregard were soon on the spot, and, restoring the self-reliance of their men, ordered the Confederate batteries to reply to those of the Federal works, which opened fire immediately after the explosion. Owing, perhaps, to this unexpected opposition, the assault was made with but little spirit, and the attacking force, instead of dashing over the aperture, simply occupied it. The men at once sought cover, and fired over the edge of the crater, without even attempting to advance any farther. Several regiments became mingled in a disorderly mob, and the officers tried in vain to restore proper formation to their ranks. The Confederates were now calm and collected, and their shells, falling in great numbers into the crater, inflicted terrible slaughter on the unfortunate men huddled together in that ghastly hole. A body of negroes was sent to the support of the divisions that had first entered the cavity; but these coloured troops, after a brief display of valour, were struck with panic, and simply added to the confusion which already existed. No commander of high rank was present, to give directions such as might have retrieved the failure of the first assault; and long before night closed in on that disastrous day, the Federals had lost, in killed, wounded, and captured, at least 4,000 men, if, indeed, the numbers were not much greater. A long series of misfortunes had received another dismal addition; and Grant, again thrown back on his resources, had to consider once more how he should conquer that success which was so long in coming.

CHAPTER LVII.

Exposed Condition of the Shenandoah Valley—Invasion of Maryland by the Confederates under Early—Devastation committed by them—Temporary Success of the Incursion—Approach to Washington—Attack on Fort Stevens—Arrival of Federal Reinforcements, and Retreat of the Confederates—General Early at Winchester, Virginia—Renewed Invasion of the Northern States—Burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania—The Confederates again retire to the Southern side of the Potomac—Sheridan appointed to the Command in the Vicinity of Washington—His Attack on Early, and Defeat of that General—Flight of the Confederates to Brown's Gap—The Valley of the Shenandoah laid waste by Sheridan—Sufferings of the People—Federal Victory at Cedar Creek—Retreat of General Early—Failure of the Confederate Attempt—Progress of the Federals before Petersburg—Exhaustion of the Confederate Armies—Grant's Operations against the Flanks of Lee's Army—Various unsuccessful Attempts—Action at Chaffin's Bluff—Extension of Grant's Lines—Movements of General Meade—Addition of 500,000 Men to the Federal Armies—Relative Position of the Two Combatants—Naval Expedition against the Harbour of Mobile, Alabama—Action with Gunboats—Defeat of the Confederates, and Surrender of Three Forts—Enforcement of the Blockade—The Confederate Privateers—Depôt at Wilmington for Blockade-runners—Confederate Incursion into Missouri—Operations of General Price—Total Discomfiture of the Southerners—Decline of the Confederate Cause in the Trans-Mississippi Provinces.

The exposed condition of the Shenandoah Valley, consequent on the retreat of General Hunter into the valley of the Kenawha, and on the large concentration of Federal troops before Petersburg and its vicinity, invited attack during the summer of 1864, and the Confederates were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity. It occurred to General Early, who was in command of the Southerners at Lynchburg, that, after advancing down the valley, he might enter the Northern States, and in this way draw off a certain proportion of the army under Grant which was giving so much trouble to the forces of Lee, Bragg, and Beauregard. On the 2nd of July, General Early's divisions, which were not very strong in numbers, appeared close to Martinsburg, then held by General Sigel, who evacuated the place, with the loss of some of his stores. Early continuing to advance, Sigel fell back across the Potomac, and took up a position on Maryland Heights. The movement of the Confederates was fraught with peril to the Northern cause, for a successful blow might possibly be struck before reinforcements could be sent to repel the invasion. Shortly after the withdrawal of Sigel to the north side of the Potomac, Early marched up the Monocacy, in Maryland, opposite the heights on which the Federal officer had entrenched himself. Great alarm was felt at Washington when it became certain that a Confederate force had again invaded the North; but in a little while reinforcements were despatched to the threatened districts, from which numerous persons had fled in alarm to New York

and Boston. Scattered bodies of Confederates were seen in various places, and Pennsylvania was entered, as well as Maryland. Whole neighbourhoods were laid waste, in revenge for what had been done by Hunter in the Shenandoah Valley; many private houses were burned; and the rich people in the towns were compelled to ransom their dwellings and property by the payment of large sums of money.

To meet this invasion, President Lincoln made a call for 12,000 militia from Pennsylvania, an equal number from New York, and 5,000 from Massachusetts. The various Governors issued proclamations summoning the required troops, and the militia speedily began to assemble. On the evening of the 8th of July, General Wallace, in command of a hastily-raised force of Northerners, withdrew from Frederick, Maryland, to Monocacy Junction, on the east side of the river, and on the following morning was attacked by the enemy. His ill-disciplined troops soon gave way before the vehement assault to which they were exposed, and fled towards Baltimore, pursued by cavalry. This disaster produced the utmost consternation at the Federal capital, which for a time appeared to be in imminent danger. Reinforcements were hurried up from various quarters; and a corp of General Grant's army was despatched from before Petersburg. Early next attacked Rockville, Maryland, a little town situated not more than fourteen miles to the west of Washington. Detachments from his main army got so far as within five miles of the capital, where they seized prisoners, horses, and cattle, and inflicted a large amount of damage. Colonel Gilmor, of the cavalry, cut the communication between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and captured a railway train, among the passengers in which was General Franklin, who, having been wounded in Louisiana, was going north for rest and change of air. The prisoners, however, were not carefully guarded, owing to the extreme fatigue of Gilmor's men, who were almost incessantly in the saddle; and Franklin, with his companions, managed to escape. Intoxicated by his success, Early appeared before Washington on the 11th of July, and engaged the batteries at Fort Stevens, one of the out-works of the Federal metropolis. But reinforcements had by this time reached the city, and in the evening a body of men under General Auger sallied forth to drive away so troublesome and humiliating an enemy. A sharp skirmish ensued, and the Confederates were speedily compelled to retreat, leaving a hundred dead and wounded on the field. The invaders retired up the Potomac, which they crossed at Edwards's Ferry, and then proceeded through Snicker's Gap to the western side of the Shenandoah. After an encounter with General Wright, who had been sent in pursuit, but who on the 18th of July was forced to withdraw from any further attempt at molestation, Early established his head-quarters at Winchester, and successfully resisted an attack by General Averill, who was obliged to seek shelter behind the works at Harper's Ferry.

It was not long ere Early once more crossed the Potomac into the Northern States. On the 29th of July, a band of Confederates passed over into Maryland, and advanced on Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania. Their progress was again marked by the destruction of private dwellings, and even of whole towns whose citizens refused to answer the requisitions of the invaders. At Chambersburg, Gilmor's cavalry made a demand for 200,000 dollars in gold, which the people declined to furnish. The city was accordingly given to the flames, and Averill, on arriving to its relief, found it fiercely burning. The Confederates were already in retreat, and, although with difficulty, they contrived to elude the various bodies of Federals sent to intercept them, and again to reach in safety the southern shores of the Potomac. From time to time these predatory incursions continued to be made, and the Federal Government, finding that great inefficiency resulted from the want of a single command over the various corps entrusted with the defence of Washington, and that General Grant, from his position before Petersburg, could not give much attention to the subject, determined to unite in one the three departments of Western Virginia, Washington, and the Susquehannah. The military direction of this large area was confided to General Sheridan, who found himself at the head of more than 40,000 men. With these he conducted a number of desultory operations against the enemy, for the most part successfully, though the Confederate horsemen occasionally proved troublesome. Early had only about 13,000 troops with whom to maintain his position round Winchester; yet Grant for a time refused to sanction any offensive movement on the part of Sheridan, fearing the disastrous consequences of a defeat. At length, however, he gave his consent, but only on the understanding that the valley of the Shenandoah should be completely devastated, so that nothing might be left to invite any further invasion.

Sheridan attacked his adversary on the 19th of September, and with complete success. The two armies had been watching one another from the opposite banks of the Opequan, a small tributary of the Potomac, which it enters west of the Shenandoah.

Early was covering Winchester; but about the middle of September he sent Gordon's division towards Martinsburg, thus threatening the right of his adversary's line. His own right being exposed by the movement, Sheridan considered the time favourable for an attack, and his army crossed the Opequan without delay. Gordon, however, was at once recalled from the point whither he had been sent, and a prolonged and obstinate engagement was fought on the open ground north of Winchester. At first it seemed as if the Confederates would have prevailed over their opponents; but a brilliant charge of Sheridan's horse broke the Southern line of battle into fragments, and, when the infantry advanced, an utter rout ensued. The discomfited army fled in terror through Winchester—a confused mob of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, in which the very rudiments of military order were forgotten. In his despatch to General Grant, relating the events of the day, Sheridan said that he had captured 2,500 prisoners, five pieces of artillery, and nine flags. Generals Rhodes and Gordon, of the Confederate army, were killed, and three other general officers were wounded. The Federals, however, were themselves great losers, for the Confederates fought well, and it was only by special efforts that the Northern troops prevailed. Probably owing to the exhaustion produced by the struggle, the pursuit was languid; and Early, re-forming his shattered ranks, retreated to Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg, where he took up a defensive position across the valley through which runs the

GENERAL SHERIDAN AT CEDAR CREEK.

north branch of the Shenandoah, with mountains to his right and left. He was now facing towards the north, and, being strongly posted, awaited with some equanimity the approach of his foe; yet, when attacked on the 21st, he was again defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to withdraw further into the valley. Sheridan followed in a southerly direction, sending on his cavalry as far as Staunton, where they destroyed a railway bridge on the line passing from that town to Gordonsville. On being reinforced by a division of Longstreet's corps, Early entrenched himself at Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, where he was secure against further assault. A body of Confederate cavalry was still in the rear of the Federals, and this force inflicted a certain amount of injury on depôts and convoys. But Sheridan's divisions were too strong to be seriously menaced.

The Federal commander carried out only too well the instructions which Grant had given him with respect to the devastation of the country. The crops were either taken away or destroyed; cattle were carried off; barns, mills, and agricultural implements, were burned; and a scene of desolation was produced in one of the most fertile and beautiful valleys in America. Sheridan himself, in a report to General Grant, dated October 7th, confessed to the terrible ruin he had effected. He stated moreover that Lieutenant John R. Meigs, his engineer officer, had been murdered beyond Harrisonburg, and that, in retaliation, all houses within an area of five miles had been burned. A newspaper correspondent related that the atmosphere, from horizon to horizon, was black with the smoke of a hundred conflagrations; that at night a gleam, brighter and more lurid than sunset, shot from many points; that the poor suffered as well as the rich; and that the completeness of the desolation was awful. In fact, more was done than had been contemplated by the commanders; for, when once the reins are given to an infuriated soldiery, many individual acts of atrocity will be committed, which the sternest of generals would refuse to sanction. The torch was often applied without the slightest attempt at discrimination between the guilty and the innocent. It was no part of the design to burn houses; yet many houses were burned, even apart from those which Sheridan purposely committed to the flames in revenge for the death of Lieutenant Meigs. Some of the unfortunate people lost their all; families were reduced in a moment from wealth to indigence; hundreds were left with scarcely the necessaries of life; and it was affirmed that not half the inhabitants of the valley could subsist on it in the state to which it was then reduced. Many of the Federals themselves condemned these frightful excesses. It was seen that, even if useful as war-measures, they were beyond justification on grounds of morals. Such feelings result from a true instinct of what is due to the claims of humanity, even in the prosecution of a relentless struggle. The privileges of war are great; but they have their limits. To plunge a whole district into want and misery; to make non-combatants suffer even more than the soldier in the field; to condemn women and children to famine and homelessness; to do mischief which it will take many years to repair, and of which the memory may not die out for centuries,—these are acts which the general conscience has never yet approved, and it is to be hoped never will. No necessity can be shown so great as to overcome the natural rebellion of the heart against organised cruelty and systematic wrong.

On his return down the Shenandoah Valley in the direction of the Potomac, Sheridan was closely followed by a large force of Confederates. A collision took place on the 9th of October, ending in the repulse of the Southerners; and ten days later a more important action was fought on the banks of Cedar Creek. The Federal troops were entrenched on the north bank of that stream (which runs into the Shenandoah), when, in the early morning of October 19th, they were unexpectedly attacked by the Southerners. Reconnaissances had been sent out on the previous day, but the exact position of the enemy had not been ascertained. Sheridan, believing his army to be in a perfectly safe position, had some days before gone to Washington, leaving General Wright in temporary command; but his adversary was already preparing for a powerful and well-directed blow. The assault, when it came, was delivered simultaneously against the front and the left rear. Most of the pickets were captured; the rest of the troops, suddenly roused from sleep, were thrown into confusion, and driven back tumultuously on the road to Middletown. Eighteen of the Federal guns were seized by Early, and turned on their late possessors; and for a time it seemed as if the Union troops would be utterly overwhelmed. But Wright at length succeeded in restoring order to his ranks, and in checking the Confederate advance; the Southerners, scattering themselves through the abandoned camps, began drinking and plundering; and when Sheridan arrived from Winchester (where he had slept the previous night), and ordered a vigorous attack, the opposing troops gave way in unreasonable panic, abandoning the guns they had captured in the morning.

The reputation of the principal commander was greatly advanced by this affair, and the President,

on November 14th, promoted Sheridan to the rank of Major-General in the United States Army, as a reward for his "personal gallantry, military skill, and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of his troops." He had in truth saved the Federal cause from a crushing reverse, and had inflicted on Early a blow which made his forces stagger. On the morning of that memorable 19th of October, the Federals had fallen back in dismay; in the evening, it was their adversaries who were in flight, and who, smitten with dread, blocked the roads with the scattered remnants of an army which only a few hours before had almost attained the summit of victory. A charge by the Federal cavalry, as dusk was setting in, completed the ruin that had already been commenced; and from that hour nothing but terror and despair prevailed throughout the Confederate ranks. Early bivouacked at Fisher's Hill during the night, and next day retreated southwards beyond Woodstock, followed by the Federal horse. He did not consider himself safe until he had taken up a position on Mount Jackson, near the southern extremity of the Great North Mountains, where, counting up his losses, he found that twenty-two of his guns had passed over to the enemy, together with most of his stores and camp-equipages. The Southerners were extremely disappointed at the result of his movement. They had not only lost a large number in killed, wounded, and captured, but their operations in the Shenandoah Valley had been injured beyond the hope of redemption. The superiority of the Federals in that locality was now so clearly established that General Grant felt he could safely recall to the army before Petersburg those detachments which he had sent a few months earlier to guard the capital of the Union. It had been hoped at Richmond that the alarm at Washington would be so great as to induce Grant to transport the major portion of his army northwards for the protection of the President and his Government; but the Commander-in-Chief, refusing to be influenced by the fears of the timid, only despatched a comparatively small contingent, and retained the bulk of his forces for the prosecution of the task he had in hand. Lee therefore had been but slightly helped by Early's bold incursion. Great courage and ability had been shown by the Southerners, who had at one time carried the utmost dismay into the Federal capital itself; but their divisions were not strong enough to meet the superior forces of the North, and the Shenandoah Valley, after being desolated in turn by the hostile operations of both armies, remained as the prize of the Federals, and throughout the further course of the war was not again threatened with subjugation by the armies of Mr. Jefferson Davis.

While these events were proceeding on the banks of the Shenandoah, Grant continued to watch his adversaries at Petersburg and Richmond, in the hope that he should be able to discover some weak point through which he could strike effectually at one or both of those cities. His lines, which were strongly fortified, covered a length of between twenty and thirty miles, starting from near the Weldon Railway on his left, and, after crossing the James River, terminating in the vicinity of Newmarket on his right. During the autumn and early winter, he made many attempts to turn the Confederate flanks; but Lee accommodated his own movements to those of his opponent with so much skill and address that nothing could be effected by the Northern commander. The army under Lee consisted of veterans, who had had experience of almost every kind of war, and whose steadiness was certain not to desert them under any circumstances, however adverse; but their numbers were few in comparison with those of Grant, and, what was worse, the population of the Confederate States seemed to have lost all heart in the struggle, and to be increasingly disinclined to furnish the recruits who were now so sorely needed. Grant was not unaware of the truth, and saw in it the certain presage of victory, if the North had only resolution enough to proceed a little farther in the enormous sacrifices which the war entailed. "The rebels," he wrote to the Hon. E. B. Washburne, on the 16th of August, 1864, "have now in their ranks their last men. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North." These statements may in some respects have been over-sanguine; but they were substantially correct. The desperate game of the Southern Confederacy was almost played out, and it was merely the determination of a few able and adventurous men that prevented the immediate submission of the people to a power which they might hate, but which it was obvious they could not withstand. The consciousness of this fact strengthened Grant in that tenacity of purpose which is one of his most distinctive characteristics.

Another General might have given up the attempt on Petersburg and Richmond after so many failures: Grant, on the contrary, held to his position, and did not suffer himself to be discouraged by incidental reverses.

The weakening of Lee's force, by the despatch of certain divisions to the assistance of General Early, appeared to the Federal commander to offer an admirable opportunity for an offensive movement. The approaches to Richmond from the north-eastern side of the James River were believed to be guarded by not more than 8,000 men; and Grant accordingly sent a strong detachment, under the general orders of Hancock, up that stream to Deep Bottom. The troops, however, disembarked with so much slowness that Lee had time to concentrate his regiments on the menaced point, and, after a good deal of fighting, the Northerners were obliged to retire. This was a movement against the left flank of General Lee, to repel which it had been necessary to draw away the greater number of the defending army from the opposite extremity of the line. Grant, being aware of the fact, struck in that direction also. The commander of the expedition against the Confederate right was General Warren, who took with him the 5th corps, and succeeded in obtaining a position beyond the Weldon Railway. Although Lee had only a few troops in that quarter, he assailed his antagonist with great spirit, and achieved a temporary success; but the Federals, on being reinforced, recovered the ground they had abandoned, and proceeded to fortify themselves against further molestation. An attack by the Southerners, on the 21st of August, met with no success, and on the same day Hancock reached the Weldon Railway at a point four miles south of Warren's entrenchments. On the 25th, an action took place between Generals Hancock and A. P. Hill, which resulted in the Confederates obtaining possession of Reams's Station, and in the retreat of the Federals. Nevertheless, the latter still held the Weldon Railway, and succeeded in connecting it with the centre of the army in front of Petersburg. All this while, that city was being shelled by the Northern troops, and the Confederate batteries on the James River were revenging themselves by firing on the Federal gunboats.

Grant now ordered Meade to conduct a feigned attack against Lee's right, whilst he sent two corps of the Army of the James, under Butler, to make an attempt against the Confederate works north of Chaffin's Bluff, opposite Drury's Bluff, on the James River. It was believed that only a small force of Southerners occupied the works on the north side of the river, and it seemed therefore not improbable that a sudden movement and rapid advance in that direction might ensure the capture of Richmond. The inhabitants of the city were themselves extremely apprehensive for their safety, and, being threatened at so many points, feared that at some one the circle would be broken through, and all would be lost. Even should the movement fail, it was anticipated that the withdrawal of a large part of the Confederate force from the southern to the northern side of the river would materially aid the Federals in their operations against Petersburg; and it was therefore considered by Grant that the venture would be worth the cost in life it would demand. The movement was commenced on the night of the 28th of September, when General Ord, with the 18th corps, was directed to cross the James at Aikin's Landing, eight miles above Deep Bottom, and at daylight to advance quickly against the enemy's works in his front. At the same time, General Birney, with the 10th corps, was to move on Bermuda Hundred, and cross the river during the night. These two detachments were to obtain possession of the Newmarket road, and to form a connection in front of Richmond. The design was carried out without any untoward accident, and the outer line of Confederate defences was soon in the hands of the two Federal commanders. The inner defences at Chaffin's Bluff were now before the assailants, and preparations were made for carrying them. Before these preparations could be completed, reinforcements had reached the garrison, and the assault, when at length it came, proved unsuccessful. The troops employed on this service were negroes, of whom only a small proportion succeeded in reaching one of the forts. These behaved with much gallantry, but were unable to take so formidable a position. All who were not killed were captured, and it was found necessary to abandon the attack. On the 30th of September, however, further portions of the enemy's lines were seized by the Federals, and an attempt to recapture the works, on the same day, was wholly without result. On the 7th of October, the Confederates made a partially successful endeavour to turn the right flank of their opponents, but were ultimately repulsed. Other encounters took place on subsequent days, without materially altering the position of the belligerents towards one another; and Grant, considering it important to keep what he had gained, extended his lines from opposite Dutch Gap to the Newmarket road. Meade's simultaneous movement against the right of the Confederate line ended, after an engagement of three days' duration, and a heavy loss in men, in the Federals

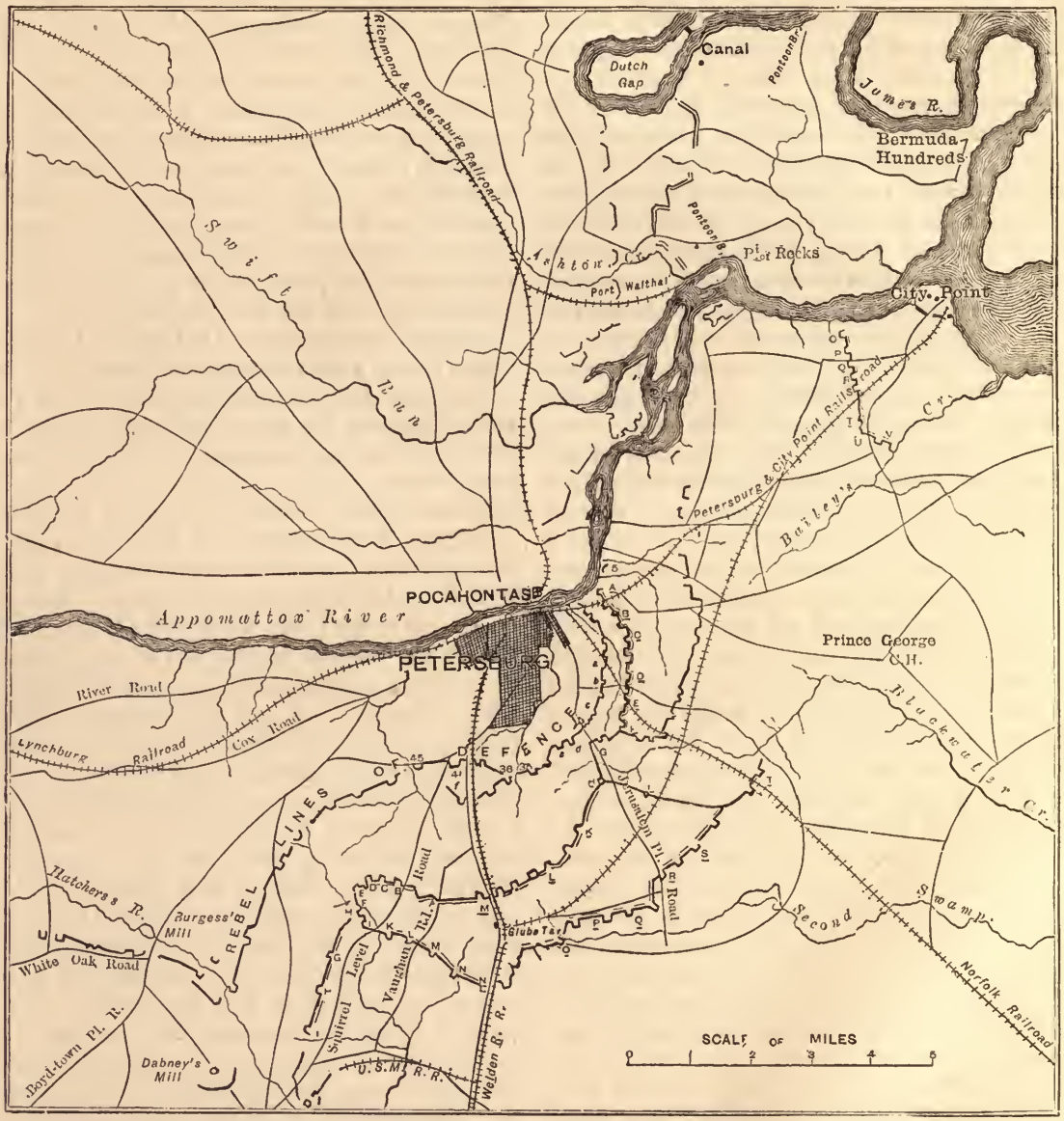
acquiring a position across the Squirrel road parallel with the Weldon Railway; whereupon the Confederates retired within their main entrenchments.

Another attempt to capture Petersburg followed these operations. Meade was ordered to occupy the Boydton road and the Southside Railway, both lying to the south-west of the town; and this movement was accomplished by General Hancock on the 27th of October. The march was performed with great secrecy, and without being discovered by the enemy. The 2nd corps passed round the Confederate flank, and was proceeding to execute other portions of the concerted scheme, when Hancock received orders to halt. The 9th corps, under Warren and Parke, had been directed to engage the adversary in front; but Parke had been unsuccessful in capturing the works against which he was sent, and Warren was accordingly instructed to form a junction between Hancock's right and Parke's left. This, however, could not be effected, owing to the density of the forest, the mazy character of the roads which intersected it, and the want of proper maps. General A. P. Hill, who had command of the Confederates in that direction, conceived that the proper time had arrived for making an attack, as the Federal corps were now separated and confused. Hancock and Warren were simultaneously assailed, and night closed in over an undecided combat. Next day, the Federals, perceiving that their design had been a failure, withdrew across Hatcher's Run, a stream crossing the Boydton road, and with some difficulty got back to their own lines. At the same time, General Butler attempted a similar manœuvre on the north side of the James River; but his operations entirely failed, and it was with a loss of nearly 1,500 men that the Federals returned to the point whence they had started. This terminated the active operations of the year in front of Petersburg and Richmond. Both sides were getting sick of the struggle. From both armies there were many desertions; but the Federals could suffer this depletion of their ranks much better than the Confederates. Grant's numbers might have been called overwhelming, but that they did not overwhelm; the Confederates, on the contrary, presented a daily-diminishing host to their adversaries, and could ill afford any further reduction of their meagre legions. Yet, although his forces were so numerous, Grant was deeply impressed with the necessity of filling those gaps which the progress of the war had inevitably made. He communicated his views to the Government, and the call for 500,000 men, issued by the President on the 18th of July, was ordered to be carried into effect on the 19th of September and succeeding days. General Grant, writing to Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, on the 13th of the same month, gave it as his opinion that they ought to have the whole number of men demanded by Mr. Lincoln in the shortest possible time. "Prompt action in filling our armies," he said, "will have more effect upon the enemy than a victory over them. They profess to believe, and make their men believe, there is such a party North in favour of recognising Southern independence that the draft cannot be enforced. Let them be undeceived." To the same effect, and on the same day, wrote General Sherman from Atlanta, Georgia; and as by this time there was evidence of the Confederacy giving way on all sides, the probability of an enthusiastic response to the draft was considerable.

The last two months of 1864 were not characterised by any events of importance on the Potomac or the James River. Grant had failed in all his active operations, but he had obtained a position in close proximity to his antagonist, from which that antagonist was unable to expel him. The Federal lines were fortified so strongly as to defy successful attack, and Butler was engaged in cutting a canal through Dutch Gap (a peninsula formed by a great bend of the James River), in the hope of facilitating the passage of the Union troops, and of turning the Confederate batteries at that part of the channel. The Southern armies in Richmond and Petersburg were getting short of food and clothing; yet the soldiers manning the works still fought with resolution, and repelled with spirit whatever attacks were directed against their lines during the early winter. It is impossible not to admire the courage and self-reliance exhibited by these men at a time when everything was tending to their defeat; but this very natural feeling should not be allowed too great an influence over the mind. The Confederacy was perishing in the midst of blood, and fire, and accumulated agony, and its slow and painful death involved misery to thousands who had done no wrong. But all the deeper on this account was the guilt of those who had called such evils into being, for the promotion of an end which would in itself have been a misfortune even greater.

During the progress of these events in Virginia, various movements of minor importance were being conducted in other parts of America, of which it will be convenient to take notice in the present place, before relating the particulars of Sherman's great campaign in the South, which had so large a share in determining the final issue of the struggle. A naval expedition of considerable magnitude was carried out in August against the harbour or bay of Mobile, situated in the southern part of Alabama,

on the Gulf of Mexico. The harbour was much frequented by blockade-runners, and several iron-clads and armed vessels were built there by the Confederates, who threatened to raise the blockade. the Government was not in a position to give him the required assistance; but towards the latter end of July he received four monitors in addition to his squadron, and at the same time a land force



PLAN OF PETERSBURG AND VICINITY, SHOWING THE CONFEDERATE AND FEDERAL FORTS.

Names of Union Forts around Petersburg.

A. Fort McGilvery.
B. ,, Steadman.
C. ,, Hascall.
D. ,, Morton.
E. ,, Meikle.
F. ,, Rice.
G. ,, Sedgwick.
H. ,, Davis.
I ,, Prescott.
K. ,, Alex. Hayes.
L. Fort Howard.
M. ,, Wadsworth.
N. ,, Dushane.
O. ,, Davison.
P. ,, McMahon.
Q. ,, Stevenson.
R. ,, Blaisdel.
S. ,, P. Kelley.
T. ,, Bross.

Forts on the Prolongation of the Lines West of the Weldon Railroad.

A. Fort Keene.
B. ,, Urmston.
C. ,, Conahey.
D. ,, Fisher.
E. ,, Welch.
F. ,, Gregg.
G. Fort Wheaton.
H. ,, Sampson.
I. ,, Cummings.
K. ,, Emory
L. ,, Siebert.
M. ,, Clarke.

Forts protecting City Point.

O. Fort Abbott.
P. ,, Craig.
Q. ,, Graves.
R. ,, McKeen.
S. Fort L. O. Morris.
T. ,, Merriam.
U. ,, Gould.
V. ,, Porter.

Confederate Forts around Petersburg.

a. Colquit's salient.
b. Pegram's battery.
c. Reeves' salient.
d. Fort Mahone.
e. ,, New Orleans.
f. ,, Lee.

Early in 1864, Admiral Farragut had reconnoitred the approaches to the city, and offered, with the help of a few iron-clads and some troops, to gain full possession of the bay. At that time, however, under General Granger was promised him. The harbour was defended by three forts where it spreads out into the gulf, and by an inner and stronger line, about thirty miles nearer the town.

Admiral Farragut attacked Fort Morgan on the 5th of August, when the iron-clads opened fire, whilst the wooden vessels, lashed together two and two, so that either might tow the other in case of an accident, steamed past the forts, and threaded the narrow channel by which the broader part of the gulf is reached. The Admiral directed the movements of his fleet from the maintop of the flag-ship *Hartford*. The guns in the fort were in the first instance concentrated against the *Brooklyn*, which was accidentally hindered in its progress, and in this way embarrassed the movements of the other vessels. Shortly afterwards, the monitor *Tecumseh* struck a torpedo, and almost instantly disappeared beneath the waters, carrying with her the greater part of the crew. But Farragut did not suffer himself to be dismayed by this catastrophe. His fleet poured so tremendous a fire into the works on shore that the artillerymen were in a little while driven from their guns, and the ships were thus enabled to pass with comparatively slight damage. The Federal vessels were now attacked by the Confederate iron-clad *Tennessee*, accompanied by three gunboats. The latter were soon disabled; but the iron-clad, which was commanded by Admiral Buchanan, advanced with perfect confidence against the wooden and iron vessels of the Federals. A collision presently ensued, and attempts were made to run down the *Tennessee* by dashing against her with the utmost power and velocity that could be attained. At the same time, an enormous weight of metal was hurled from the broadsides of the Northern fleet, and the concussions were so tremendous that the crew of the Confederate iron-clad could scarcely keep their feet, or work the guns. The metal sides of the *Tennessee*, however, seemed for a time impervious to the terrible hail of shot that rattled against them, and glanced off into the water. Buchanan maintained the combat with admirable courage, but was at length severely wounded. Others of the crew were killed; yet the remainder still fought on with dogged resolution. Nevertheless, the case was hopeless. After a while, the

GENERAL BUTLER.

Federal shots began to tell. The smoke-stack of the *Tennessee* was carried away, the steering chains were destroyed, several of the port-shutters were jammed, and the vessel, becoming totally unmanageable, was no longer in a condition to offer resistance to the enemy. At ten o'clock in the morning, after the unequal duel had continued more than an hour, the iron-clad struck her colours, and ran up the white flag. Just as one of the Federal vessels was about to strike her, she displayed the symbol of submission; and, though the engine of her adversary was immediately stopped, a glancing blow was unavoidable before the momentum had ceased. During this contest with the Confederate gunboats and iron-clad, the Federal vessels lost many more men than from the fire of the batteries on shore. Shortly afterwards, Forts Gaines, Powell, and Morgan surrendered to the attacking force. Their fall was facilitated by the action of the land force which accompanied Admiral Farragut, and which rendered the several positions untenable. Mobile was now effectually cut off from external commerce, and there was no more talk of breaking the blockade.

On most parts of the coast, the blockade was by this time very strict, and really effective. It was necessary to the success of the Federal cause that commerce should as much as possible be excluded from the cities of the Confederacy. By these means the very life-blood of the Southern States was drained away, at the same time that vigorous attacks were being made in many directions on the great bulk of the Slave Republic. The injury to commerce, however, was not all on one side. The Confederate cruisers were still doing grievous mischief to the trade of Northern merchants; and, while several of these sea-rovers were captured by Union ships of war, others managed to escape, and pursue their career of destruction. Three additional cruisers made their appearance in 1864; viz., the *Tallahassee*, *Olustee*, and *Chickamauga*. The first of these visited the whole coast of the Northern States in August, and destroyed thirty-three vessels in ten days. The other two also made numerous captures, and, as the vessels thus taken were usually burned, together with their contents, the loss to Northern citizens was often ruinous. Some acts of great daring were committed, and frequently with success. On the 29th of September, the steamer *Roanoke*, running between New York and Havannah, was captured by Lieutenant Braine and some companions, who had gone on board as passengers as the vessel was leaving Havannah. The officers and crew were overpowered and made prisoners, and the *Roanoke* was then carried to Bermuda, where men to work her were soon procured. The vessel, in its new character as a Confederate privateer, took a brig laden with coal and provisions; but the brig's crew complained to the British authorities at Bermuda, and had the Confederates arrested as pirates. The trial of these men resulted in their being discharged, and a correspondence relative to the affair took place between the British and American Governments. One of the reasons why the pirates were acquitted was very frankly stated by Earl Russell in a letter to Mr. Charles Francis Adams. Lieutenant Braine had produced his commission from the Government of the Confederate States, authorising him to act as he had done; and, as that Government was acknowledged by Great Britain to possess all belligerent rights, the proceedings of the pirate were regarded by the Foreign Secretary as justifiable. The reason may have been a good one from the point of view assumed; but this only made more evident how strong a cause of complaint was possessed by the Government of the United States in the very fact of belligerent rights having been granted to the leaders of a rebellion against its legitimate authority.

The central depôt of the Confederacy, for the reception of supplies from abroad, was the city of Wilmington, conveniently situated at the mouth of Cape Fear River, in the southern part of North Carolina. Owing to the configuration of the land and the variety of the channels, it was a comparatively easy matter for foreign merchant-ships to slip in and out without being observed, and an exceedingly difficult matter for the Federal vessels to intercept them. The fleet keeping watch over that locality was twice as large as the entire naval force of the United States in commission previous to the war; yet the objectionable vessels so repeatedly evaded their enemy that the naval department was charged with permitting strangers to enter and leave at their pleasure. For running the blockade of this port, steamers of great speed and light draft were constructed in England. Nassau, Bermuda, and Halifax were the chief places of rendezvous for these vessels, and scarcely a day passed without one of them departing for Wilmington. Occasionally they were captured by the monitor fleet under Admiral Dahlgren, but more frequently they succeeded in their ventures. The total number of vessels which ran the blockade at Wilmington in fifteen months, ranging from October 1st, 1863, to December 31st, 1864, was 397. Including ships and cargoes, the total value of the property risked by English capitalists and speculators, with respect to this port alone, amounted to £13,241,000. Many thousand bales of cotton

were thus imported into England, and goods of corresponding value were introduced into the Confederate States, at a period when they stood greatly in need of such assistance.

A few weeks after the capture of the fort at Mobile Harbour, General Kirby Smith determined on leading a Confederate force into Missouri, where it was well known that many adherents of the Southern cause were to be found. The advisability of this scheme was doubted by some of Smith's subordinate officers; yet preparations were made for carrying it into execution. General Rosecrans, who commanded in that department, had for a long time anticipated an invasion from the South, and had warned the Federal Government of the dangers that might ensue if vigorous measures were not taken to guard against them, by augmenting the force at his disposal. In July, an insurrection broke out in the western counties of Missouri. The movement was soon suppressed, but it encouraged Kirby Smith to hope for a large amount of popular assistance when he should lead his men across the borders. About the 21st of September, a Confederate army of some 15,000 troops, consisting for the most part of cavalry, entered the State from Arkansas, and Rosecrans was at that time in a very unfavourable position for meeting the peril. He had sent the greater part of his force to assist Sherman's operations in the South, and to furnish garrisons on the Mississippi. Scarcely any veterans remained under his command, and it was mainly with a few regiments of militia, only just enlisted, and hardly disciplined at all, that he found himself compelled to resist his enemy's advance. In a little while, however, he obtained the assistance of a regiment under General A. J. Smith, which was moving up the Mississippi under orders to join Sherman, but which was now diverted to the defence of Missouri. Smith's forces were at once sent forward to strengthen the line of defence covering the city of St. Louis and the railways leading to it. Troops were also concentrated at Springfield, to protect the south-western portions of the State; and, as volunteers arrived from Arkansas and Illinois, other preparations were made for repelling the Confederate attack.

Although the general design was that of Kirby Smith, the principal commanders of the expedition were Price and Shelby. Price marched with much deliberation through Southern Missouri, and seems to have been confident of his ability to subjugate the State. On the 27th of September, however, he was defeated in an attempt to take Pilot-Knob. This allowed time for the enrolled militia and citizens to organise the defence of St. Louis. With greater energy and enterprise, Price might even yet have achieved some important results; but he hesitated as to the point he should attack, and the Federals were every day becoming stronger. Rosecrans and his lieutenants had much trouble in suppressing the guerillas who, encouraged by Price's invasion, had started up in various parts of the State. But the difficulties of the time were met with firmness and resolution, and the invaders suffered their opportunity to slip by while they debated what course they should take in the further conduct of their enterprise. Ultimately, Price advanced against Jefferson City; but finding, when he arrived there on the 7th of October, that a line of entrenchments had been thrown up, and that several troops had been collected on the spot, he suddenly withdrew, and turned to the west. By this time the Federals had been largely reinforced; the scattered portions of their army had been brought together; and Price saw that his only safety was in flight. His rear was harassed by the cavalry under General Pleasanton, but the main body kept well in advance. The Confederate leader pursued his way along the southern banks of the Missouri River, in a westerly direction, until, having been driven from Independence City, he was forced to turn south, towards Arkansas. On the 25th of October, the pursuing cavalry came up with his rear-guard on the banks of the Little Osage, and, attacking with great animation, captured eight guns, several waggons, and nearly a thousand prisoners, including Generals Marmaduke and Cabell. The pursuit was maintained by General Sanborn's brigade as far as the Marmiton, where the routed Confederates managed for a while to elude their enemies. They were overtaken again on the 28th of October, at a place called Newtonia, where they made their final stand, fighting with so much desperation that for a little while the Federals seemed threatened with defeat. The action, nevertheless, terminated in the utter rout of the Southern invaders, when Price and his companions fled into Arkansas. They boasted of having added 6,000 Missourians to their forces; but, however this may have been, the main design had proved a total failure. It had been made evident that the people of Missouri, on the whole, were not inclined to support the Confederacy. The army under Kirby Smith had damaged its previous fame in a vain attempt, and Rosecrans had added to his reputation by the ability with which he had manœuvred a small and inefficient force so as to protect many important points, the loss of which would have been highly prejudicial to the authority of the Union in that department. Missouri was now safe from

Confederate attack, and the power of the rebellion in all the Trans-Mississippi States was so materially weakened as to be past recovery. The forces diverted from Sherman's army were soon disposable for other services, and the Southern Confederacy, baffled at all points, fought like the crew of a pirate ship, with the ferocity of guilt and the courage of despair.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Sherman placed at the Head of Three Armies, for Operations in the South—Preparations for the Campaign—Importance of Atlanta to the Confederacy—Plans of General Johnston for resisting the Federal Advance—Federal and Confederate Positions at the Beginning of May—Advance of Sherman's Army on Resaca—Retreat of the Confederates—Skilful Manœuvring of Sherman—Johnston retires to the Southern Side of the Etowah—Continued Advance of the Federals—Sherman's Position dangerous—Crossing of the Etowah by the Northern Troops—Severe Fighting among the Mountains—Death of General Polk—Attack by Sherman on the Confederate Position—Defeat of the Federals—Evacuation of Marietta by Johnston—The Confederates entrenched on the further Side of the Chattahoochee—Movements of Sherman—Withdrawal of Johnston within the Defences round Atlanta—Crossing of the Chattahoochee by Sherman—Johnston superseded by Hood—Fighting before Atlanta—Death of General McPherson—Cavalry Expeditions of Generals Stoneman and McCook—Battle of the 28th of July—Expedition of General Wheeler—Sherman's Operations against the Railways—Generals Hardee and Lee at Jonesborough—The Confederate Army divided—Retreat of Hardee to Lovejoy's Station—Abandonment of Atlanta by General Hood—The Town occupied by the Federals—Rejoicings at the North—Measures taken by Sherman for consolidating his Conquests—The Price of Victory and of Defeat.

ALTHOUGH the reduction of Richmond, as the capital of the Confederation, was the chief object of the war, it was also necessary to strike the Slave Power in other quarters as well, and especially to cut off those southern members wherein much of its vitality was stored up. With this view, General Sherman was entrusted with a series of operations, for the prosecution of which three large armies were committed to his charge. These were the Army of the Tennessee, under General McPherson; the Army of the Cumberland, commanded by General Thomas; and the Army of the Ohio, at the head of which was General Schofield, who had recently succeeded to Forster. All were men of ability and experience, though Schofield was hardly thirty-three years old; and the supreme commander, Sherman himself, had given evidence of marked and brilliant powers as a military leader. The Confederate Generals were Hardee, Hood, and Polk, acting under the directions of Joseph E. Johnston. The three corps opposed to the Federals were inferior in numbers to the Union troops; but their spirit was equal to that of the legions which were contending under Lee on the blood-stained fields of Virginia. The Northern plan of the campaign was sketched out by Grant, who visited Sherman at Nashville in the middle of March, about the time that he was appointed to the control of the whole military power of the United States. But when these details had been communicated, the conduct of the operations was confided with entire reliance to the known judgment and energy of Sherman.

The preparations for the campaign were necessarily very elaborate, and could not be perfected under several weeks. Supplies were sent from the depôts at Nashville to Chattanooga; and these two cities were made the primary and secondary bases of the expeditionary force. For the economising of food, it was ordered that no more rations should be issued to the people of Tennessee, who had for some time been partly supported by the Federal authorities. Directions were also given for the entire devotion of the railways to the service of the army; and in the early part of May not far short of 100,000 men, with 254 guns, had been concentrated in and about Chattanooga. It was felt that to obtain possession of Georgia, or even of a portion of that State, would be a great advantage to the national Government; for the mountainous district in the north-west abounds in iron-ore, which had been turned to great use by the Confederates. At Etowah, Rome, and Atlanta, large iron-works had been opened, the capture of which by the Federals, together with the cotton and woollen mills which were to be found at other places, would be a source of extreme embarrassment to the Southerners. Atlanta had during recent years become a chief centre of railway communication and trade between the Western States and those on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. The machine-shops of the principal railways were stationed there, and the Confederate Government had set up in that Georgian city several manufactories of arms, shot and shell, gun-carriages, cartridges, and military clothing. The place was therefore one of importance to the Southern Power; and, on its becoming known

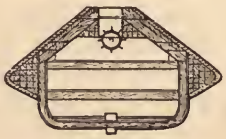
that Sherman was about to lead a powerful army in that direction, strenuous efforts were made for defending the approaches.

Abandoning his first idea of counteracting Sherman by invading Tennessee and Kentucky, General Johnston now determined to dispute the road to Atlanta by making a stand on every hill and river in the intervening country which offered opportunities of temporary defence. He desired as far as possible to avoid a general engagement, and to draw on his adversary until he should be able to take him at a disadvantage, far from his supplies and from his base of operations. The plan did not find favour with the Richmond Government, nor with the Southern people generally, to whom it appeared a waste of strength to give up so many mountain-barriers without a more stubborn attempt to hold them than Johnston seemed disposed to make. These objections, however, had no effect in altering the views of the Confederate General, whose brilliant abilities and success in previous years had put him in a position to defy adverse criticism. On the 6th of May, his forces were drawn up on a range of hills traversed by a pass, known as the Buzzard's Roost, leading to Dalton and Resaca. The three Federal armies were at different places in his front, and one of them—that of General Schofield—was in close promixity at the other end of the pass. Johnston's position was strongly fortified, and Sherman, fearing that he should not be able to take it simply by a direct attack, decided to send McPherson round by another pass, eighteen miles to the south-west, called Snake Creek Gap, and thus to threaten the left rear of his opponent with one portion of his army while with the rest he advanced against the centre. Tunnel Hill, directly in front of Buzzard's Roost, was occupied by General Thomas, with but slight opposition, on the 7th of May, and two days later one of the lower ridges of the Confederate position was carried by a division of his army. An attempt even was made to seize the crest of that terrific natural rampart, and the troops advanced with such singular gallantry and devotion that for a moment the task seemed almost accomplished. But the fire of the Confederates was too fearful to be long endured, and, after a great sacrifice of life, the Federals withdrew to less exposed quarters.

This was on the 9th of May. On the 8th, McPherson had reached Snake Creek Gap, where he surprised a brigade of Confederate cavalry; and next day he approached Resaca. The place, however, was too well fortified to be open to attack; no convenient road existed for the further progress of the troops; and McPherson, dreading a hostile demonstration on his left flank, retired to the gap, and took up a position where he was not likely to be assailed. That Johnston's position could be turned with a sufficiently strong force, was now evident: Sherman therefore resolved to make the movement at once with the greater part of his army. Snake Creek Gap was passed on the 12th, and McPherson, preceded by Kilpatrick's cavalry, marched towards Resaca on the 13th. In an encounter with the enemy, Kilpatrick fell severely wounded; but the army pushed on, and ultimately drove the Confederates within their fortifications. Johnston had left Dalton (where his head-quarters had been established for some time) on the night of the 12th, and on the following day General Howard entered that town, and pressed the Confederates in their rear. With prudent foresight, Johnston had constructed a number of good roads from Dalton to Resaca, and by these he was enabled to transfer his army with despatch from the one town to the other. Sherman had overcome the first obstacle on his route to Atlanta; but he was now confronted by a strong line of entrenchments in a bend of the Oostenaula River, on which stream the town of Resaca is situated.

As soon as his whole army had arrived in front of the position, Sherman determined to attempt its reduction. Two divisions, one of infantry and one of cavalry, were ordered to cross the Oostenaula below Resaca, and to cut the railway between that town and Kingston, lying farther to the south; at the same time, the main army was to close in round the fortified lines. On the 14th of May, the Federals threw up counter-works to those of the Southerners, and, under cover of these, directed several attacks against the Confederate positions on the neighbouring hills. Severe and even desperate fighting took place during that day and the next; but the Federals were unable to carry the opposing lines in front. The operations against the flanks, however, had been more successful. McPherson, on the left, threatened to cut off his adversary from the bridges by which the Oostenaula was crossed, and the Federal cavalry had penetrated to the railways in the rear. Johnston perceived that he must again retire, and on the night of the 15th crossed the stream at his back, and retreated to the Etowah River, forty miles south of Resaca. Sherman lost no time in pursuing. The division of Jefferson C. Davis, turning to the south-west, captured and occupied Rome, while the rest of the army followed on the track of the Confederates, who, crossing to the southern side of the Etowah, took up a position in the Allatoona pass of the Etowah Mountains. The Federal commander had now conducted his

soldiers a long way into the enemy's country. He was nearly a hundred miles from even his secondary base of operations, at Chattanooga; and in his rear he had a hostile population, and a mountainous and almost pathless region. His position, consequently, was in many respects a very perilous one, and Johnston reckoned on his antagonist's inability to maintain himself under such difficult circumstances.



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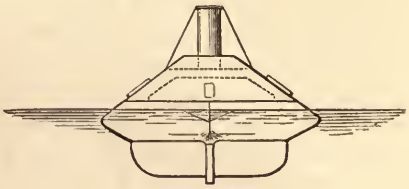

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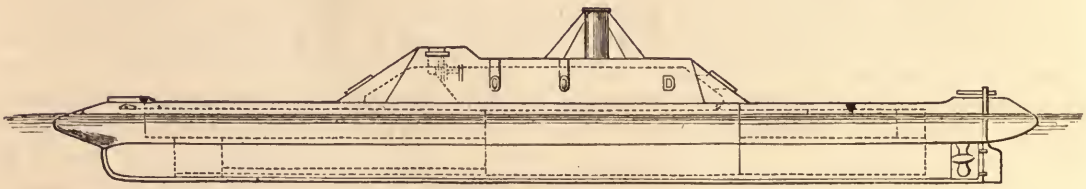
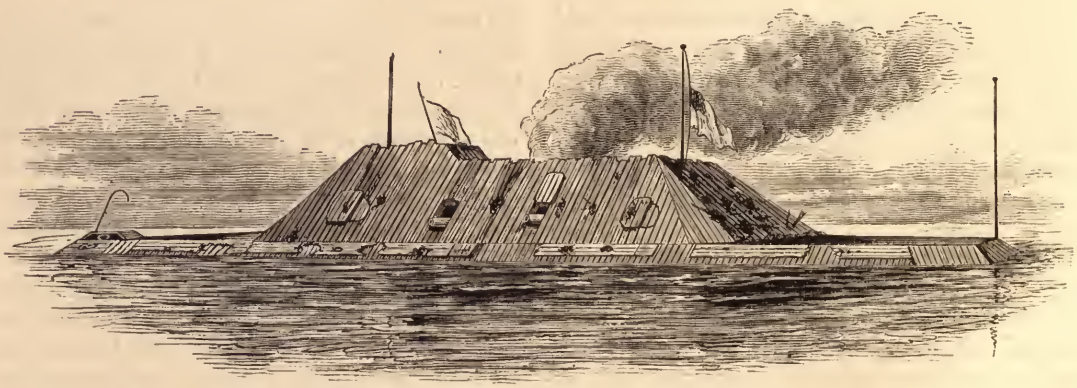


Longitudinal Elevation.



THE REBEL RAM "TENNESSEE" SURRENDERING TO THE FEDERALS.
(*From Boynton's "History of the Navy during the Rebellion."*)

defeated, though not without a sharp engagement. The Southern commander was unable to beat his enemy in detail, and was glad to gain the shelter of another stream, where he could once more throw up defences against the constantly advancing foe. For some days the two armies continued watching one another. Sherman had ordered that his troops were to live on the country—a regulation which the evilly-disposed converted into a licence for all kinds of plunder and devastation; yet for many of the supplies necessary to active operations the army was dependent on the railway, and the trains were frequently attacked by guerillas issuing from the thick forests that bordered the line. Had Johnston been sufficiently strong in numbers to detach a powerful force of cavalry for the complete and effectual destruction of the rail, the situation of Sherman would have been grave.

With less capacity in the chief commander, the expedition might indeed have entailed the most disastrous consequences. Sherman, however, maintained a watchful eye over all the arrangements of the campaign, and averted danger by anticipating it. The army marched in three columns; but the communications were well kept up, the flanks were watched by cavalry, and the several divisions were rapidly brought together whenever there was any reason to apprehend a concentration of the opposing forces. In this way, an attempt on the part of Johnston, before crossing the Etowah, to crush the centre column of Sherman's army, was completely

Even as it was, the only safety for the invaders lay in a vigorous prosecution of their march. Crossing the Etowah at points near Kingston on the

23rd of May, Sherman directed his course towards Dallas, and entered a wild and rugged country, where detached bodies of the Confederates were frequently encountered. Both armies entrenched themselves among the hills, and on the 28th of May pass of Allatoona. Johnston had by this time entrenched himself along a rugged line of mountainous hills, covered by thick chestnut-forests. The position was good; but Sherman, after reconnoitring the vicinity in person, determined to break the line at

GENERAL McPHERSON.

Johnston attacked McPherson with sudden fury, but was repulsed with heavy loss. Sherman was again endeavouring to outflank his adversary, and in this he finally succeeded. Allatoona Pass was entered simultaneously from the east and west ends, and on the 4th of June Johnston again fell back, leaving Sherman free to advance on Ackworth. At that town he received a welcome reinforcement, and by the 9th of June was once more in motion, after establishing in his rear a fortified position in the its weakest part. Heavy fighting followed, and the Confederate commander, General Polk — a Bishop in the Episcopal Church of Louisiana, and for the last three years an officer of some ability and varied service—was killed by a round shot during a heavy cannonade on the 14th of June. Ultimately, Johnston was compelled to evacuate one part of his position, and to concentrate his army within shorter lines. A pause then followed for some days; but on the 22nd the Confederate General

attacked Hooker and Schofield, obtaining some temporary advantage, but in the end suffering a defeat. Sherman now determined to abandon his former tactics, and, instead of endeavouring to outflank the enemy, resolved to attack the centre of his line with concentrated force. In this way he hoped to reach Marietta, lying to the rear of the Confederate position; but his motives were not merely strategical. He considered it right to prove his ability to make a direct attack, and feared that by a constant repetition of his first procedure he should lower the fighting capabilities of his troops, and induce in his adversary an opinion that he shrank from more onerous encounters. He therefore assaulted the left centre of the Confederate army, and a sanguinary combat took place on the 27th of June. Sherman, however, had for once miscalculated his powers. He lost 3,000 men in an attempt to take the slope on which his enemy was posted, and in the end was compelled to withdraw. Nothing remained but to return to previous methods, and, by out-flanking the Confederates, to compel them once more to retire. A movement of the Federal right towards the Chattahoochee River so seriously threatened Johnston's communications with Atlanta that on the night of July 2nd the Confederate commander evacuated Marietta, and assumed a new position five miles in its rear. Between the Federal army and the works immediately in front of Atlanta, there was now only this one line of defence; but Johnston made the most of it. Menaced, on the 4th of July, by another flanking movement on the part of his indefatigable foe, he carried the greater part of his army across the Chattahoochee, and strongly entrenched himself. Sherman did not care to risk a repetition of his late discomfiture by a direct attack. He sent out parties of cavalry to destroy the flour-mills and cloth-factories in that part of Georgia, and then turned his attention to the enemy in front. By operating on various points at once, and thus distracting his adversary, he contrived, while seeming to proceed in the main against the left flank of General Johnston, to obtain a command over the Chattahoochee in the vicinity of his right flank. In the prosecution of this difficult and somewhat dangerous manœuvre (which took place between the 5th and 9th of July), Sherman was obliged to shift large masses of his troops with the utmost rapidity from the extreme right to the extreme left of his own line. But the movement was attended by complete success, and, several pontoon-bridges having been thrown across the Chattahoochee, a portion of the Federal army was speedily transferred from the western to the eastern bank of that river. This threatened to place Sherman once more in the rear of Johnston; and the latter, having lost the protection of the stream, was forced to retreat as quickly as he could, and to enter the defences in front of Atlanta.

Sherman now paused in his advance—partly to rest his men, partly in order that he might form depôts for stores at Allatoona, Marietta, and other places, and partly that he might defend the railway by which he communicated with his base. His army was by this time much reduced in numbers, though admirable in discipline, and animated by the sense of triumph. The slaughter in the several battles had been great, and it had been necessary to leave detachments at various points, to protect the rear, and to keep open the railway line with Chattanooga. A reinforcement which Sherman had expected from Corinth, Mississippi, had been completely routed by General Forrest, so that the Federal commander was compelled to look in other directions for the necessary augmentation of his corps. He accordingly sent a telegram to General Rousseau, commanding 2,000 cavalry at Decatur, Alabama, directing him to join the camp on the Chattahoochee, after having destroyed the railway which connected Alabama with Georgia. Before the arrival of this force on the 22nd of July, Sherman had conducted the main body of his army to the further side of the Chattahoochee, whither some of his divisions had preceded him a few days earlier. By the 17th of July, the whole army had crossed, with the exception of General Davis's division of the 14th corps, which was left to keep guard over the rear. The object was to march at once on Atlanta by turning sharply to the right; but the movement was fraught with peril, as the Confederate force was by no means small, and was now determined to make a desperate stand. Johnston felt that he had carried his policy of retreating to the very limits of prudence, and, urged by the clamours of the people, as well as by his own perception of what was necessary, had formed the resolution of giving battle to his adversaries before the fortifications of Atlanta. But this design he was not permitted to carry out. General Bragg, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern forces, had had an interview with Johnston at Atlanta, and, not being satisfied with the conduct of that officer, or with his promises for the future, had recommended Mr. Jefferson Davis to place the direction of the Confederate Army of Tennessee, as it was called, in other hands. This was done, and on the 17th of July Johnston issued a farewell address to his troops. His successor was General Hood, an officer who enjoyed a high reputation for dashing courage, energy, and spirit. Johnston had certainly

failed in preventing the advance of Sherman; but he had made him pay dearly for his success, and it may be doubted whether he could have checked the vast and highly-organised invasion of that commander, had he offered battle at every stage of his progress. The previous career of Johnston had shown that he was a general of very great ability, skilled in the most elaborate tactics of armies, and capable of winning victories when he met his enemy in an open field, and with anything like equality of conditions. But in the present campaign he was overmatched in numbers, and committed to the defence of a country which presented as many difficulties to the protector as to the assailant. It was not unnatural or surprising that the people of the Confederacy should have been angered at his frequent withdrawals from one position to another; but it may be that a bolder policy would simply have resulted in more sanguinary losses, and no greater success.

The three armies of the Federal commander converged towards Atlanta on the 20th of July. By means of trestle-bridges, the army of General Thomas crossed the lower part of Peach-tree Creek, a small tributary of the Chattahoochee, on the same day; and a detachment of that army, while lying in a somewhat exposed position, was attacked by General Hood. The ground was hotly disputed, but the Confederates were at length compelled to retire to their entrenchments. The remainder of the Federal forces crossed Peach-tree Creek on the 21st, and Sherman was now immediately in front of the Confederate defences, which were drawn round the city at a distance of about three miles. The lines had been long prepared, but were not yet completed, for, when the Federals approached, they found their adversaries engaged in connecting the redoubts with curtains, and in the construction of other works. General McPherson had by this time obtained possession of a hill to the left of the Federal line, from which he could overlook the city, and materially help in its reduction. Hood was disinclined to let him remain in that position, and about noon on the 22nd directed a sudden and vehement attack on his left flank. On hearing the sound of firing, McPherson rode towards the scene of action, but, coming unexpectedly on some skirmishers, was mortally wounded by their rifle-shots. Though barely thirty-six years of age, this officer was one of the ablest of Sherman's subordinates, and his loss at so critical a moment was a serious misfortune. General Logan was temporarily appointed to the vacant command, and at once proceeded to take measures against the threatening demonstration of the Confederates. The attack was being pushed with great spirit. The Federal line was assaulted in three different places; several guns were taken, and the Southern cavalry, under General Wheeler, dashed into Decatur (Georgia), in the rear of the Federal line, and nearly captured the waggon-train. Some of the Union troops began to give ground, and it was for a time doubtful whether their line would not be cut in two by the furious advance of the Southerners. By special efforts, however, and by the concentration of reinforcements at the weak points, Sherman contrived, after an anxious interval, to restore the fortunes of the day.

With a view to isolating Atlanta, and cutting it off from all sources of supply, Sherman entered on a series of operations for the destruction of the neighbouring lines of rail. To this end it was proposed to occupy East Point, a small town about five miles south of Atlanta, which forms the meeting-place of the West Point and Macon Railways. The movement was one involving some risk, for it was necessary to extend the right of the Federal line round Atlanta, so as to reach the junction from which it was desired to operate. Two bodies of cavalry were sent out on this service; the larger commanded by Stoneman, the smaller by McCook. Both expeditions ended disastrously. Marching by different routes, the two columns were to meet at Lovejoy's Station, on the Macon Railway; but, owing to some mistake, the coalition was not effected. Each body was encountered by a superior force of Confederates (McCook's on the 29th, Stoneman's on the 31st), and entirely defeated. Large numbers of prisoners were taken, and the Federal army was appreciably weakened with respect to its cavalry.

Hood again attacked the Federal position on the 28th of July. The Army of the Tennessee, now under command of General Howard, who had succeeded to McPherson, was occupying a high ridge which crossed one of the principal roads leading from the Chattahoochee to Atlanta, when a large body of Confederates poured down on their uncompleted breastworks. The engagement lasted from noon until four o'clock P.M.; but, after six assaults, the attacking force withdrew. The object of the Confederate General in ordering this movement was to draw away that portion of Sherman's army which was being extended towards the right. Herein he failed, and Sherman, having strengthened his position by extensive and elaborate entrenchments, was enabled to advance his line to within three miles of East Point. Nevertheless, he could not touch the railways, which Hood protected by a counter-movement. Engage-

ments of more or less magnitude were constantly taking place; the loss of life on both sides was lamentable; but at the close of July nothing of importance had been done. Atlanta was now being bombarded, and the miserable inhabitants shrouded themselves from the fiery tempest in the vaults of churches and the cellars of private houses. But as yet there were no signs of yielding, and Hood thought he could relieve his own communications by threatening those of his enemy. He despatched a body of 4,500 cavalry, under General Wheeler, to act against the railway running from Marietta to Chattanooga—the line by which Sherman maintained his intercourse with the North. Portions of the rail were for a time destroyed; cattle and stores were captured; and Sherman was obliged to take special measures to provide against the danger. Yet no permanent injury was effected; the garrisons at the several stations maintained their positions; the lines were speedily repaired; and when General Steedman marched against Wheeler from Chattanooga, the Confederate was glad to escape into Eastern Tennessee, and ultimately into Northern Alabama. His services were thus lost to Hood, who had soon cause to regret his mistake.

Stoneman had been captured in the unfortunate affair of July 31st; but his place was supplied by General Kilpatrick, who, though still far from cured of his severe wound, received before Resaca on the 13th of May, had heroically returned to his post, and in the early part of August was busily engaged in the task of reorganising the Federal cavalry, which had been much reduced by the recent operations, and by the surrender of so many of its number. On the 18th of August, Kilpatrick was despatched to operate against the southern railways, which he was not merely to injure, but, if possible, to destroy. In executing this commission, he was attacked both by cavalry and infantry, and only with difficulty succeeded in breaking through the opposing hosts. He then returned to the neighbourhood of Decatur, which he reached on the 22nd, after having made a complete circuit of the enemy's position. Very little had resulted from this incursion, and Sherman saw that, if he would produce any decided effect on his antagonist's communications, he must strike with nearly the whole of his army. Reverting to his favourite method of outflanking the adversary, he formed a plan by which, while leaving behind him one corps for guarding his rear, he hoped to draw Hood from out his entrenchments, and compel him to stake his fortunes on a decisive battle, unless he should be able to retreat. In the prosecution of this scheme, the Federal commander would be obliged to enter the very heart of the enemy's country, and to endanger his own communications with the North; but Sherman had confidence in his ability to carry out the movement, especially as the absence of Wheeler's horsemen allowed him to employ his cavalry with but little fear of opposition from the Southerners. Preparations for this momentous enterprise were rapidly pushed forward. The waggons were loaded with fifteen days' provisions, and on the night of the 25th two corps, occupying the extreme left, moved quietly out of their entrenchments, and marched in a south-westerly direction. Other corps followed on succeeding days, and the West Point Railway was soon destroyed, under the personal superintendence of Sherman. For twelve miles and a half, the ties were burned, and the rails twisted out of all ordinary shape. Large gaps were made in the earth, which were filled up with the trunks of trees, with rocks and other foreign matter, intermingled with torpedoes, so placed as to explode should any attempt be made to remove them. With the exception of the 20th corps, the Federal army was now out of sight of Atlanta, and the people of that city, perceiving the abandoned lines, issued forth under a false impression that the danger had been entirely removed. Hood, having but little cavalry at his disposal, was unable for several days to ascertain the whereabouts of his opponent; but, on discovering that his rear was menaced, he despatched the corps of Generals Hardee and S. D. Lee, under the chief command of the former, to Jonesborough, a few miles south of East Point, on the Macon Railway. He was even then ignorant that nearly the whole of the Federal army was severing his communications, and considered that a portion of his force would be sufficient for encountering what he regarded as a detachment of the enemy. General Howard, marching due east from Fairburn on the 30th of August, arrived within half a mile north of Jonesborough on the evening of that day, when, finding the two Confederate commanders entrenched outside the town, he proceeded, after the usual custom of American armies, to throw up entrenchments of his own at a little distance. The Federals were attacked on the 31st, but without being dislodged from their position. On the contrary, the Confederates were obliged to retire; and, as the Union troops were reinforced by successive divisions during the action—Sherman himself being now on his way to Jonesborough—the position of the Southerners became extremely critical.

It was important to divide the corps of Hardee and Lee from that which was still left in Atlanta itself. To accomplish his design, Sherman ordered

General Schofield to move rapidly along the Macon Railway, which he was entirely to destroy; at the same time, General Howard, with one corps of Thomas's army, was to engage Hardee in front, while the cavalry vexed his flank and rear. The plan failed in some of its particulars, but was so far successful that a lodgment was effected within Hardee's lines before nightfall on the 1st of September. Darkness coming on shortly afterwards, the Confederate General was enabled to fall back seven miles south to Lovejoy's Station on the Macon Railway, where he fortified himself in a strong position. The feeling of consternation in Atlanta itself was now extreme. It had become known during the day that the main body of the Federal army lay between the city and General Hardee; and Hood perceived that he would no longer be able to hold the position. His left flank had been completely turned; his communications with the south had been intercepted; and he feared that Hardee and Lee would be overwhelmed, and that the large body of prisoners at Andersonville, amounting to no fewer than 44,000, might be released by the Federal cavalry, and form an army for the devastation of Georgia. It was imperative, therefore, to abandon Atlanta with all speed. A large proportion of the army stores was rapidly packed in military waggons; the rest was burned, or distributed to the people; and by the light of vast conflagrations, which reddened the sky for many miles, Hood's soldiers, accompanied by several of the citizens, marched out of the city, and made their way towards Lovejoy's Station. The explosion of ordnance trains was distinctly heard by the Federals at a great distance; and it was evident from this circumstance, and from the wide-spread glare of the flames, that the Confederate position at Atlanta had been relinquished in despair. General Slocum, from his position on the Chattahoochee, sent out a heavy reconnoitring column at daybreak on the 2nd. Meeting with no opposition, the Northern troops entered the city at nine o'clock A.M. The Mayor shortly afterwards made a formal surrender of the place, and the national colours were soon raised over the Court House, to the throb of martial music. On abandoning Atlanta, General Hood directed his course towards McDonough, whence, moving west, he succeeded in forming a junction with Hardee and Lee at Lovejoy's Station. On the 2nd of September, Sherman, marching from the north, appeared before the entrenchments of General Hardee, but, hearing of the capitulation of Atlanta, did not consider it worth while to risk an attack on the now reunited Confederate forces. He accordingly led his army by easy marches towards the captured city; and on the 8th the Army of the Cumberland encamped round Atlanta, that of the Tennessee above East Point, and that of the Ohio at Decatur.

The capture of Atlanta placed in the grasp of the Federals a city not very remarkable in itself, but valuable as forming the connecting point of several lines of rail linking together many wide and productive districts. It was a centre from which the power of the Union could radiate in various directions, and which it was therefore important that the Federals should gain, and grievous that the Confederates should lose. The great fact was known at Washington on the very day when it occurred, and President Lincoln at once despatched an expression of the national thanks to General Sherman, his officers and soldiers, for the distinguished ability, courage, and perseverance which had been displayed throughout the campaign. Directions were given for the firing of national salutes at the principal arsenals, and the 11th of September was appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for the successes of General Sherman in Georgia, and of Admiral Farragut at Mobile. On arriving at Atlanta, the Federal commander determined that the place should for the present be appropriated exclusively to military purposes, and orders were issued for the departure of all civilians, both male and female, excepting those employed by Government. A truce of ten days was proposed in a letter from Sherman to Hood, and accepted by the latter, though not without a strong protest against the contemplated measure of his victorious adversary, which he denounced as transcending in studied and ingenious cruelty all acts ever before brought to his attention in the dark history of war. The Mayor of Atlanta likewise sent a petition to Sherman, imploring him to reconsider his decision, and painting in vivid hues the misery which it would cause to large numbers of women, children, and infirm people. Sherman replied to both these representations; vehemently attacking the whole policy of the South in his answer to Hood, and with greater moderation arguing with the Mayor to the effect that war is inevitably cruel, that the necessity of re-establishing the Union was paramount, and that his military plans were such as to make Atlanta a place totally unfit for non-combatants. In another communication to the Mayor, General Sherman authorised him to announce to the citizens that the Government would furnish transportation to the south as far as Rough-and-Ready, and to the north as far as Chattanooga; that citizens might take their movable property with them; that means of transport would be provided for all movables; and

that negroes who wished to do so might go with their masters, while, as regarded the other blacks, the males would be employed by Government, and the women and children be sent outside the lines. An extension of the truce was subsequently obtained, as a concession to the unfortunate people who were compelled to remove. In the result, 446 families, counting 705 adults, 860 children, and 470 servants, were moved south, together with an average of 1,651 pounds of furniture and household goods to each family. Charges of cruelty and peculation against the Federal officers were freely made by the Southern press during many weeks; but these are matters in which it is always difficult to accept the testimony of enemies, given at a period of defeat, and under a rankling sense of injury.

SAVANNAH.

Hood had exhibited great ability in withdrawing his corps from Atlanta, and effecting a junction with the rest of the army on the Macon and Augusta lines. In this way he was still able to cover the main roads to the South, and, as his numbers were far from contemptible, though inferior to those of his opponent, was in a position, even after his great defeat, to present a formidable front to the enemy. Sherman considered it prudent to fortify Atlanta against any possible attack. He also strengthened the entrenched posts on the line connecting his army with Chattanooga, and, having provided that place and Rome with efficient garrisons, despatched Schofield to watch over the conquests that had just been made in Eastern Tennessee. In the interval between his late exploits and those which were to follow, it was a sad but necessary duty to count up the cost of what he had already won. The Federal loss was estimated at 30,400 men; but it was probably more. The Confederate loss was by the Federals set down at 42,000; but it may have been less. At any rate, the expenditure of life must have been very large, and the Confederates, on their own showing, had to deplore more than twenty general officers killed and wounded. Fifteen pieces of cannon had been taken from the Federals, and nearly fifty from their adversaries. The campaign had been skilfully and valorously conducted by both combatants; but it had proved the immense superiority of the Union over the Confederation—a superiority which every month was making more overwhelmingly apparent. Sherman, it is true, was in a position of some danger; but his forces

TROOPS TEARING UP A RAILWAY.

were being constantly augmented by conscripts from the North, while the Southern army could hardly be maintained at its original strength. Thus did matters stand in those desolated regions during the autumn days of 1864; and the feeling of exultation at the North found its natural counterpart in an extreme depression of the slave-holding interest at the South, which even the steady self-reliance and unflinching purpose of Mr. Jefferson Davis could scarcely counteract.

CHAPTER LIX.

Jefferson Davis in Georgia—Hood's Scheme for a fresh Campaign—The Confederate Army weakened by the withdrawal of the Georgian Militia—Incursion of Forrest—Forward Movement of General Hood—Sherman marches to Kenesaw Mountain—Attack on the Federal Post at Allatoona Pass—Defeat of the Confederates—Advance of Hood towards Resaca—Capture of Dalton—Pursuit of Hood by Sherman—Retreat of the Former into Alabama—General Beauregard appointed to the Command of the Confederate Military Division of the West—Hood on the Tennessee River—Sherman's Projects for the Future Conduct of the Campaign—Preparations for his Great March through Georgia—Devastation of the Country about the Chattahoochee—Burning of Atlanta—Designs of Beauregard and Hood—Exhausted State of the Confederacy—Order and Manner of Sherman's March—Living on the Country—Wanton Outrages of the Invading Troops—Ineffectual Opposition by the Georgians—Federal Occupation of Milledgeville—Operations of the Cavalry under General Kilpatrick—Steady Advance of the Federals—Crossing of the Oconee and the Ogeechee—Approach towards the Sea—Sufferings of Negro Camp-followers—The Army before Savannah—Communication with the Fleet under Admiral Dahlgren—Capture of Fort McAllister—Savannah abandoned by the Confederates—Results of the Campaign—Hood's Invasion of Tennessee—Retreat of the Federals towards Nashville—Attack on Franklin—Nashville threatened with Capture—Severe Actions on the 15th and 16th of December—The Confederates driven from Tennessee—Operations in other Parts of the West.

ALARMED by the defeat of Hood and the fall of Atlanta, Mr. Jefferson Davis determined to investigate for himself, by personal examination and inquiry, the real state of affairs at the South. Although his presence was needed at Richmond, and the distance from that city to Hood's headquarters on the Macon Railway was very considerable, the President of the Confederacy departed in the early autumn from the seat of government, and made his way to the neighbourhood of Jonesborough. There he found much to inspire him with grave anxiety; but Hood was full of confidence in his ability to retrieve the misfortunes of the Southern army. He proposed to Mr. Davis to assume the offensive by attacking Sherman's lines of communication. It was a bold and hazardous plan; but nothing else of an equally practical character remained open to the harassed Confederates, and Mr. Davis gave his sanction to the scheme. With astonishing want of prudence, however, he made a speech at Macon on his return to Richmond, in which the main features of the contemplated operations were revealed. The address (delivered on the 23rd of September) was reported in the Southern journals, and soon got into those of the North; so that in a very little while Sherman was well informed as to the blow that was being prepared against him, and took his measures accordingly.

The imprudence of Mr. Davis was not confined to his intimation of what it was intended to do in the future. In his querulous outbursts of disappointment, he divulged the fact that the army of General Hood was very much weakened by numerous desertions, and made the success of the proposed operations dependent on the return of the absentees. The grievance was in truth very serious. Governor Brown, of Georgia, had just withdrawn from Hood's command the whole body of the State militia, on the ground that the men had been called out for the defence of Atlanta, and that the fall of that city released them from any further obligations. Such was the true Southern idea of patriotism—an idea purely local, circumscribed within the narrowest limits, and entirely disdainful of nationality. This was a matter in respect to which Mr. Davis was constantly at issue with Governor Brown. He perceived the necessity of establishing some species of strong central government in place of that which he had helped to overthrow; and the safety of the Confederation was with him a much more important matter than the convenience of particular citizens, or the exaggerated independence of certain States. But to many of the Southerners, and to the Georgians in especial, such ideas were the expression of pure tyranny. The year 1864 abounded in complaints against the Richmond Government for transcending its powers, and aiming at despotic predominance. Yet if ever a political body had reason to remember

the fable of the bundle of fagots, that body was the Slave Confederacy of America in the dwindling days of its existence.

Having determined on their plan, the Southerners were prompt in their endeavours to carry it into execution. Even before the delivery of Mr. Davis's ridiculous speech at Macon, General Forrest had made a movement against the Federal communications. He crossed the Tennessee on the 20th of September, and captured Athens, in Alabama; then, turning northwards, he attempted to cut the railway which passes from Nashville to Chattanooga. But the incursion was speedily repelled by the skilful combinations of the Federals, and Forrest escaped with difficulty to the neighbourhood from which he had started. The forward movement of Hood and his colleagues did not commence until the beginning of October. On the 1st of that month, the Confederates crossed the Chattahoochee, and marched on Lost Mountain, lying to the west of Marietta. Detachments were sent out in various directions, to destroy the rail, and to threaten the Federals in many places at once; but Sherman knew that his adversary had passed the river very shortly after the event occurred, and he had already made arrangements for resisting any attack to which he might be exposed. Desirous of learning a little more as to the enemy's plans before he made any important move, the Northern commander remained in the neighbourhood of Atlanta until the 4th; but on that day, having ascertained beyond a doubt that a large force was in his rear, he marched with five corps to Kenesaw Mountain, in the immediate vicinity of the elevation on which Hood had drawn up the main body of his army.

By this time, Colonel Tourtelette, with the men under his command, was threatened at Allatoona Pass, one of the military stations by which Sherman guarded his rear. The troops at that post stood in great danger of being overwhelmed by General French's division of Stuart's corps; and Sherman, dreading the consequences, sent word to General Corse, at Rome, to go with the whole of his division to the assistance of Tourtelette. A portion of this force was at once moved up; but the rest was delayed by an accident on the railway, owing to the damaged condition of the line. Even with the reinforcement, not more than 2,000 troops could be brought together; and to these a whole division was opposed. The Federals were drawn up on both sides of a deep railway cutting, and were protected by forts from sudden assault. A vigorous attack, however, was made on the morning of October 5th. Advancing along the railway track, and at the same time operating against the heights, the Confederates struck with vigour and effect, and the feeble ranks of their opponents were driven from fort to fort until they reached the last of the defences. Supplies to a large amount were stored up at Allatoona; and for this reason alone it was most important that the position should be retained, to say nothing of its value as one of the links in the chain which bound the invaders to their military bases. During that anxious day, Sherman was standing on the crest of Kenesaw Mountain, where, though he was eighteen miles off, he could see the smoke from the guns at Allatoona, and hear some faint reverberation of the discharges. The electric wires along the railway had been cut; but a less rapid mode of communication still existed in the form of signal-posts, by means of which Sherman was able to send orders to the commander at the pass. It was a great relief to him when he learned by the same method that General Corse, with a portion of his command, was at the scene of action. He knew that that officer was one on whom the fullest reliance could be placed; that he would hold out to the last, even against superior numbers. Such proved to be the fact. In the progress of the struggle, Corse was wounded, and for a time insensible; but on recovering consciousness he urged his men to renewed efforts, and about four o'clock in the afternoon the Confederates, being once more repulsed, and having lost a large proportion of their number in killed, wounded, and captured, thought it prudent to retire. Their retreat was hastened by a report that a large body of Federals was marching against them; and in truth Sherman had sent to the relief of his beleaguered detachment the corps under General Stanley which had been stationed at Pine Mountain.

Disappointed with the result of French's attack on Allatoona, Hood pushed rapidly northwards, crossed the Etowah and the Oostenaula, and made for Resaca, at the foot of the Rocky Hill Ridge. Sherman followed on his track, and, proceeding through Allatoona Pass on the 8th of October, reached Kingston three days later. On the 12th, the Confederates summoned the garrison of Resaca to surrender, but, being met by a refusal, moved on towards Dalton, the hills round which were occupied by Hood on the 14th. A demand for the capitulation of the fort was at first rejected, but not for long. The position was held by a coloured regiment, under Colonel Johnston, who, finding himself surrounded by the whole bulk of Hood's army, considered that defence would be impracticable. All this while, the Southern forces were tearing up the rails behind them; but the work of

destruction was so ill performed that Sherman, as he pursued his way, was able roughly to restore the line without much difficulty. After the fall of Dalton, Hood passed through Tunnel Hill, and for a few hours took up a position near Villanow. Sherman was close at his heels; but some dispositions which he made, in the hope of bringing his adversary to bay, and cutting off his retreat, were foiled by the rapid movements of the Southerners. Fighting with his rear-guard, Hood escaped on the 15th into the valley of the Chattanooga, and, turning south-west, entered Alabama, where he took up a position at Gadsden, between the spurs of Look-out Mountain and the river Coosa. The northern advance had been a failure, and Sherman was relieved of anxiety with respect to his communications. He followed his enemy as far as Gaylesville, where he halted, and sent out strong working parties to effect a complete repair of the railways. The work was done with remarkable rapidity, and in a very few days trains were running as usual between the several towns which had been momentarily threatened by Hood's adventurous campaign.

The Confederate General was now to some extent superseded by Beauregard, who on the 17th of October assumed command of the Military Division of the West, and issued an address to the troops, in which he said:—"The army of Sherman still defiantly holds Atlanta. He can and must be driven from it. It is only for the good people of Georgia and the surrounding States to speak the word, and the work is done." But that he felt some doubt as to whether the good people would respond exactly in the way he desired, seems evident from the almost frantic appeals which he made to their patriotism to come forward in defence of their country, violated, as he alleged, by a brutal foe. Notwithstanding the appointment of this officer, General Hood retained his special command, subject to the supervision and direction of Beauregard. After remaining some time at Gadsden, Hood moved, about the 1st of November, towards Warrington, and thence to Decatur, on the southern bank of the Tennessee, where he was enabled to menace the Chattanooga and Atlanta Railway. He was somewhat puzzled at the inactivity of Sherman, and did not know what schemes were being revolved in that commander's mind. It was obvious to the Federal leader that Hood, though possessing an army capable of endangering his communications, was unable to meet him in open fight. He considered that to follow him would be simply to waste his strength in vain attempts to overtake an active and constantly-retreating enemy, and would necessitate the abandonment of Georgia, with all the great results which the retention of that State would render probable. A further prosecution of the advance seemed therefore the most advisable course to pursue. Sherman had previously suggested to the Commander-in-Chief a plan which amounted substantially to the destruction of Atlanta and of the railway track to Chattanooga, followed by a march through the heart of Georgia, with a view to capturing one or more of the great sea-ports. "Until we can repopulate Georgia," he wrote to Grant, "it is useless to occupy it; but the utter destruction of its roads, houses, and people, would cripple their military resources." He felt confident of his ability to reach Savannah, Charleston (in South Carolina), or the mouth of the Chattahoochee, and dwelt on the advantage of compelling Hood to guess at what he meant, instead of being obliged himself to guess at what his adversary designed. While staying at Gaylesville, Sherman renewed these proposals, with certain modifications, but at the same time insisted on being left free to adopt one of the three alternative routes, in which case he could follow so eccentric a course that no one could guess at his objective. General Grant at once authorised the proposed movement, but indicated his preference for Savannah as the objective, and fixed Dalton as the northern limit for the destruction of the railway.

Towards the end of October, Sherman detached Stanley's and Schofield's corps to Chattanooga, where they were placed under the orders of General Thomas for the protection of Tennessee. Preparations for the great march were now being actively hurried forward. By moving like a devastating storm across Georgia, from Atlanta to the sea, Sherman hoped to cut the Confederacy in two, and thus to hasten its death. He had ardently desired that Hood, in retreating after his ineffectual attempt to sever the Federal communications, would retire westward into Alabama, instead of southward to the vicinity of Jonesborough. When the event proved that the Confederates had done the very thing wanted, Sherman saw that his opportunity had arrived. He threw out strong reconnaissances in the direction of the enemy, so as to induce in him the idea that future operations would be towards the west; but at the same time everything was being arranged for an eastward march. For the present, however, the design was kept a profound secret from all but the corps-commanders, and the head of the cavalry, General Kilpatrick. Nearly 70,000 men were brought together, and these were divided into two columns; the right under General Howard, the left under General Slocum. The garri-

sons were withdrawn from Kingston, Rome, Resaca, and Dalton; all troops north of Kingston were concentrated in and around Chattanooga; the railways south-east of the Oostenaula were completely destroyed; and the country about the Chattahoochee was reduced to the condition of a desert. Sherman had determined to relinquish his former bases of supply at Chattanooga and Nashville, and to live entirely on the fertile regions through which he was about to make his way. On the evening of the 15th of November, Atlanta was fired, and continued burning all that night. The glare of the conflagration filled the heavens, and the roar of exploding shells and magazines was heard at short intervals, as the rear-guard of Sherman's army marched in a south-easterly direction, to join the more advanced divisions which were already on their road. When Sherman ordered the removal of non-combatants from that unfortunate city, and told the Mayor that his military plans rendered such a step necessary, he was doubtless contemplating this event, and the great march to which it was a preliminary.

Beauregard and Hood were at Tuscumbia, south of the Tennessee River, where they were superintending the passage of that stream, with a view to the invasion of the State bearing the same name. The former had for some time been moving in an opposite direction to that which Sherman was now pursuing. He had never for a moment suspected the great design of his opponent, and both he and Beauregard were much surprised when they heard that Sherman had burned Atlanta, and struck into the heart of Georgia. It was too late to overtake him, for he had by this time got the start for more than two hundred and fifty miles. The Confederate leaders therefore determined to conduct a series of operations against Tennessee and Kentucky, in the hope that Sherman would in that way be drawn back to the defence of the imperilled States. At the same time, however, arrangements were made for harassing the rear of the invading force, and for bringing into the field as many troops as possible for opposing the onward march. Alabama and Mississippi were required to aid Georgia to the utmost of their power; but the resources of the South were now nearly exhausted, and only a very small army, as compared with that of the Northern commander, could be collected at the bidding of Beauregard. This poverty in the material of war was well known to Sherman, and was one of the elements in the general situation on which he had based his calculations. Had the forces under Hood been in front of Sherman, a better show of resistance might have been made; but they had been cleverly manœuvred out of the way, and Georgia lay at the mercy of the Federal advance.

Sherman's army moved in four columns, forming two principal wings. The direction followed was between Macon and Augusta, so as to compel the Confederate Generals to divide their forces for the protection of both those towns. The habitual order of march, whenever practicable, was by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible, and converging at points which were indicated from time to time. No general train of supplies had been provided; but each corps was accompanied by its ammunition and provision train, and the army had permission to "forage liberally" on the country. This foraging was to be conducted by parties specially organised for the purpose, and the soldiers were forbidden to enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, or to commit any trespass. There can be no doubt, however, that a vast amount of irregular pillaging went on from day to day, and that this, although not directly encouraged, was but feebly checked, if at all. To the corps-commanders was entrusted power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, &c.; but no such destruction was to take place in districts where the army was unmolested. "In all foraging, of whatever kind," said Sherman's order laying down the details of the march, "the parties engaged will refrain from abusive or threatening language, and may, when the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts; and they will endeavour to leave with each family a reasonable proportion for their maintenance." Sherman may have been sincerely desirous of mitigating, as far as possible, the general severity of his orders; but it is a serious question whether any commander is morally entitled to turn upon a defenceless body of non-combatants so terrible an engine of destruction as that which had now been organised and deliberately appointed to its task. When an army is permitted to "live upon the country," as the phrase goes, the door is opened to every imaginable act of wanton cruelty and oppression. It is vain to make general rules, and say that foraging shall be strictly confined within their compass. The individual soldier cannot be restrained, and in a very little while all attempts to restrain him are given up in despair. He interprets the commander's orders in any way that suits his own caprice, rapacity, or anger. He understands foraging to mean plunder, and loads himself with pillage to which he can lay no claim, even by the widest interpretation of the rights of war. The habits of discipline become relaxed in proportion as the privileges of force over a conquered race are enlarged or heightened; and a carnival of blood

and ruin, of theft and violence, is the speedy and inevitable result of orders which the Commander-in-Chief may have intended for no other ends than those of necessary support or stern reprisal. The high military genius of Sherman will not be questioned by any, nor can the honesty of his intentions be for a moment impeached; but his greatest admirers must admit that in the accomplishment of his designs he was remorseless. The ends attained, he had probably not a thought of revenge; but no considerations of mercy, even towards an unarmed populace, ever softened the rigour of his will, or the iron temper of his disposition. The march through Georgia was characterised by scenes on which it would be painful to dwell with any minuteness of detail. Houses were sacked; civilians, in several instances, were treated with savage brutality; and this was done, not out of any necessity, however harsh, but in the mere debauchery of power. That Sherman knew of these acts, there can be little doubt; that he desired them to take place, no one would think of asserting; that, nevertheless, they were the consequences of his own orders, and that he made no efforts to restrain them, are facts which it seems impossible to deny.

The movement from Atlanta commenced on the 14th of November; but Sherman did not leave until the 16th, when he started with the left wing. General Howard was at the head of the right wing, which was ordered to proceed due south, and to destroy the Macon Railway at various points. The left was under the immediate command of Slocum, who was to menace Augusta, and tear up the Georgia Central Railway. The Confederate forces opposed to this immense invading host consisted principally of militia, under the command of Howell Cobb, who had been Secretary of the Treasury in the Government of Mr. Buchanan, and had traitorously used his authority when in that office towards the furtherance of secession. At the utmost, he had not more than 10,000 infantry under his orders; and Wheeler's horsemen, by whom he was supported, were few in comparison with the well-appointed cavalry of his antagonist. Very little resistance, therefore, could be opposed to the torrent of invasion now pouring through the land. Passionate appeals to the citizens were, indeed, not wanting. On the 18th of November, General Beauregard, from his head-quarters at Corinth, Alabama, put forth an address to the people of Georgia, which promised success as the speedy result of vigorous efforts. "Obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear," he said, "and his army will soon starve in your midst. Be confident; be resolute." The Georgian Senators in the Confederate Congress, writing on the same day from Richmond, told their fellow-citizens:— "You have now the best opportunity ever yet presented to destroy the enemy. . . . . Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, can do the work of a soldier. You can destroy the enemy by retarding his march." The Georgian delegation in the Lower House of the Southern Congress issued a similar appeal; and Governor Brown ordered a levy *en masse* of the whole of the free white population of the State between the ages of sixteen and forty-five (with certain exceptions), and offered pardon to such convicts as would volunteer. Very little, however, came of all these efforts. A few skirmishes occurred now and then, but they were without effect in checking the advance of Sherman's legions. Bridges were burned, but speedily repaired; and roads which were broken up by the retreating troops were soon put once more into a practicable state by those who followed. Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, was occupied on the 21st and 22nd. When the expedition started from Atlanta, the Legislature was in session at Milledgeville. On hearing that the Federals were approaching, Governor Brown, the State representatives, and several officials, fled in panic to Augusta; two days after, the Federal scouts dashed into the town, which was at once surrendered by the Mayor. It was plundered and partially destroyed; large numbers of slaves were set free; and the army swept on, intoxicated by unrestrained power, and, it is to be feared, by stimulants of a more positive kind.

At the beginning of the campaign, the cavalry under General Kilpatrick had been sent towards Macon, in order to distract the enemy's attention; and on the 20th of November eight hundred horsemen, with four cannon, made a feigned attack on East Macon, two miles from the chief city, but, after an animated combat, retired in the direction of Griswoldville, destroying several miles of rail. The demonstration against Macon was resumed on the 22nd, when very severe fighting took place between a large body of Federals and a Confederate army of 5,000 troops. The Southerners, who made six desperate assaults upon the breastworks which their opponents had constructed, were ultimately compelled to retire, and Macon itself might have been taken, had it formed any part of the Federal scheme to do so. Kilpatrick's cavalry afterwards joined the right wing at Milledgeville, in accordance with previous arrangements. The plan of the campaign was carried out with the utmost regularity and success, and the Confederates, not knowing

where the blow was principally to fall, were distracted with anxiety and apprehension. Augusta was now hastily garrisoned, and General Hardee obstructed the roads towards Savannah by as many defences as he could improvise. Sherman's advance, however, continued with inexorable steadiness. On the 24th of November, the right wing of the Federals, marching from Milledgeville and Gordon, arrived at the Oconee River, which they immediately prepared to cross. Being edged with swamps, through which many creeks ran in winding courses towards the main stream, the Oconee seemed easy of defence, and difficult for an invading army to pass. The Georgian militia, under General Wayne, endeavoured to hold the line; but the Federals got across with little trouble, and the Confederates retreated without any serious attempt at fighting. Kilpatrick entered Waynesborough on the 27th, and, after tearing up the railway which connected that town with Augusta, escaped towards the left wing of the advancing army; though not without a sharp action, in which his regiments were very nearly surrounded and taken prisoners. The left had by this time crossed the Ogeechee, and, on the 28th of November, Louisville was entered by that division of the invading force.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Sherman's troops were now approaching the sea, and the arid soil and wiry pine-trees of Eastern Georgia had succeeded to the richer forest-lands and cultivated fields of the interior portions of the State. Negro women and children in large numbers accompanied the advancing columns, attracted by the hope of freedom and the prospect of happier days; but in several instances the sufferings of

these unfortunate people were even greater than those from which they fled. Many dropped on the way, from weariness and want of food; and hundreds who straggled, or fell behind, perished in the black expanse of pine-forests, where neither fruit nor water could be obtained. Sherman, with the centre corps of his army, was at Millen on the 3rd of December, from which spot he made demonstrations against Augusta and Savannah, that the Confederates might be kept in doubt as to what point would be attacked. He then moved down the peninsula formed by the Ogeechee and Savannah Rivers, and thus approached the object of his march through the swamps and rice-fields by which it is encompassed. Deluging rain had come on; the marshy soil presented great difficulties to the masses of heavily-armed troops, with their artillery and baggage-waggons; and it was necessary in many places to construct the roads over which the army was to pass. Felled trees, field-works, and other defences, were now encountered by the invaders; but by the 10th of December the Southern troops had been driven within their lines, and Sherman's entire army was massed in front of Savannah, after a march of more than three hundred miles, which had been accomplished in about twenty-five days. The Federal losses during this great military operation had been very few, and all the divisions were in excellent condition when Savannah rose before them over the flat and watery landscape. The men would gladly have assaulted the town at once; but the walls were mounted with heavy guns, and Sherman had brought with him nothing stronger than field-artillery. He therefore refrained from a general attack, and trusted to the effect of time in starving out the city and its garrison. The fleet under Admiral Dahlgren was lying not far off; but it was no easy matter to communicate with the naval force, owing to the guns of Fort McAllister, which commanded the mouth of the Ogeechee. It was necessary in the first instance to capture that work, and this was effected, after a hot and gallant contest on the 13th of December, by General Hazen's division of the 15th corps, which carried the position by assault.

The fleet was thus enabled to co-operate with the army. Arrangements were made for a supply of ammunition and heavy guns from Hilton Head, and Sherman sent instructions to General Forster, commanding the Federal troops in that department, to occupy the railway between Savannah and Charleston, so as to complete the environment of the former city on the side where alone any gap existed in the investing force—viz., the side towards the north. The surrender of Savannah was demanded on the 17th of December, but refused by Hardee, who apparently relied on his ability to defend the position. Preparations were made for a bombardment and assault, while on the other hand, the Confederate batteries, as well as the gunboats on the river, kept up a constant fire, which seemed to promise a desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. But Hardee had in fact made up his mind to abandon the city to its fate. It was considered that the army would be of much greater use in other quarters than in a town where it was shut up within walls, and exposed to the certainty of capture, if once the defences were overcome. The Confederates still had command of the Savannah River, and across that stream they escaped during the night of December 20th. Having reached the farther shore, they threaded a little-known road through the swamp, and made their way to South Carolina. Sherman entered the city on the following day, and despatched a telegram to President Lincoln, in which he said:—"I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition; also about 25,000 bales of cotton." A good deal of Union feeling seemed to be latent among the citizens. They behaved with civility towards the soldiers, and made no attempt to destroy cotton or any other kind of property. On the 28th of December, a meeting was held at the requisition of the Mayor, at which certain resolutions were unanimously adopted with a view to a complete submission to the Union, and the laying aside of all differences; and under the considerate rule of General Geary, the commandant appointed by Sherman, the city enjoyed a period of repose and of comparative prosperity.

Reckoning up the results of the campaign, in the official report which he afterwards sent to the War Department, the Federal commander wrote:—"I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at 100,000,000 dollars, at least 20,000,000 of which have been used to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction. This may seem a hard species of warfare; but it brings the sad realities of war home to those who have been directly or indirectly instrumental in involving us in its attendant calamities." Sherman's wonderful success had been accomplished at a cost of not more than 567 men in killed, wounded, and missing. The almost total collapse of the South had been made manifest by the facility with which the Federal commander had conducted his legions from Atlanta to the sea; and the transport of enthusiasm at the North was all the greater in consequence of the previous

feeling of anxiety. By many it had been feared that Sherman was committing himself to a desperate enterprise; and when his army was, so to speak, swallowed up in the interior of Georgia, and some weeks elapsed with little intelligence of its progress, much alarm was felt at Washington and in other cities. The news of Sherman's triumph came like a burst of sunshine to brighten the departing year, and those who had been most doubtful now acknowledged that one of the greatest achievements of the war had been accomplished, and that the subjugation of the Confederacy at no distant date was thenceforth assured.

During the progress of these events in the south, Hood was conducting that series of operations in Tennessee which ultimately proved his ruin. His army was of respectable dimensions, consisting of nearly 30,000 infantry and artillery, with about 12,000 cavalry; and the forces of General Thomas, to whom the defence of Tennessee had been confided by Sherman, were, speaking roughly, about equal to those by which he was confronted. The Federal base of operations was at Nashville, where, while awaiting the arrival of some additional regiments, Thomas formed his plans of resistance to the threatened attack. Hood began his forward march on the 21st of November, shaping his course along the road between Florence and Nashville; and the outlying Federal divisions were either concentrated at Chattanooga and Murfreesborough, or withdrawn across the Duck River in the direction of Nashville. Forrest, in command of the Confederate cavalry, crossed the river a few miles above Columbia on the night of the 28th, and General Schofield, who had command of the Northern armies in the open country, was nearly cut off from his line of retreat. The Southerners were actually on the flank of one of Schofield's divisions; Confederate reinforcements were advancing from other directions; and had an attack been made at once, it seems almost certain that a great success would have been achieved. But the Confederate officer, General Cheatham, let his opportunity slip by. He awaited the arrival of Stewart, and, after that officer had reached the spot, still hesitated to engage the enemy. The two armies were so close that even after nightfall the march of the Federal regiments could be distinctly seen by their adversaries; yet Cheatham forbore to attack. Thomas now ordered General Schofield to entrench himself in such a position as would enable him to defend the approaches to Nashville from Columbia. This he immediately did; but, before his works could be completed, he was furiously assailed by Hood.

Schofield had thrown up his entrenchments in front of the small town of Franklin, situated on the Big Harpeth River, eighteen miles south of Nashville; but he was somewhat encumbered by a long train of waggons, which had not yet got over the river extending in his rear. If, therefore, he could be defeated in this position, he would probably be overwhelmed, and one great obstacle to Hood's plans would be removed. The Confederate force was divided into two columns, one of which was to attack Franklin in front, while the other was to move down the stream, to cross it some distance east of Franklin, and thus unexpectedly to approach the Federal rear. At four o'clock in the afternoon of November 30th, Hood's main column advanced to the attack. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; entrenchments were taken and re-taken; but Schofield, at the head of 15,000 men, held his positions until nearly midnight, when, ascertaining that he was in danger of being outflanked by the column that had crossed the river, he ordered a retreat. This was continued during the night, and on the 1st of December Schofield had reached a point seven miles south of Nashville, where General A. J. Smith's corps was posted. Hood had suffered very severely in the action, and confessed to a loss of 4,500 men, including a large number of general officers; but, as the Federals also had suffered grievously, and were dispirited by the necessity of retreating, the Confederate leader did not hesitate as to the expediency of pursuit. He followed closely on his adversary's track, and Smith, finding himself hard-pressed, fell back to the outer line of the Nashville entrenchments, which were situated three miles from the town.

The consternation in Nashville was extreme when it became known that the outlying armies had been defeated, and that the enemy was near at hand. Large numbers of civilians were hurriedly armed; the forces of General Thomas were drawn up in line of battle outside the town, and additional troops were brought up by rail from Chattanooga. Hood arrived in front of Nashville on the 2nd of December, and, throwing up strong works and counter-batteries, made preparations for a siege. Forrest, in command of a body of cavalry and infantry, was despatched towards Murfreesborough, to summon the garrison to surrender; but a portion of this detachment behaved ill, and the army before Nashville was weakened by the absence of so large a contingent. Thomas, on the other hand, was being continually reinforced, and by the middle of the month felt himself strong enough to deliver a powerful assault on the beleaguering hosts. In the early morning of December 15th, a feint was

made on Hood's right, and a real attack on his left, which ended in the capture of several redoubts and guns, and in the complete discomfiture of Hood, who was forced from his chief position on Montgomery Hill, and compelled to retreat a distance of some miles. On the following day his troops were again attacked, and, after an action of varying fortunes, driven in confusion towards Franklin. The division which misbehaved itself at Murfreesborough had once more given evidence of deficiency in fighting qualities. Its dismay was communicated to other divisions, and only one corps preserved its organisation and self-respect. The retreat of the main body necessitated the withdrawal of Forrest from before Murfreesborough; but, owing to the swollen condition of the rivers, his detachment had great difficulty in joining the regiments that had fled from Nashville. The pursuit was vigorously pressed by Thomas, and Hood's defeated legions, pouring over the Duck River, and in time obtaining the support of Forrest, who rejoined the army at Columbia, made for the Tennessee, which was crossed on the 27th of December. The Confederate Army of the West was completely shattered. In the two days' battles before Nashville, 54 guns and 4,460 prisoners had been captured by the Federals, and the entire loss of the Confederates during the whole campaign was stated at 13,189 in prisoners alone, including several general officers, and 1,000 others of lower grades. During the same period, more than 2,000 deserters came into the Northern lines, and 72 pieces of artillery passed from the defeated to the victorious army. The Federal loss was about 10,000 in killed, wounded, and missing; but the authority of the Union in Tennessee was saved by a series of actions in which Hood had done little more than demonstrate the weakness of his resources, and his own want of commanding ability as a general. Shortly after his withdrawal into the northern part of Alabama, he was relieved of the command, at his own request, and was succeeded by General Taylor, who was transferred for that purpose from the Trans-Mississippi Department.

In other parts of the West, the Federals were at the same time pursuing a career of almost unbroken conquest. The Union cavalry penetrated into various parts of Louisiana and Mississippi, breaking up the Confederacy into so many crumbling fragments, inflicting an incalculable amount of injury on those States, and destroying or carrying off large stores that had been collected for the Southern armies. General Breckinridge, who after his campaign in the Shenandoah Valley had undertaken certain expeditions into Eastern Tennessee, met with but partial success, and upon the whole found himself, towards the close of the year, in a worse position than he had held in the early autumn. The leader of his irregular cavalry, General Morgan—who, in November, 1863, had escaped in a most extraordinary manner from the Ohio Penitentiary—was betrayed while stopping at a house, and, being surrounded during the night by a company of Union cavalry, was killed in his attempts to get away. The destruction of the great salt-works in Virginia was another of the numerous misfortunes accumulating on the Confederacy in the period of its decline. An expedition with this object had been sent out in October, but was defeated by Breckinridge. The Federals, however, were determined to effect their purpose, and about the middle of December a large force under General Stoneman drove back the Confederates under Breckinridge, and entirely devastated the town of Saltville, near Abingdon, where the works were situated. In every direction, whether in the South or in the West, the great Slave Power, once so haughty and defiant, was seen staggering beneath many blows—unrepentant as to the past, hopeless as to the future, yet still maintaining a desperate struggle, in the face of overwhelming numbers, against a force that seemed to gather in intensity with every effort that it made.

CHAPTER LX.

Informal Negotiations for Peace—Interview of Messrs. Jacques and Gilmore with Jefferson Davis—Confederate Agents in Canada—Mr. Lincoln's Letter "to whom it may concern"—Failure of the Attempts to Negotiate—The Presidential Election of 1864—Republican Conventions held at Cleveland and Baltimore—Declaration of Principles—War Democrats and Peace Democrats—General McClellan the Democratic Candidate—Political Excitement and Party Manœuvres—Re-election of Mr. Lincoln—Message of Mr. Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress (Nov. 7th)—Employment of Negroes at the South—Proposals for a Dictatorship—Confederate Incursion from Canada into Vermont—Subscription in England for the Relief of Confederate Prisoners—Intemperate Letter of Mr. Seward—Mr. Lincoln's Message to Congress (Dec. 6th)—Destruction of the Confederate Iron-clad *Albemarle*—The *Alabama*, *Georgia*, and *Florida* lost to the Confederacy—Unsuccessful Expedition against Fort Fisher, North Carolina—Subsequent Reduction of the Fort—Renewal of Peace Negotiations, without Result—General Lee's Call for Arms—The approaching Collapse.

Peace between the two sections of the American Republic had been hardly for a moment contemplated during the first three years of the civil war; but in 1864 some movements in that direction broke the wearisome uniformity of contest and of slaughter. The attempts were unofficial, but all the more on that account indicated the existence of a widely-spread popular feeling in favour of an arrangement by which the devastation and bloodshed of the struggle might be stayed. The first of these well-meant but perhaps not very wise endeavours was due to Colonel James F. Jacques, of the 78th Illinois Volunteer Infantry (who seems to have been also a clergyman), and Mr. J. R. Gilmore, of Massachusetts, both of whom, in the month of July, sought an interview with Colonel Ould, Confederate Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. A passage within the enemy's lines was obtained for these gentlemen by General Grant, who addressed General Lee for that purpose. Messrs. Jacques and J. R. Gilmore were accordingly soon in Richmond, where, on the 17th of July, they addressed a letter to Mr. Benjamin, the Secretary of State, affirming that, although they had no official character or authority, they were fully possessed of the opinions of the United States Government relative to an adjustment of existing differences, and believed that a free interchange of views between themselves and President Davis would open the way to such official negotiations as would result in the restoration of peace. An interview afterwards took place; but it led to nothing, nor was there any likelihood from the first that it would be productive of appreciable results. The leading idea of these self-constituted negotiators was that the question of "Peace, with Southern independence," or "Peace, with union, emancipation, no confiscation, and universal amnesty," should be submitted to the people of the United States, as those States existed before the war, and be by them decided. But this was the very principle which the Confederation had started by denying. The politicians of the South had disputed the right of the Federation, or of the American people in the aggregate, to touch the question of slavery in any of the States—unless, indeed, to support that institution by the power of the Union. They were not likely to give up their favourite doctrine by any voluntary act of renunciation. As, supposing the questions to be submitted to the popular vote, it was pretty certain beforehand that the decision would be in favour of a re-establishment of the Union on the principle of emancipation, the suggestion, as Mr. Davis not unreasonably remarked, was almost tantamount to a proposal that the South should surrender at discretion. One observation of the Confederate leader—if Mr. Gilmore's report was correct—threw a singular light on Southern feeling and Southern morals, and amply justified the utmost that the Abolitionists had ever said on that topic. "The man," Mr. Davis is alleged to have remarked, "who should go before the Southern people with any proposition which implied that the North was to have a voice in determining the domestic relations of the South, could not live here a day. He would be hanged to the first tree, without judge or jury."

At the same time, four gentlemen from the Confederacy, who had taken up their abode a little beyond the Canadian borders, obtained, through the instrumentality of Mr. Horace Greeley, a safe-conduct from the President, which would have enabled them to proceed to Washington, but for some disagreement that afterwards arose. These gentlemen were not actually invested with powers to negotiate; yet they were in the confidential employment of the Confederacy, and professed to be acquainted with the wishes and opinions of the Richmond Government on the subject of peace. Mr. Greeley had some interviews with them; but as they had come, not to arrange for terms of submission, but to propose a peace on the basis of Southern independence, their errand was necessarily as futile as that of Messrs. Jacques and Gilmore to Mr. Davis. On the 18th of July, President

Lincoln addressed a letter "to whom it may concern"—in point of fact, to the would-be negotiators—stating that any proposition which embraced the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which came by and with an authority that could control the armies then at war with the United States, would be received and considered by the Executive Government. This, however, was not at all what the Southern gentlemen contemplated, and they closed the business in great vexation and trouble. The two belligerents were clearly not in that position of equality which permitted of negotiations with a view to independence. The North was too strong to make concessions; at the same time, the South was not yet sufficiently beaten to submit.

LIEUTENANT CUSHING'S ATTACK ON THE "ALBEMARLE."

These events had their influence on the candidature of Mr. Lincoln for a second Presidential term, which was one of the leading political facts of 1864. The period for which the Chief Magistrate had originally been chosen was to expire in March, 1865, and an election was to take place in the previous autumn. Mr. Lincoln conceived that he could do the country service by continuing for another four years the policy which he had been pursuing since March, 1861; and he therefore allowed himself to be put in nomination a second time. But he was not without rivals, even among the Republicans by whom he was mainly supported. By some it was held that Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, was a better man for carrying out the objects of the party; while the extreme Abolitionists looked to General Fremont as the most uncompromising exponent of their views.

Two Republican conventions were called, the earlier of which assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 31st of May, and resulted in the nomination of General Fremont for the principal office, and of General Cochrane for the Vice-Presidency. The other met at Baltimore on the 7th of June, and laid down a platform which contained some important principles and asseverations. The members of the convention were of opinion that the war should be vigorously prosecuted until the rebellion had been entirely suppressed; that an amendment should be introduced into the Constitution, in order totally to abolish slavery; that the thanks of the American people to their brave soldiers and sailors should take the form of some permanent recognition of their patriotism

BOAT OF THE "DEERHOUND" RESCUING CAPTAIN SEMMES.

and valour; that Mr. Lincoln and his measures had deserved their confidence; that the Government was bound to insist on the laws of war, in their protective operation, being applied equally to black and white soldiers; that foreign immigration should be encouraged; that the construction of the Pacific Railway should be proceeded with; that the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, should be kept inviolate, for which purpose they recommended economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditure, together with a just system of taxation; and that the Government had rightly interpreted the feeling of the American people with respect to any attempt on the part of European Powers to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican Government on the Western Continent. With an unmistakable glance at the action of France in Mexico, the authors of the platform declared that they would view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their country, the efforts of any Power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by a foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States; and in this significant tone of warning the declaration of principles came to an end. The platform did not essentially differ from that of Cleveland, Ohio. Both expressed the determination of the Republican party to make the civil war conducive to the final extinction of slavery.

The result of the Baltimore convention was that Mr. Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency, and Mr. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats did not hold their convention until the 29th of August, when they assembled in the city of Chicago. By that time, Mr. Lincoln, in his letter "to whom it might concern," had plainly intimated that thenceforward he meant to insist on the entire removal of slavery from the United States, and had in this way thrown in his lot with the most uncompromising Abolitionists. If, previous to that declaration, he had supporters among the Democrats, he was now not likely any further to retain them. The party looked to other and very different men; yet it was not unanimous in its objects or its choice. The great division was between those who called themselves War Democrats, and those who professed to be Peace Democrats. With the former, it was as much a principle that the rebellion should be suppressed as that State rights should be preserved. The latter, headed by Mr. Vallandigham out of doors, and by Mr. Long in the House of Representatives—both gentlemen belonging to Ohio—were for making peace with the South at once, and almost on its own terms. General McClellan was the candidate of the War Democrats; Governor Seymour, of New York, the favourite of the other section. In the result, a sort of compromise was agreed to, and, while McClellan was chosen, by the convention which met at Chicago, as the candidate for the chief post, Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, one of the Peace Democrats, was nominated for the secondary office. The platform agreed upon at Chicago denounced the Government for the arbitrary nature of its conduct during the civil war, and affirmed that hostilities ought at once to cease, so that a convention of the States might be held, with a view to reconstruction. The authors of the document declared that in the future, as in the past, they would adhere with unwavering fidelity to the Union under the Constitution; but at the same time they criticised with unsparing severity the exceptional measures that were being taken to restore the national Government, condemned "the open and avowed disregard of State rights," and spoke of the Administration shamefully neglecting its duty to the Confederate prisoners of war, who had long been in a suffering condition. When, however, very shortly after the holding of the convention, news of the fall of Atlanta reached the North, the war feeling was so powerfully stimulated that McClellan, on the 8th of September, considered it advisable to address a letter to his committee, in which he emphatically affirmed that "the re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement"—a declaration not wholly unnecessary, since the Chicago convention seemed to reveal a willingness on the part of some to let the Southern States go their own way. Indeed, the Peace Democrats afterwards complained that McClellan had abandoned them, and in consequence they abandoned him. Fremont ultimately withdrew from the contest, and the struggle was left to Lincoln and McClellan.

The period between the holding of the conventions and the final election was one of stormy agitation, of furious political excitement, and of desperate efforts on the part of both candidates to secure a majority. The Government was accused of using undue influence for the procurement of votes; and it can hardly be doubted that, whenever a re-election for the Presidency takes place, the power of the Administration is largely used for the defeat of rival candidates. It is not unlikely that this was especially the case in the present instance. A part of the Union was occupied by the

military, and the checks of open discussion could not always be freely exercised. The voters of Tennessee and Maryland were obliged to take test-oaths, as a proof of loyalty to the Constitution, before they were admitted to the franchise; and, in the case of Louisiana and Arkansas, portions of those States, where the Federal power existed, were put forward as representatives of the whole. Still, after making allowance for these drawbacks, there is reason to believe that the Republican party was really predominant in the country. The result was, that Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by a very large majority. On the day of the election (November 8th), General McClellan resigned his position in the army, and retired into private life. He, who for a time had been the darling of the people and of the soldiers, had now sunk into complete insignificance. His feeble attempts at a compromise between devotion to the Union and concession to the rebels had been as complete a failure as his endeavours to crush the Confederacy by perpetually avoiding a collision with its embattled hosts. McClellan was a good military organiser, and in the early days of the civil war had done great service by reducing to form and order the mass of undisciplined material which was called the army of the United States. But there his usefulness ceased. He had neither the iron determination of Grant, nor the brilliant rapidity of Sherman; nor did he possess the moral courage necessary to the winning of great victories. As a politician, he was equally a failure. His honesty was unquestionable; his capacity could only be taken upon faith,—and the people by this time had ceased to trust him.

The re-election of Mr. Lincoln was proof conclusive to the Southern States that the North was now firmly resolved to make an end of the civil war and of slavery together. Whatever hope may at one time have been derived from the possibility of a Democratic and pacific President being elected for the next four years, vanished into air when it became evident that power was still to remain in the hands of Mr. Lincoln, and for the very reason that he had flung himself unconditionally into the arms of the Republican party. In the course of October, when there could be little doubt as to the issue of the Presidential election, the Confederate Congress published a Manifesto addressed to foreign courts, in which they stated that all they asked was immunity from interference with their internal peace and prosperity—in other words, a recognition of their independence by the United States, which was the very thing that Power refused to grant. But the European Governments would not commit themselves to the support of a failing rebellion. The case of the Confederacy was manifestly desperate, and there was nothing to be done but to fight it out on desperate issues. When the Southern Congress re-assembled on the 7th of November, Mr. Davis, in his Annual Message, made some remarks on the condition of affairs, which, notwithstanding the tone of forced cheerfulness adopted throughout, showed clearly that he considered the position of his Government very critical. The successes of his armies in the Trans-Mississippi Department were paraded to the best advantage, although these were now matters of rather ancient date, having occurred in the spring. Sherman's victories were depreciated, and the capture of Atlanta was described as a matter of little importance, although the Confederates had fought hard for the retention of that city. But Mr. Davis could not conceal the fact that the Confederacy was in want of soldiers, and he complained that the exemptions from the operation of the Conscription Act were far too numerous. A question of the most vital importance, which had been occupying men's minds for some time past, was referred to by Mr. Davis on the present occasion. By several it had been thought that negroes might be employed as soldiers, and that a weapon which the North had begun to employ against the South might be used by the South against the North. Mr. Davis shrank from any such dangerous experiment; yet he recommended the creation of a force of 40,000 black men, to act as teamsters, pioneers, and engineers, with the prospect of future emancipation as a reward for their services. He admitted that the time might come when it would be necessary even to arm the blacks; but for the present he doubted the expediency of such a course. The significant fact in connection with the matter was that it should have been discussed at all. The South must have felt that she was near the end of her resources before she would have entertained the most distant thought of arming her hereditary enemies—of placing herself at the mercy of men whom she had long exasperated into sullen hatred and desire of vengeance. Nevertheless, the question was debated in both Houses of Congress; but the step was not immediately taken. People were now losing faith in Mr. Davis, and were asking one another whether a Dictatorship were not a necessity of the times. Had any arbitrary ruler been appointed, it would probably have been some soldier of proved ability in the field. Lee, Johnston, and Breckinridge, were all spoken of in this connection; but in the result Mr. Davis retained his power until the Confederacy itself lay

vanquished and gasping at the feet of its antagonist.

A disagreeable event, which caused some temporary complications between the British and American Governments, occurred during the autumn. A large number of Confederates had for some time been living in the southern parts of Canada, from which they occasionally made hostile excursions across the borders into the United States. On the 19th of October, a party of these men, well armed, entered the village of St. Alban's, in Vermont, robbed the bank of 50,000 dollars, stole several horses, burned one of the hotels, and fired into a crowd of people. After completing their depredations, they rode back into Canada, where thirteen of them were arrested, and confined at St. John's. The legal proceedings arising out of these events were not, however, very rapidly transacted, and ultimately the men were discharged, on the ground that the warrant for their arrest was not under the hand of the Governor-General of Canada, as, it was alleged, the Imperial Act required. The decision, which appears to have been doubtful in point of law, gave great offence in the United States, and Major-General Dix, who had command of the Department of the East, issued a most unjustifiable order, in which he said:—"All military commanders on the frontiers are instructed, in case further acts of depredation and murder are attempted, whether by marauders or persons acting under commissions from the rebel authorities at Richmond, to shoot down the perpetrators, if possible, while in the commission of their crimes; or, if it be necessary, with a view to their capture, to cross the boundary between the United States and Canada, the said commanders are hereby directed to pursue them wherever they may take refuge, and, if captured, they are under no circumstances to be surrendered, but are to be sent to these head-quarters for trial and punishment by martial law." The Government of the United States had undoubtedly just cause of complaint in the commission of such acts as that which had occurred at St. Alban's; but it was obvious that, if the directions of General Dix had been carried out, a still more flagrant wrong would have been inflicted on Great Britain, and that war would have been the result. Fortunately, however, the Washington Cabinet disavowed the order of its General, and at the same time steps were taken by the Canadian authorities to prevent a repetition of the outrage which had moved the indignation of the American people.

Another unpleasant incident arose out of a subscription which had been got up in England, to the amount of £17,000, for the relief of Confederate prisoners in the Federal fortresses and jails. Lord Wharncliffe, who was chairman of the committee, requested that an agent of that body might be permitted to visit the captives, so as to distribute among them the money that had been collected from British sympathisers. The movement was not very wise, and naturally appeared to the American Government like an undue interference in the internal affairs of the United States. Yet it is to be regretted, although perhaps not to be wondered at, that the Washington Cabinet not merely refused the desired permission, but did so in the harshest manner. Mr. Adams was told by Mr. Seward that the correspondence on the subject would necessarily become public. "On reading it," he said, "the American public will be well aware that while the United States have ample means for the support of the prisoners, as well as for every other exigency of the war in which they are engaged, the insurgents, who have blindly rushed into that condition, are suffering no privations that appeal for relief to charity, either at home or abroad. The American people will be likely to reflect that the sum thus insidiously headed in the name of humanity constitutes no large portion of the profits which its contributors may be justly supposed to have derived from the insurgents, by exchanging with them arms and munitions of war, for the productions of immoral and enervating slave-labour; nor will any portion of the American people be disposed to regard the sum thus ostentatiously offered for the relief of captured insurgents as a too generous equivalent for the devastation and desolation which a civil war, promoted and protracted by British subjects, has spread throughout the States, which before were eminently prosperous and happy." The good taste of this communication may be questioned; but it can hardly be doubted that Mr. Seward simply expressed, in the most emphatic language he could command, that feeling of irritation against England which existed throughout the United States, and which the many under-hand attempts to support the Confederacy had done so much to justify.

President Lincoln's Annual Message to Congress was delivered on the 6th of December. One of the topics touched upon was the prevalence of incursions from beyond the Canadian border, such as that which had taken place on October 19th. While Mr. Lincoln acknowledged that the colonial authorities of Canada were not intentionally unjust or unfriendly towards the United States, he intimated that it had been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months—

the period constitutionally stipulated in existing arrangements with Great Britain—the United States would hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament on the lakes, if they should find that proceeding necessary. With regard to the great question of slavery, the President alluded to a proposed amendment of the Constitution, abolishing that condition throughout the Republic, which had passed the Senate in the previous session, but had failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. The reconsideration and passage of that measure were now recommended. Mr. Lincoln was not unnaturally elated at the recent progress of the Federal arms, and he spoke in a hopeful spirit of the prospects of the country. They had more men, he affirmed, than when the war began. They were not exhausted, nor in process of exhaustion. They were gaining strength, and could, if need were, maintain the contest indefinitely. It appeared to him that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He (Mr. Davis) would accept nothing short of the severance of the Union, and that was exactly what the North could not and would not grant. His followers, however, might, upon specified terms, have the benefit of the general pardon and amnesty which had been offered the year before. The door had thus been opened for their return to the Union; but the time might come when public duty would demand that it should be closed. To Mr. Lincoln's bright anticipations for the future, the report of the Secretary to the Treasury presented the accompanying shadow. It was estimated that the debt at the close of the fiscal year would be 2,645,320,682 dollars. The daily expenditure of the Federal Government was at that time proceeding at the rate of half a million sterling, and the interest of the public debt, with the expenses to be provided for in the twelve months ending on the 31st of July, 1865, would, it was believed, amount to £233,600,000. At the beginning of July, 1864, Mr. Chase had resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and was soon afterwards made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Fessenden, Senator for Maine, succeeded him in his former office; at which time, the paper money in circulation was at a discount of about sixty per cent.

The remaining events of 1864 are connected with the operations of the navy. One of the most brilliant of these exploits was the destruction of the Confederate iron-clad *Albemarle*, which guarded the mouth of the Roanoke, and prevented any attack on Plymouth, North Carolina, which had been taken from the Federals in April, 1864. Lieutenant Cushing, a young officer of the United States navy, formed a scheme for blowing up the iron-clad at her moorings, and for this purpose constructed a vessel which he provided with a small and select crew. The vessel was a steam-launch, equipped as a torpedo-boat; and on the night of October 27th, Lieutenant Cushing started up the Roanoke, and, passing several miles of the enemy's pickets unobserved, arrived within twenty yards of the *Albemarle* before being hailed by her look-outs. The iron-clad was moored alongside the Plymouth wharf, where it was protected by a boom of pine-logs, extending outwards thirty feet. A large fire was burning on shore, by the light of which the Confederate soldiery perceived the approach of the torpedo-boat. A discharge of musketry was opened upon the intruder; but Lieutenant Cushing steered his vessel under a full head of steam direct upon the *Albemarle*. The boom was violently struck, and, the torpedo being then lowered, an explosion succeeded, from the effects of which the iron-clad speedily sank below the waves. At the very instant of the explosion, however, a shot from the *Albemarle* passed through Cushing's boat, which instantly filled with water; and before the Confederate vessel had settled down below the surface of the river, a severe fire of small-arms was directed against the Federal and his brave companions, who were required to surrender. The lieutenant was wounded in the wrist, and all but himself and one of his men were either killed or captured. The escape of Cushing was remarkable. Springing into the river, he made for the middle of the channel, escaping the numerous shots that were sent after him, and at length reaching the opposite shore. There he hid himself in the woods, but at length, finding a small boat, ventured out to sea, and after eight hours' paddling reached the Federal squadron on the 28th. From the information of a negro, he was able to carry with him the welcome news that the *Albemarle* had been destroyed, and that Plymouth was open to attack. The attack was not long in coming. The fleet rapidly pushed up the river, drove the rebels from their rifle-pits and batteries, and on the 31st of October re-took the town.

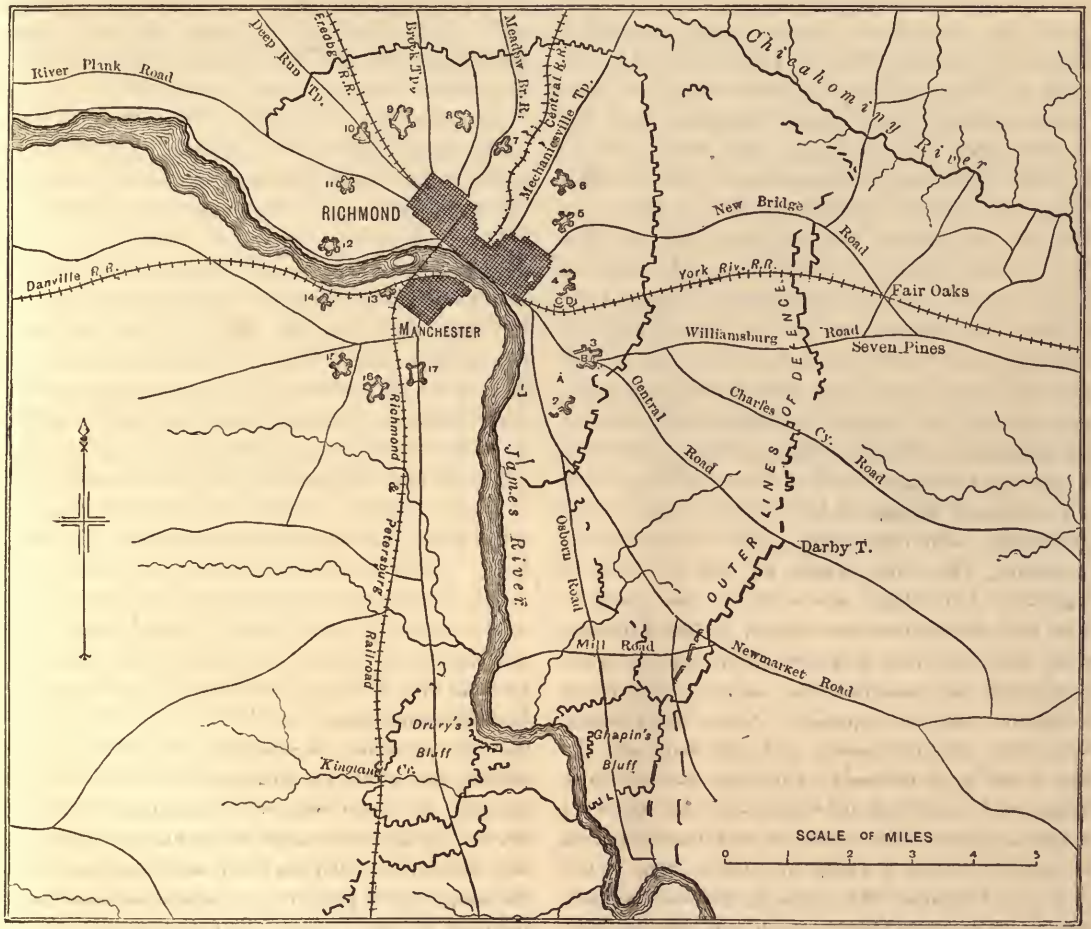
Three of the Confederate cruisers—viz., the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, and the *Florida*—were destroyed or captured in the course of the year. Early in June, the *Alabama*, after doing an immense amount of mischief among American merchantmen in the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, sailed for Europe, and put into the French port of Cherbourg. Here she was watched by the *Kearsarge*, commanded by Captain John A.

Winslow, and on the 15th of June that officer received a note from Captain Semmes, of the Confederate privateer, announcing his intention to fight the *Kearsarge*, and begging Captain Winslow not to depart until the two vessels should have had an opportunity of measuring their strength. The combat took place on June 19th, at about seven or eight miles from the land, and, by the aid of glasses, was witnessed by many spectators on the French shore. The *Alabama* was accompanied by a French iron-clad, and followed by a steam-yacht owned by an English gentleman, who was on board at the time with his family. It was stated in America, and it is to be feared cannot be disproved, that the crew of the privateer consisted for the most part of British subjects, and that her gunners were trained artillerists from the British practice-ship *Excellent*. It was also alleged that the English yacht acted as a tender to the *Alabama*. The battle was hot, but not very prolonged, and it resulted in the *Alabama* running up the white flag, and sending off her crew in boats. Twenty minutes after this, the vessel went down, and the *Kearsarge* then did its utmost to rescue a large number of men who were struggling in the water. Semmes was wounded in the contest, and, being picked up by the yacht, was carried to England, together with several others. Many of the Confederates died of their wounds, or were drowned in the sea; while on board the *Kearsarge* there were no deaths, and only three persons wounded.

The *Georgia* was seized by the *Niagara* off the coast of Portugal, on the 15th of August, and, although having no armament on board at the time, was taken as a lawful prize, and sent to the United States for adjudication. The *Florida*, while lying in the neutral port of Bahia, Brazil, was captured by the *Wachusett* on the morning of the 7th of October. In the following month, the *Florida* was taken into Hampton Roads, where, while she was waiting decision on the international question, whether Brazilian neutrality had not been violated by the seizure of the vessel in a Brazilian port, she was run into by a steam-transport, and sunk. The collision was said to have been accidental; but by many it was doubted whether the circumstances were not purposely contrived, in order to avoid the mortification of returning the *Florida* to Brazilian waters. That the capture had been illegal was afterwards acknowledged by Mr. Seward, who informed the Brazilian Government that the captain of the *Wachusett* would be suspended and brought to a court-martial, that the consul at Bahia (who had been concerned in the wrongful act) would be dismissed, and that the crew of the *Florida* would be set at liberty. At the same time, the American Secretary of State contended, not without reason, that the recognition of belligerent rights in the insurgent citizens of the United States was an act of intervention, in derogation of the law of nations, unfriendly to the United States, and injurious to their interests; that the harbouring of piratical ships and their crews in Brazilian ports, and the furnishing of them with necessaries, were wrongs done to the American people; and that for such acts Brazil justly owed reparation to the United States, as ample as the reparation which she herself was then receiving.

Some important operations against Fort Fisher, protecting the mouth of Cape Fear River, North Carolina, took place at the close of 1864, and in the opening days of the following year. This fort covered the harbour of Wilmington, one of the great resorts of the blockade-runners; and, until it could be reduced, Wilmington was secure from attack, together with the vessels which preyed on American commerce. In the early winter, a detachment of 6,500 men, under General Butler, was sent to act in concert with Admiral Porter. The fort was defended by rather less than 1,000 men, under General Whiting and Colonel Lamb. The assailants were in every respect much stronger than the assailed; but it was not proposed to take the fort by storm. A plan was formed for destroying the work by blowing up a powder-vessel beneath its walls, and 215 pounds of the explosive were placed on board the steamer *Louisiana*, which, under pretence of being a blockade-runner, was anchored within three-quarters of a mile of the fort. The attempt, however, turned out a complete failure; for, although the powder exploded, the several bags, owing to some defect in the complicated machinery by which the ignition was to be produced, did not take fire simultaneously, and the effect was thus dissipated. The idea of the powder-boat was General Butler's, and was suggested by the effect of a great explosion which had occurred at Erith, on the Thames, a few months earlier. The boat was fired on the morning of December 24th, but the detonation was productive of none but trifling results. It was followed on the same day by a tremendous bombardment of the fort. The fleet was extremely powerful; but, although the roar of the guns was terrific, and the garrison, expecting immediate death, crowded into the bomb-proof galleries, very little damage was effected. The attack was renewed on the following day, when a detachment of more than 2,000 men, commanded

by General Weitzel, landed beneath the walls, and took up a position for ulterior operations. The bombardment from the fleet still continued; yet Weitzel found he could do nothing. He reported to General Butler that it would be butchery to order an assault, and under these circumstances it was determined to abandon the attempt. The troops were re-embarked, and conveyed to Fortress first. On the departure of the army, Admiral Porter withdrew his fleet to Beaufort, in the confident expectation that the troops would soon be ordered back again. He had not long to wait, for on the 2nd of January, 1865, General Terry, commanding a division of the Army of the James, was ordered to proceed to Fort Fisher with the soldiers who had been employed in the former attempt,



PLAN OF RICHMOND AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY.

Monroe. Fort Fisher was scarcely injured, and its garrison was now strengthened by the arrival of troops from Richmond. As frequently happens on such occasions, the blame of this disaster was laid by the military upon the navy, and by the navy upon the military. The Northern General was removed from his command, and the proceedings at Fort Fisher were made the subject of an inquiry, which, however, resulted in Butler being acquitted of blame.

A second expedition against the fort was sent out almost immediately after the failure of the and an additional brigade of 1,500 men. Having arranged a plan of operations with Admiral Porter, General Terry made his way to New Inlet, by which Cape Fear River is approached from the Atlantic. While the ironsides and monitors shelled the fort, the disembarkation of the troops was effected on the 13th of January. The works were presently bombarded by all the vessels of the fleet, and the garrison were able to make scarcely any reply, owing to the inferiority of their guns. General Bragg, who was at Wilmington, sent on some reinforcements; but little could be done against so

terrible and concentrated a fire. The small gunboats got in very close on the 14th, and, firing with great accuracy, dismounted some of the guns on the land-face. Preparations were made for an assault on the following day. The walls were beginning to show signs of serious injury. The rampart was overthrown, the palisades were torn away, and communication with the mines was cut off. Early in the afternoon, three brigades, under the immediate command of General Ames, were sent against the north-eastern rampart, while a party of sailors and marines, who had landed on the beach, made a feint against the sea-face. The Confederates fought with much resolution, and the two principal commanding officers were severely wounded; but the determination of the Federals was equal to that of their enemies. From one position to another the defenders of the fort were driven back; the whole work was at length abandoned; and the garrison, flying to the extremity of the neck of land on which the fort was built, threw down their arms in despair. The feint against the sea-face had been badly managed, and resulted in a somewhat precipitate retreat of the sailors; but the main attack had been successful in the highest degree, and, now that Fort Fisher had fallen, Wilmington lay at the mercy of the conquerors. For the present, however, it was not attacked. The other works at the entrance to Cape Fear River were abandoned by the Confederates, and the stream was entered by the Federals, when they had removed the torpedoes by which its channel was endangered. A few days afterwards, the iron-clad squadron which had recently been built at Richmond, and launched on the James, made an attempt to destroy the pontoon-bridges and transports by which the Federals were supporting their operations in that quarter. On the night of January 24th, the Confederate vessels tried to force their way through the obstructions. One of the iron-clads passed a boom which had been drawn across the channel; but three larger vessels grounded, and in the early morning, when the shore-batteries opened fire, the flotilla was compelled to withdraw.

Peace negotiations, of a more formal character than those which had preceded them, were re-opened in January. Three commissioners—one of whom was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy—were charged with power to arrange with Federal agents the terms on which peace might be concluded. After some preliminary discussions, which ended in nothing but a more complete manifestation of the inability of the two sides to find any common ground of agreement, Mr. Lincoln went in person to Fortress Monroe, where the previous interviews had taken place, and met the commissioners, in company with Mr. Seward. Nothing, however, was effected. Mr. Lincoln was not likely to recede from his inflexible demand of absolute submission on the part of the South; the commissioners were not empowered to make any such terms. The conference was held on the 3rd of February, and it was the last attempt on the part of the Confederacy to obtain peace together with independence. The game was very nearly played out, and the South was shortly compelled to accept peace on any terms it could get.

On the 25th of January, Mr. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation for a general fast, in the course of which he frankly admitted the many reverses of the Southern arms. The resources of the Confederacy were now becoming low indeed. Not only was there a deficiency of troops, but there was a want of weapons with which to arm them. On the same day that Mr. Davis issued his proclamation for a fast, General Lee (who a few days later was appointed to the supreme command of all the Confederate armies) made an urgent call on civilians for the supply of small-arms to the forces. "To arm and equip an additional force of cavalry," he said, "there is need of carbines, revolvers, pistols, saddles, and other accoutrements of mounted men. Arms and equipments of the kind desired are believed to be held by citizens in sufficient numbers to supply our wants. Many keep them as trophies, and some in the expectation of using them in their own defence. But it should be remembered that arms are now required for use, and that they cannot be made so effectual for the defence of the country in any way as in the hands of organised troops. They are needed to enable our cavalry to cope with the well-armed and equipped cavalry of the enemy, not only in the general service, but in resisting those predatory expeditions which have inflicted so much loss upon the people of the interior." One sentence in General Lee's appeal was especially noteworthy. "Those," he observed, "who think to retain arms for their defence should remember that, if the army cannot defend them, the arms will be of little use." To this, then, it had come at length. Beggared in men, beggared in weapons, the Confederate commanders were reduced to sue for a few carbines and revolvers, such as the planters may have kept in their own houses in the hope of slaying Federal soldiers when the last desperate hour should have arrived. Lee was right in saying that, if such arms were to be used at all, they should be used by regular forces in the operations of regular warfare; but the Southern slave-

holders saw that the days of regular warfare were nearly passed. They were preparing to retire within their own dwellings, and either to use their revolvers in mere acts of guerilla ferocity, or to lay them aside in the languor and despair of the vanquished.

CHAPTER LXI.

Preparations by Sherman for marching North from Savannah—Beauregard and the Forces at his Disposal—South Carolina entered by Sherman—Retreat of the Confederates—Burning of Columbia—Evacuation and Destruction of Charleston by the Confederates—Abandonment of Wilmington—Sherman advancing towards the Atlantic—Collision between the Cavalry of Kilpatrick and Wade Hampton—Fayetteville occupied by the Federals—Actions with the Confederates in Front of Bentonville—Johnston driven towards Smithfield—Entry of the Federals into Goldsborough, North Carolina—Inauguration of Mr. Lincoln for his Second Term of Presidency—His Remarks on the Slavery Question—Act of Congress abolishing Negro Bondage—Arming of Slaves at the South—Mr. Jefferson Davis on the Situation—Operations before Petersburg and in the Shenandoah Valley—Confederate Attack on Fort Stedman, Petersburg—The Federal Generals determine on a plan of combined Action—Renewal of Operations on the 29th of March—Fighting on the 31st—The Battle of Five Forks—Federal Attack on Petersburg—Forcing of the Confederate Lines—Death of General A. P. Hill—Evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond—Flight of Mr. Jefferson Davis and the Members of his Cabinet—Pursuit of General Lee's Army—Terrible Sufferings of the Southern Troops—Negotiations for a Surrender—The Fugitives defeated by Sheridan—Interview between Lee and Grant—Terms of Surrender settled—Lee's Farewell Address to his Troops—Results of the Federal Success—Affection of Lee's Soldiers towards their vanquished General.

Sherman rested at Savannah only long enough to prepare for that further advance of his armies which he from the first judged to be necessary. To penetrate northwards through South Carolina, to enter North Carolina, and in due time to combine his forces with those besieging Petersburg and Richmond, seemed to him the most likely way of terminating the war, and ensuring the submission of the slave-holding Power. General Grant desired that the whole of Sherman's army should at once be transported by sea from Georgia to the banks of the James River; but the hero of Savannah considered that it would be far better to march through the intervening country, reducing it to submission by an overwhelming display of force. The land, it is true, presented in many parts great difficulties to the progress of a hostile body; but the Confederate army was now so reduced in numbers, and so broken in spirits, that little active opposition was to be feared. In January, 1865, General Beauregard was at Augusta, on the Georgian side of the Savannah River, endeavouring to scrape together from various localities a force of sufficient magnitude to resist the further measures of Sherman. But his attempts of this nature were not very successful, and he found himself at length in command of only a few thousand men, with which to confront the serried legions of his adversary. He wished to augment his scanty divisions by abandoning Charleston and Wilmington; but these measures were not at that time sanctioned by the Confederate Government.

Beauregard had the assistance of General D. H. Hill, and also of Wade Hampton, who commanded the cavalry. The want, indeed, was not in generals, but in men, so that little could be done to protect the roads by which Sherman would move towards the more northern States. On the completion of his preparations at Savannah, that commander found himself at the head of 60,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and artillery in proportion. A detachment of this force he left at Savannah, and with the rest (forming the larger part) set out for Goldsborough, in North Carolina. To deceive the enemy, demonstrations were to be made against Charleston to the right, and Augusta to the left; and, while these were in progress, the main body was to push forward along the causeways by which the marshes of the coast are traversed. The advance did not fairly commence until the 1st of February, when the several divisions set out on their northward march, and entered on a dreary tract of flooded lands, where the Confederate cavalry had done their utmost to impair the roads and destroy the bridges, and where therefore it was necessary to conduct many engineering operations before the troops could pursue their course. It is lamentable to be obliged to add that the march was characterised by the same acts of wanton ferocity which had marked the progress of the Federal armies from Atlanta to Savannah. In South Carolina, as in Georgia, houses, barns, agricultural produce, and even large woods, were set on fire, and the invaders, as they passed over the country, left behind them a blackened desert, stripped of everything which could support the life of man or beast.

The Confederates held the line of the Salkahatchie, but, on their positions being forced, fell back behind the Edisto at Branchville, where they burned two bridges. Sherman's forces, however, crossed the stream, and advanced towards Orangeburg, which was occupied on the 12th of February. Wade Hampton was now compelled to fall back on Columbia, the State capital, situated north of the Congaree River. The bridge in front of the town was burned by the retreating Southerners; but the Federals, on reaching the banks of the Congaree, early in the morning of February 16th, passed the river by means of extemporary bridges, and received the surrender of Columbia. The place was consumed by fire on the night of the 17th; but General Sherman charged this fact on Wade Hampton himself, who, it is alleged, applied the torch to a large quantity of cotton and lint stored up in the town, blazing fragments of which were carried by an unusually high wind in many directions. Hampton denied the accusation, and vehemently asserted that the city was fired by the brutality of Sherman's own men. Wherever the truth may have lain with regard to the conflagration, it is unfortunately only too certain that the Federal troops behaved towards the townspeople with unmitigated ferocity. From these frightful scenes it is a relief to turn in other directions. The left wing of the Federals, under Slocum, reached Winnsborough on the 21st, and was followed by the cavalry of Kilpatrick. The latter then moved upon Lancaster, so as to foster the impression that Sherman intended a general march on Charlotte, North Carolina, to which city Beauregard and all the Confederate cavalry had by this date retreated from Columbia.

At the same time, General Hardee evacuated Charleston, it being considered that to retain 11,000 troops within the defences of that city, when they were so much needed to oppose the advance of Sherman, would be a grave mistake. Thus, the original proposal of Beauregard was now adopted; but the time had passed when it was capable—if it was ever capable—of producing the desired effect. The abandonment of Charleston was attended, on the night of February 17th, by the burning of the city, which was fired by the Confederates themselves, in order that the Northerners should have little but a mass of ruins as the reward of their long endeavours to take this stronghold of rebellion. The Government stores, the railway depôts, and the iron-clads in the harbour, were burned or blown up; the guns on the ramparts were burst; and the rear-guard of Hardee's army left by rail for the north-west, in the midst of an infernal glare and clamour of destruction, which the Federals were for the moment powerless to prevent. General Gillmore's troops entered the flaming city on the morning of the 18th, and, hoisting the national colours once more over the remnants of the forts, proceeded to subdue the conflagration. But only a small portion of the city could be saved. Charleston, the cradle of the rebellion, had perished in fires of her own kindling—a fit type of that rapacious and cruel oligarchy which would wreck where it could not rule, and which knew no medium between the insolence of domination and the despair of baffled crime.

Wilmington, in North Carolina, was also abandoned. The reduction of Fort Fisher, on the 15th of January, had greatly diminished the value of the position; and in this instance, as well as in the case of Charleston, it was thought better to add the garrison to the scanty forces then in the field under the directions of Johnston, who had been restored to command as one of the most capable of the Southern leaders, notwithstanding the series of defeats which he had suffered at the hands of Sherman in Georgia. During the depth of winter, the 23rd corps, under Schofield, had been transported from Clifton, on the Tennessee River, to the vicinity of Wilmington, that it might aid in the capture of that city, and, when the main object had been effected, might assist the designs of Sherman by marching on Goldsborough. The siege operations against Wilmington were so vigorously prosecuted that both the outer and the inner line of defences were outflanked in the course of February, and on the 22nd of that month the Confederates under Hoke destroyed the steamers, cotton, and Government stores, and, retreating on Goldsborough, where Johnston was concentrating his forces, abandoned Wilmington to the Federals. Schofield then determined, as soon as his arrangements should be complete, to advance in two columns from Wilmington and Newbern to Goldsborough. But means of transportation could not at once be obtained, and the first week of March had nearly closed ere his movement began.

After quitting Winnsborough, Sherman turned eastwards, and directed his columns on Cheraw, a small town situated on the Great Pedee River, at the termination of the line of rail running from Charleston. His supplies were getting short; the solitary lands where he now found himself yielded but little for the support of his regiments; and it became imperative to open communications with the sea. Progress was fatiguing and difficult. Heavy rain was frequently falling, and the roads were so rotten with mud and ooze that it was often

necessary to make long causeways of felled trees across some desolate stretch of watery soil. The labours of the men were prodigious; yet their advance was not seriously delayed. Chesterfield and Cheraw were entered on the 2nd and 3rd of March, and at the latter town Sherman remained a few days. Thence he sent out detachments to destroy the railways on his flanks, some of which parties were sharply handled by the Confederate cavalry; but the enemy continued to retreat, and, relinquishing many positions which might have been held by a larger force, withdrew to the northern side of Cape Fear River. Sherman crossed the Great Pedee on the 6th of March, and moved towards Fayetteville. While on his road to that town, Kilpatrick, in command of the Federal cavalry, narrowly escaped a crushing defeat. Hoping to separate the Confederate horse under Wade Hampton from the infantry under Hardee, he divided his force into three detachments, and took up a position, during the night of March 8th, on the roads by which he anticipated that his adversary would advance. Hampton, however, obtained information of Kilpatrick's design, and, concentrating all his forces on one division of the Federal cavalry, gave battle on the morning of the 9th. The Northerners were for a time completely routed, and Kilpatrick himself was obliged to escape on foot to his camp in the rear. The whole of the Federal cavalry was now in retreat; but after a while the commander succeeded, by great exertions, in rallying his men, who, advancing with renewed spirit, held the Confederates in check, until the arrival of a brigade of infantry completely altered the fortunes of the day. By this time, Sherman had reached the right or southern bank of Cape Fear River, and the Federal columns were soon concentrated at Fayetteville, to which city supplies were sent from Wilmington by means of the river.

While staying at Fayetteville, Sherman became aware that the fragments of an army which had left Columbia under Beauregard had been reinforced by Cheatham's corps from the west, and by the garrison of Augusta; that Hardee had succeeded in getting across Cape Fear River; and that the whole of the Confederate forces under Johnston made up an army superior to his own in cavalry, and not contemptible either in infantry or artillery. The Federal commander was quick to perceive that the real difficulties of his enterprise were about to commence, and that his further operations must be characterised by extreme caution. On the 15th of March he resumed his forward movement, and on the following morning discovered the Confederates under Hardee strongly entrenched at a point where the road branches off towards Goldsborough, by way of Bentonville. They were immediately attacked and defeated by the Federal left wing, and during the ensuing night the whole body withdrew in the direction of Smithfield, where Hardee effected his junction with Johnston. Another battle was fought on the 19th near Bentonville, when Slocum's column sustained a temporary check. Johnston had on the previous night moved from Smithfield with great rapidity, and without the encumbrance of many heavy guns, hoping to overwhelm his opponent's left flank before it could be relieved by the co-operating columns; but Sherman had expected such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it. The action continued during the whole day, and Slocum's forces repulsed no fewer than six attacks, delivered by the Confederates with their accustomed energy and enthusiasm. The Federals had hastily entrenched themselves, and, being reinforced during the night, were in a position of comparative security on the morning of the 20th. The two armies then confronted one another from behind their respective breastworks; but nothing further took place that day. The battle was resumed by the Federals on the 21st, when, after many hours of heavy fighting, the Southerners were driven towards Smithfield, and Sherman, who had by this time been joined by General Schofield, remained master of the situation. Schofield's advance had been delayed by the vigorous opposition of Hoke's forces, with whom some severe actions had been fought. On the 21st, the Federal columns entered Goldsborough, where Sherman left his army under the command of Schofield, while he proceeded alone to Grant's head-quarters. These he reached on the 27th of March, and then for the first time learned the general state of affairs, of which he had to a great extent been ignorant since the end of January. The main Federal armies were now in such a position with reference to one another that they could readily combine for the prosecution of any campaign which might be considered advisable in the spring. The great object of the march had been obtained, and the two Carolinas, as well as Georgia, were all but lost to the Confederacy.

While these events were proceeding, the political world was not idle. On the 17th of February, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation convening an extraordinary session of the Senate on the 4th of March, and the inauguration of the President for his second term of office occurred at Washington on that day. In his opening address, Mr. Lincoln adverted to the great series of events which had taken place

during the previous four years, and contrasted the position of the Union on the 4th of March, 1865, with its position on the 4th of March, 1861. "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray," he observed, "that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet, if it be God's will that it continue until the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword,—as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for those who shall have borne the battle, and for their widows and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." These words were uttered within a few weeks of that tragical event which terminated the second Presidency of Mr. Lincoln when it had only just begun. It is a consolatory fact that in one of his latest public utterances this remarkable man took ground so lofty and so noble. His speeches had sometimes an admixture of the grotesque and fantastic; but not so on this occasion. The innate grandeur and benevolence of his nature appeared in this backward glance over the events of the civil war —in this foreshadowing of the great and excellent results which were certain to issue, in the fulness of time, out of the blood and mire of that portentous struggle. The fight was not yet over, but the end was near; the darkness had not yet passed, but the twilight of a better day was visible to all who watched with courage in their hearts, and with reliance on those eternal principles of right and morality by which alone nations live, and forms of government prosper. It was well that when Abraham Lincoln gave up his life at the hands of an assassin, he did not close his eyes before they had seen the termination of that curse of iniquity from which the civil war had sprung, and which had been the fruitful source of all the worst misfortunes that had ever befallen the Republic of the West.

THE JAMES RIVER AND COUNTRY NEAR RICHMOND.

The Act of Congress abolishing slavery through-

GENERAL LEE'S FAREWELL TO HIS SOLDIERS.

out the whole of the United States, without any exception or qualification whatever, was passed on the 1st of February. The measure had been recommended by Mr. Lincoln himself in his Message of December 6th, 1864; and although many, even among the Northern population, were reluctant to take such a course, it was generally felt that nothing less would meet the exigencies of the case, and that a social condition which had already cost the country millions of dollars, and tens of thousands of lives, should not be permitted to remain any longer, to imperil the future as it had disturbed the past. The year 1865 was indeed a memorable one for the black population of America. It saw the death-blow given to the principle and practice of slavery wherever the standard of the United States should wave; it saw the South itself, in its last agony and despair, willing to arm its negroes, in the frantic hope that they would fight for a Republic which was built on their subjection. Towards the end of February, the Southern Congress passed a Bill for sanctioning that perilous step. Some time before, a measure to the same effect had been approved by the Lower House, but rejected in the Senate by a single vote. In February, the policy of desperation over-rode all opposition. The Act permitted Mr. Jefferson Davis to ask for and accept the services of slaves, to organise them into military bodies, and to pay and feed them like other troops. In the event of being unable to obtain the requisite number, the Southern President was allowed to call on each State for its quota of an additional 300,000 men, to be raised without reference to colour; although at the same time nothing in the Act was to be construed as organising a change in the relation of the slaves to their masters. Thus, the negroes were not, as a rule, to be enfranchised, though of course manumission would have been the special reward of service in the field. Mr. Lincoln, however, in addressing a popular meeting at Washington on the 19th of March, observed that any coloured man who would fight to keep his fellows in slavery ought himself to be enslaved; and this, no doubt, was the general feeling among the blacks themselves. If any safety was at any time to be found in such a measure, that time had passed. By the close of February, 1865, the fortunes of the Confederation were in such a state that nothing could retrieve them. In a message to his Congress on the 15th of March, Mr. Davis remarked:—"The country is environed with perils, which it is our duty to calmly contemplate, as thus alone can the measures necessary to avert the threatened calamity be wisely devised and efficiently enforced. Richmond is now threatened, and in greater danger than heretofore during the war. . . . No choice remains but to continue the contest to its final issue. The people of the Confederacy can have but little love for him who supposes it possible they would ever consent to purchase, at the cost of degradation and slavery, permission to live in a country garrisoned by their own negroes, and governed by officers sent by the conqueror to rule over them."

Some weeks before these words were penned, the armies of the Potomac and the James River had commenced that final series of operations which proved the ruin of the Confederacy. Early in February, signs of re-awakened activity began to be visible in the forces under the immediate command of Grant, which had for a long time been comparatively quiet in their winter quarters. On the 5th of that month, two army-corps, together with Gregg's dragoons, were sent to turn the Confederate works at Hatcher's Run. The attempt was repulsed, yet the troops obtained a few additional miles of country, and, building high observatories in the woods, were enabled to overlook a large tract of land which had hitherto been safe from their reconnaissances. Shortly afterwards, Sheridan's cavalry made some important demonstrations in the valley of the Shenandoah. The Richmond and Lynchburg Railway was entirely destroyed by these active troopers, who inflicted a severe defeat on a small force of Confederates under General Early, and subsequently broke down the locks on the James River Canal. It was part of Sheridan's design to join Sherman's army at Goldsborough; but a sudden rise of the James River, and the destruction of numerous bridges by the Confederates, prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and on the 24th of March Sheridan joined his forces to the army operating on the James.

The state of affairs at Richmond was now very critical. The troops had been on short rations throughout the winter, and, as the Northern forces tightened their grip on the devoted city, it was evident that the prevalent distress would become still greater. If anything more was to be done, it must be done at once. Lee accordingly determined to take advantage of the lengthening days and milder weather to strike a heavy blow at Grant, such as might possibly compel his withdrawal from Petersburg and Richmond, and enable the Confederate forces of that locality to unite with those under Johnston for ulterior operations against Sherman and Schofield. The point selected for attack was Fort Stedman, the second work from the extreme right of the Federal defences in the neighbourhood of the Appomattox. The position

was most formidable. Works of a very elaborate character, strongly built and heavily armed, stretched for a distance of thirty miles from the north side of the James to Hatcher's Run, on the south side. These lines had the Appomattox in front during the greater part of their course, and between them and the river were the opposing works of the Confederates. The attack on Fort Stedman was made at dawn on the 25th of March. The assailants were led by General Gordon, and the garrison was so completely surprised that the place was captured with but little difficulty. Gordon then proceeded towards Fort Hascall, forming a portion of the second line of defence; but the attempt to carry this position was an utter failure. Baffled and discouraged, Gordon retired to Fort Stedman, where he was furiously attacked by the 9th corps of the Federals, and, after a sanguinary fight, was compelled to yield what he had acquired with such delusive facility. Losing a large proportion of their number by death and capture, the Confederates retreated to their own works, followed by the victorious Federals, who succeeded in establishing themselves in a position beyond that which they had occupied when the day's operations commenced. It was two days after this event that Sherman arrived at City Point, on the James River, to consult with Grant on the future conduct of the campaign. The two principal commanders, together with General Meade, General Ord, and President Lincoln, subsequently met in conference in front of Petersburg, and debated on the measures necessary for the final subjection of the Southern Confederacy. The great object was to keep the forces of Lee and Johnston from effecting a junction, and thus prolonging the struggle over an indefinite period. To frustrate this design, Grant proposed to take the initiative at the earliest possible date, and to make so overwhelming an attack on Lee as to prevent the union of the two armies. The 29th of March was the day fixed upon for the renewal of active operations, and five days previously orders were issued for the movement of troops from the head-quarters at City Point. The plan embraced a simultaneous attack on many scattered points of the Confederate position about Petersburg. For resisting this combined assault, Lee had only a comparatively small body of troops; but those troops were seasoned veterans, and Lee himself was a commander of the highest ability. The approaching contest, therefore, seemed likely to be the death-grapple, and each side summoned up all its energies for the prosecution of the task which lay before it.

The movement began, as contemplated, on the 29th, when the 2nd corps, under Humphreys, and the 5th, under Warren, arrived before the Confederate breastworks in the vicinity of Hatcher's Run. On the night of that same day, Grant communicated with Sheridan, and directed him to act in conjunction with the main army, instead of simply operating against the enemy's lines of communication, as had been originally intended. Violent rain on the 30th prevented the Federals from pursuing any active measures; but the Confederates in the meanwhile concentrated several of their brigades opposite the corps of Humphreys and Warren. On the 31st, Lee considered himself strong enough to anticipate his enemy's blow by striking a blow of his own. A portion of Warren's force was driven back with great slaughter; but the success was only temporary, and was followed by a recoil when other troops were encountered. Lee then turned on Sheridan, who had taken up a position in front of Dinwiddie Court House, at the Five Forks—a meeting of cross-roads, three of which run towards the Southside Railway. The attack was made with so much impetuosity and vigour that Sheridan's men were for a time driven back, and seemed likely to be entirely defeated. The troopers, however, retired behind a breastwork of logs and earth which had previously been erected, and after a while the combat was renewed by two brigades of Federal horse, who attacked the Southerners in flank, and checked their further advance. Towards night, the Confederates were forced to yield the ground they had won at an earlier period of the day, and this was at once occupied by their antagonists, who in some directions pushed their line beyond the points which they had held at the beginning of the action. A detachment from Warren's corps was sent on the night of the 31st to the support of Sheridan; and when these troops arrived at daybreak on the 1st of April, they beheld the rear of the opposing cavalry in rapid retreat. Sheridan now felt in a position to assume the offensive, and a murderous conflict again ensued, ending in the total discomfiture of the Confederates, who retreated in disorder towards Petersburg.

On the 1st of April, Grant opened a furious bombardment along his whole line, and directed the corps of Wright, Parke, and Ord, which had not as yet been employed in this series of operations, to attack Petersburg on the following morning. The assault commenced at daybreak on the 2nd of April. The three corps appointed to the work dashed across the narrow belt of land separating their own from the Confederate lines, and, attacking with irresistible spirit and enormous

concentration of power, swept like an immense wave over the entrenchments which had so long resisted the Federal advance. At the same time, General Humphreys, whose corps was on the left, beyond Hatcher's Run, assailed the works in his front, and drove back the defenders into the inner fortifications. Magnificent efforts were made by the Confederate Generals to retrieve this dire misfortune; but the troops were fast losing their organisation, and there was too much reason to apprehend that panic would presently succeed to confusion. The less determined were seeking the rear; the more self-reliant were desperately striving to retain such positions as still remained within their grasp; but the case was hopeless, and at the utmost nothing more could be done than to delay the Federal progress, and cover the retreat of the army, so as possibly to avoid the humiliation of a complete surrender. Fort Gregg was held for some hours by a small body of devoted men, who in the midst of general consternation retained their coolness and their courage. The garrison of Fort Alexander also stood firmly to their guns. Repeated onsets were made by General Gibbon's division; but it was not until half-past two in the afternoon that Fort Gregg surrendered, with the small handful of men, thirty in number, who alone remained out of the two hundred and fifty forming the garrison that morning.

The day was Sunday; and while Mr. Davis was at worship, a message from General Lee was handed to him, which must have cast an additional shadow upon that worn and weary face. The Commander-in-Chief announced that his outer lines had been forced, that he could resist only a few hours longer, and that Richmond must be immediately evacuated. In the course of the morning, however, Lee was enabled to rally his troops behind the inner defences, and so far to restore their confidence as to undertake the offensive on his own part. General A. P. Hill, one of the most distinguished of the Confederate commanders, was directed to attack the enemy's 9th corps, and executed the movement with so much skill and daring that the Federals were for a time staggered. But in this heroic effort Hill was slain, and his troops were ultimately obliged to recede. Field's division of Longstreet's corps, however, was at the same time so vigorously handled as to keep the Federals in check; and during the night of that disastrous day the Southerners evacuated Petersburg, without further molestation from their opponents.

They retired on Amelia Court House, to the north-west of Petersburg; and on this point were concentrated the forces that had previously been north of the James. Great fires were kindled in Richmond, where the Confederates, following the precedents which they had themselves created in several quarters, applied the torch to the Government offices, the great storehouses on the banks of the river, and other buildings. Mr. Davis, the members of his Cabinet, and all the citizens of importance, departed, while yet they could, for Charlotte, North Carolina. The poorer inhabitants had little choice but to abide the issue; and, in the utter suspension of authority, scenes of frantic riot occurred in the half-deserted streets. A number of dram-shops had been burst open, and whiskey was flowing through the gutters as from a fountain. Those who remained were maddened with the spirit which ran like water, and with the mingled licence and desolation of the hour. From time to time, fierce explosions shook the air; the sky was reddened as with blood by the multitudinous flames which leapt and roared above the crumbling city; and thus, amidst savage orgies, the Republic that had made its corner-stone out of human bondage came toppling to the earth, drunken in its last moments with despair and rage, as it had been intoxicated from the first by an evil principle and a guilty hope.

The evacuation of Richmond became known to General Weitzel—who occupied the Federal works north of the James—at three o'clock on the morning of April 3rd. At daylight he moved his men forward, and, meeting with no opposition, entered the city. He found much suffering and poverty among the population. The rich as well as the poor were destitute of food; and, whatever their political sympathies, it must in some respects have been a relief that the long and arduous struggle was over. The great news was at once telegraphed to Washington, and on the following day Mr. Lincoln arrived at Richmond, and occupied the house belonging to Mr. Davis, which was now used as the head-quarters of the Federal garrison. Martial law was for the present proclaimed in the city, and the people were requested to remain quietly in their houses, and to avoid all public assemblages, or meetings in the streets. At the same time, strict orders were given for restraining the victorious soldiery from acts of plunder and outrage, and from the use of insulting words or gestures towards the citizens. To have obtained possession of the Confederate capital was a great triumph for the Northern cause; yet the Confederation itself, though pierced and mortally wounded in many places, had still some life remaining, and was capable of resistance in the field. Lee had effected his escape at the head of an army not contemptible

in numbers, and eminent for valour; and to the crushing of that force, wherever it might be found, Grant immediately directed his attention.

Breaking down the bridges over which he passed, the Confederate General pursued his way in a westerly direction, and was presently sixteen miles ahead of his adversaries. The fear was lest he should unite with Johnston, in which case he might still have offered a formidable resistance in the open country. To prevent such a result, every nerve was strained; and even as early as the evening of the 2nd, the cavalry under Sheridan, and a number of infantry, were marching in the direction of the Southside and Lynchburg Railway. Lee was then retreating along the southern bank of the Appomattox; and at Amelia Court House the forces from Richmond joined those from Petersburg on the morning of the 4th. Lee hoped to have an opportunity of taking some of the Federal columns in detail, and beating them one by one; but the commissariat stores which he had ordered to be collected at that spot had by some error failed to reach the depôt. It has been said that they were sent by mistake to Richmond, and that they perished there in the conflagration. The disaster, however arising, was one of an overwhelming character. The Confederate troops carried with them rations for not more than one day; the country was in such a state that it could not supply them with food; and it was no longer possible to perform the long and difficult march by which alone Lee could combine with Johnston. On the afternoon of the 4th, Sheridan cut the rail to Danville between Amelia Court House and Burkesville, and, entrenching himself strongly, awaited the arrival of the main army. The Confederates were now exhausted, depressed, and out of heart; desertions were numerous, and many permitted themselves to be captured. An attempt to escape towards Lynchburg, on the night of the 5th, was defeated by the able combinations of the Federals, and on the following morning the advanced guard of General Ord's army was planted across the roads by which Lee was marching. The obstruction was for the moment swept aside, after a sharp encounter; but the Confederates were by this time reduced to such terrible extremities that they were compelled to feed on the young shoots of trees.* The horses and mules were in an equally bad state with their masters, and the soldiers were utterly broken down by want of sustenance, and the fatigue of constant marching. It was so evident that all was over that large numbers of guns and waggons were destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and the records and papers belonging to the army were burned. Most of the baggage shared the same fate, and it was now only a question of how soon the inevitable collapse would take place. Meanwhile, the pursuit was kept up with remorseless rigour. Lee's rear was attacked by Sheridan, and by the infantry of the 2nd corps, on the 6th of April. In the first instance, the men fought with the fury of despair; but, on finding every avenue of retreat cut off by the converging columns of the foe, they threw down their arms, and surrendered. Lee pushed on, at the head of 10,000 men, conceiving that he might even yet reach Lynchburg, where supplies had been collected. General Pendleton expressed to him the opinion of himself and his fellow-officers that surrender was now unavoidable; but, clinging to his desperate hope, he refused to admit it. A few scattered actions still took place, and the attempts of the Federals to bar the road of retreat were repulsed with amazing valour; but the end was by this time a foregone conclusion. Submission might be delayed for a few hours, or even for a day or two; but in the very near future it stood before those vanquished and starving men, a fact inevitable as death, inexorable as fate.

On the 7th of April, Grant addressed a letter to Lee in which he said:—"The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia." Lee replied on the same day, and, while remarking that he was not entirely of the opinion expressed by Grant as to the hopelessness of further resistance, reciprocated the desire of that commander to avoid useless bloodshed, and therefore, before considering his proposition, asked the terms he would offer on condition of the army surrendering. Grant wrote again on the 8th, demanding that the men surrendered should be disqualified from taking up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and adding that he would meet General Lee, or would designate officers to meet any officers named by him, at any point that might be considered desirable, for the purpose of arranging the terms upon which the surrender would be received. But Lee was still disinclined to entertain the proposition. He desired a personal interview

* This fact was mentioned to Colonel Fletcher by an officer of General Longstreet's staff. (History of the American War, Vol. III., chap. 23.)

with General Grant, that the restoration of peace might be talked over; and accordingly proposed a meeting between the picket lines. If by this species of equivocation Lee hoped to effect any arrangement by which the war could be terminated, and the Confederacy at the same time recognised, with whatever limitations or under whatever conditions, he grossly deceived himself. Grant told him, in a letter written on the 9th of April, that approaching, with the information that hostilities had been suspended, in order to arrange terms of surrender. Lee had at length requested an interview with Grant in accordance with the offer contained in that General's letter of the previous day; and the preliminaries were on the point of being arranged.

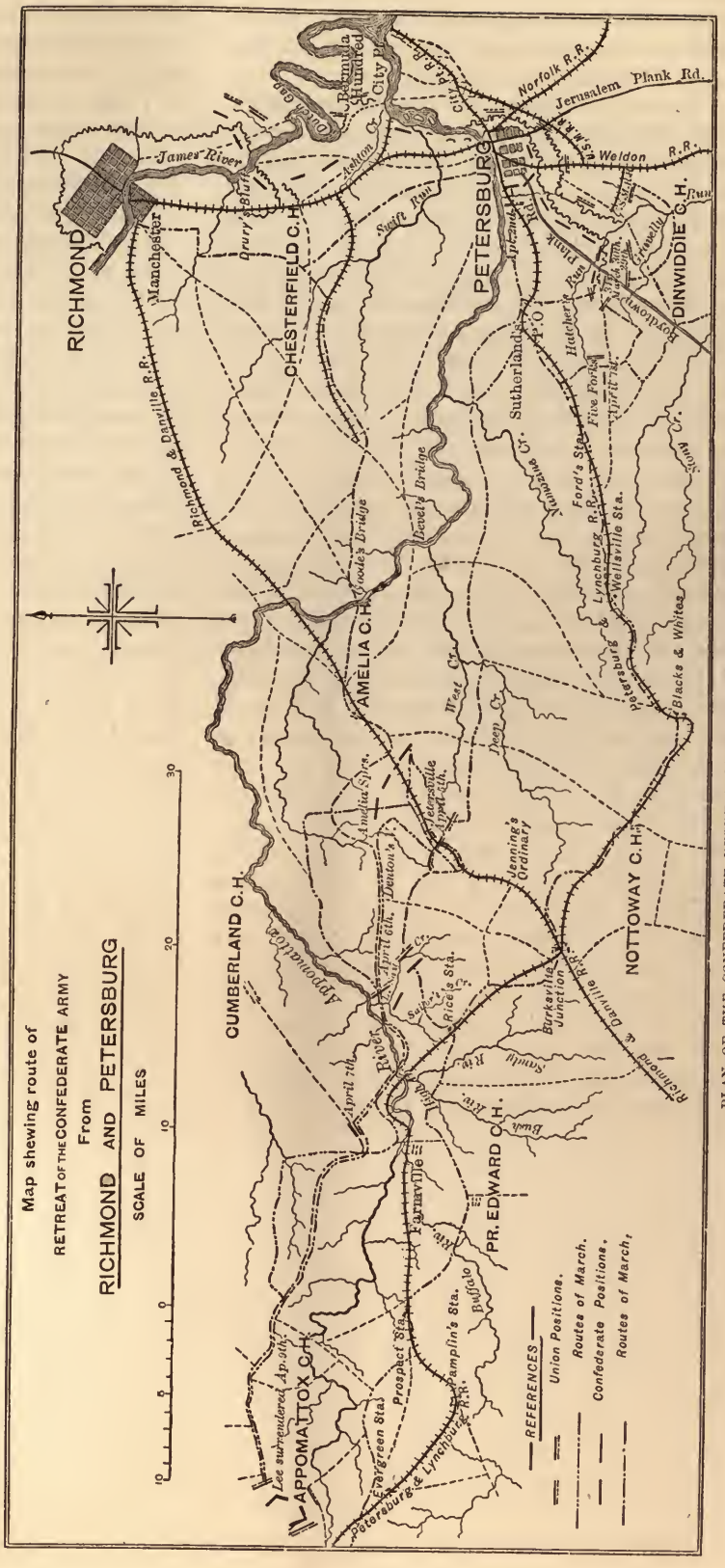
The two great rivals met during the 9th of April in a small dwelling near Appomattox Court House.

RUINS OF RICHMOND AFTER THE WAR.

peace might be had at once on the South laying down its arms; and by that time he must have fully understood, as regarded his own army at least, that no other course was possible. His forces had sustained another severe defeat early on the morning of the 9th. Sheridan had cut off the line of retreat. Four trains laden with provisions, which were approaching along the line from Lynchburg, were captured. A last despairing attempt to cut through the opposing ranks was baffled; and as Sheridan was preparing to charge the staggering masses of the Confederates, a flag of truce was seen

The terms of surrender were, that the officers were to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged; that each company or regimental commander should sign a similar parole on behalf of the men; and that the arms, artillery, and public property, should be made over to officers appointed by General Grant to receive them. This last condition was not to embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. On these stipulations being complied with, the officers and men would be allowed to return to their homes, and would not be

disturbed by the authority of the United States, so long as they observed their paroles, and the laws existing where they might reside. The surrender was to include all the forces operating with the Army of Virginia on the 8th of April, and these auxiliary troops speedily laid down their arms. The conduct of General Grant and of his officers was in the highest degree considerate and kind, and the Federal soldiers shared rations with their famished antagonists, now their antagonists no longer. On the following day, General Lee issued a farewell address to his army. "After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude," he wrote, "the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, holding that valour and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would attend the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past vigour has endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of agreement, officers and men can return to their homes, and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend you his blessing and protection." On that same day —the 10th of April—General



PLAN OF THE CONFEDERATE RETREAT FROM RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG.

Lee went with an escort of Federal cavalry to Richmond, where he visited the quarters of General Longstreet, and afterwards took leave of his staff, previous to departing for his own home.

The number of officers and men who surrendered on this occasion is not exactly known; but it has been estimated by American authorities that the army of General Lee, on evacuating Richmond, consisted of nearly 50,000 men. Probably it was not so large as this, but it was large enough to make the loss to the Confederacy one of the most crushing disasters that the Southern League could undergo in its then exhausted condition. Even before the surrender, many of the rebel soldiers had abandoned the army, and returned home, seeing the utter hopelessness of a struggle where the resources on one side were practically illimitable, and those on the other incapable of renewal or repair. The number of muskets given up by Lee scarcely exceeded 10,000, and the pieces of artillery were thirty. The total captures of artillery during this series of battles, and the pursuit that followed, amounted to 170 guns, while of waggons about 350 were yielded to the conquerors. On receiving news of the surrender, the War Department at Washington issued an order to the effect that a salute of 200 guns should be fired at the head-quarters of every army and department, at every post and arsenal in the United States, and at the Military Academy at West Point. The Northern people were transported with delight at the great intelligence which reached them from Virginia. It was true that the army under Johnston, and the armies of the West, still kept possession of the field; but there could now be not the slightest question as to the final issue of the war, and on the 11th of April Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation, announcing that, after a proper interval, the usual privileges and immunities granted to vessels of war in foreign ports would be withheld by the United States from the ships of those countries which continued to withhold them from American ships, in accordance with what was called neutrality. The slave-owners' rebellion was virtually at an end; the authority of the Union was on the eve of being restored throughout the length and breadth of the Republic. A tremendous price had been paid for this supremacy of the Federation over its turbulent members; but the result was nearly achieved. It was no longer possible for unfriendly critics, in England or elsewhere, to say that the American Government was one which naturally tended to disunion, that the model Republic was a bubble, that the commonwealth established by Washington, by Adams, by Jefferson, by Franklin, and by many worthy peers, had a natural tendency to fly into discordant fragments, to relapse into chaos, and to end in ruin.

With the surrender of Lee, the last hope of Southern independence vanished. That brilliant officer, and honourable though mistaken man, embodied in himself the best military qualities of the Southern race. He was beloved by the soldiers whom he had so often led to victory, and with whom he now shared the bitterness of defeat. As he rode back from his interview with General Grant on the 9th of April, the troops crowded about him in transports of grief and enthusiasm. They pressed forward to wring him by the hand; they uttered broken words of affection and regret. An eye-witness has recorded that Lee was painfully affected, as, with tears pouring down his cheeks, he said, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best that I could for you."* There can be no question that he had. If he had equally done the best for his country, he would have been spared that scene, and, when he died in 1870, would have left a brighter name for posterity to record.

* Account by the Honourable F. Lawley in the *Fortnightly Review*.

CHAPTER LXII.

A Memorable Month—Last Cabinet Council of Mr. Lincoln—His Strange Dream—Visit of the President to the Washington Theatre on the 14th of April—His Assassination by Wilkes Booth, and Death on the 15th—Murderous Attack on Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State—Measures taken by General Grant for the Protection of the Seat of Government—Pursuit of Booth, who is Shot in Attempting to Escape—Statement by him of his Motives—Sympathy in England with the People of the United States on the Murder of the President—Expression of Opinion by the Queen and the two Houses of Parliament—Antecedents of Mr. Andrew Johnson, the President by Succession—His Opinions on the Punishment due to Rebels—Proclamation offering Rewards for the Arrest of Mr. Jefferson Davis and Others—General Sherman at Goldsborough—Federal Successes in the West—Bombastic Proclamation of Mr. Davis—Advance of Sherman against Johnston—Retreat of the Confederate General—Proposals for a Surrender—Basis of Agreement signed by Sherman and Johnston—The Terms Repudiated by the Washington Cabinet—Sherman's Error—Surrender of Johnston's Army on the same Conditions as Lee's—Johnston's Farewell to his Troops—His Vindication of the Course he had followed—Surrender of other Confederate Forces—The *Shenandoah* delivered up at Liverpool—Capture of Mr. Jefferson Davis, and his Subsequent Treatment by the Federal Government—Execution of Persons Concerned in Recent Events—Recognition by England and France of the Cessation of the Confederacy—Reduction of the Army and Navy—State of the Country—President Johnson's Message to Congress (December 4th, 1865)—The Policy of the Future.

April, 1865, was a month of triumph and of mourning to the people of the United States. In its earlier days, the Confederate capital was occupied by the forces of the Union, and Lee surrendered to Grant. In its later days, Sherman achieved his final success, and the Confederacy, except in a few scattered members, lay dead before its foe. But between those two sets of events occurred a tragedy which has no parallel in American annals, which convulsed the nation with rage and grief, and which affected even foreign lands with astonishment, with pity, and with horror. For the first time in the records of the Republic, political assassination struck down the head of the Government, and sought with hasty and murderous hands to settle the great problems of the day. On the morning of the 14th of April, the political and social condition of the country seemed in a fairer way for temperate and just arrangement than it had ever been before. At night, all was wild uncertainty, alarm, and clamour, owing to a crime, or rather to a series of crimes, more characteristic of Russian or Turkish despotism than of the free and reasonable life of a people accustomed to constitutional forms, to the energy of discussion, and to the supremacy of law. The incident of a moment had darkened the faces of men more than four years of civil strife.

Mr. Lincoln had entered on his second Presidential term not more than six weeks when the bullet of an assassin closed his mortal career. He had nearly seen the end of the great contest for which his first election served as the pretext; but many difficulties yet remained to be overcome, and the President looked grave and thoughtful. The roughly-hewn, shaggy, uncouth face brightened every now and then with its pleasant and genial smile; but the lines were more deeply furrowed than they had been a few years before, and the shadow of vast responsibilities gave something of sublimity to features that in themselves were homely and almost grotesque. Rulers of men, however, must occasionally appear among the people; and it may have been as much for this reason as for personal entertainment and relaxation that Mr. Lincoln, with his wife and a few attendants, visited Ford's Theatre, at Washington, on the evening of the 14th of April, which was Good Friday. He had just returned from Richmond, and during the day had attended, together with General Grant, a meeting of the Cabinet, at which the new position of affairs had been discussed. On that occasion he had expressed himself with much kindness towards the South, and, looking forward to the speedy termination of the war, had hoped that the separated members of the great family would soon be united as of old. Still, he seemed depressed and anxious. His manner was very different from what it usually appeared. Instead of telling ludicrous stories, as he was frequently in the habit of doing, he sat with his chin upon his breast, thinking. Something extraordinary, he said, was about to happen, and that very soon. Upon being jestingly asked by the Attorney-General, Mr. Bates, if it would be something good, he replied, very gravely, "I don't know; I don't know. But it will happen, and shortly too." He was asked whether he had received any information not yet disclosed to his Ministers; but he answered that he had not. A dream which had occurred to him twice before had come a third time, and it was this which made him so unusually grave. The first time, the dream preceded the battle of Bull Run; the second time, it was followed by some other disaster to the Federals. As he still sat moodily

with downcast head, the Attorney-General desired to be told the nature of this dream. "Well," replied the President, without lifting his head, "I am on a great, broad, rolling river—and I am in a boat—and I drift—and I drift! But this is not business. Let us proceed to business, gentlemen."* Rumours of an impending attack upon his life were in circulation; but, although he could not have forgotten that a plot of this nature was undoubtedly in existence at the time of his original inauguration into the Presidential office, he professed his disbelief in any such design, and went to the theatre in the evening in simple reliance on the good faith of men.

The occupants of the box were the President himself, Mrs. Lincoln, Major Rathbone, and Miss Harris. General Grant was to have joined them in the course of the evening, but business detained him. At a quarter past ten, a young man named John Wilkes Booth—son of Junius Brutus Booth, a well-known English actor of the days of Edmund Kean, and himself connected with the stage—passed along the box-lobby, and, exhibiting a card to the President's messenger, obtained an entrance into the vestibule of the State box. He then quietly closed the door behind him, and fastened it by bracing a short plank across from one of the side partitions to the other. Having thus secured himself from external interruption, he drew a small Derringer pistol, which he carried in his right hand, while his left held a long, double-edged dagger. These preparations were not heard by the occupants of the box, who were at the moment intent on the dramatic action of the piece. The President was leaning forward, holding aside the curtain of the box with his left hand, and glancing round at the audience in the body of the house. Entirely unobserved by any one, Booth noiselessly approached his victim, and, resting his pistol on the chair, shot him through the back of the head. Mr. Lincoln swayed slightly forward, and his eyes closed; but in other respects his attitude remained the same. He seems to have passed at once into a state of total unconsciousness. Major Rathbone, turning round at the report of the pistol, saw through the smoke a man standing between him and the President. He endeavoured to seize him; but Booth, tearing himself away, and dropping the pistol, struck at his antagonist with the dagger, and wounded him severely in the left arm. Exclaiming "Sic semper tyrannis!" he leaped over the front of the box on to the stage, but caught one of his spurs in the national flag which hung immediately below where the President was sitting. This caused him to fall somewhat heavily, though only for a moment. On regaining his feet, he faced the audience, brandished his dagger in a melodramatic way, and shouted "The South is avenged!" Before any one could stop him, he rushed towards the stage-door, which his familiarity with theatres enabled him to find with facility, and escaped into the open air. He had provided himself with a horse, and on this he fled swiftly into Lower Maryland.†

Consternation fell upon the audience at the sudden and atrocious deed. Surgeons were immediately sent for, and Mr. Lincoln was carried to a house close by. He still breathed, but had evidently no sense of what was passing around him. In this comatose state he lingered for several hours, and it was not until twenty-two minutes past seven on the morning of the following day, April 15th, that he breathed his last. About the same time that the murder of the President was being committed, an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Seward, the principal member of the Cabinet. Owing to injuries received in a carriage accident, that gentleman was confined to his bed; and while lying there on the night in question, a man, whose name was afterwards ascertained to be Payne, or Payne Powell, presented himself at the door of the Secretary's house, and requested admission on the plea of bringing medicine. He was refused, but, brushing past the servant, he darted up-stairs to the third floor, and, with a pistol which he carried, knocked down Mr. Seward's son, who endeavoured to stop him, fractured his skull in two places, and otherwise severely injured him. He then entered the room, and stabbed the Secretary in the throat and face with a dagger, in the presence of one of his daughters. An invalid soldier, who was nursing the sick man, threw himself on the intruder, but was seriously wounded in several places. Payne tore himself away the next moment, and, dashing down-stairs, stabbed Major Seward (the eldest son of the Secretary) and an attendant. The entire incident had taken up only a few seconds; but it had fallen on the house like a tornado. Five wounded men were left behind him by the ruffian, who mounted his horse, and rode away without the least precipitation, fearing no immediate pursuit.

In the agitation of the public mind consequent on these daring and extraordinary crimes, it was not unreasonably believed that a vast conspiracy had been planned by Southern politicians, to effect by murder what they could not accomplish by

* This remarkable story was told by Mr. Stanton, early in 1868, to Dickens, during his second visit to America, and is related by the novelist in a letter to Mr. Forster, published in that gentleman's life of Dickens, Vol. III., pp. 386–8.

† Raymond's Life of President Lincoln. Despatch of Secretary Stanton to Mr. Adams, American Minister in London.

military force. Measures were taken by General Grant for protecting the city against any wild outbreak, and the general direction of affairs was for the time assumed by Mr. Stanton, the War Secretary. Guards were set about the persons of Mr. Andrew Johnson (the Vice-President), and of the other members of the Government; and special attention was paid to the Confederate prisoners in the jail, not merely to frustrate any attempt to escape that might be made, but to protect the captives themselves from the fury of the populace. The excitement, however, speedily calmed down, and the thoughts of the public were directed to the pursuit of Booth. From Maryland, the assassin of Mr. Lincoln fled into Virginia, where, at a place called Bowling Green, in Caroline County, he was hunted down by a party of cavalry on the 26th of April. He was accompanied by a man named Harrold, who had been concerned in the plot; and the two, unable to proceed any farther, had taken refuge in a barn. The building being surrounded by the soldiers, Booth and Harrold were summoned to surrender. The latter at once complied; the former, who had severely sprained his ankle in leaping from the President's box, and who must by this time have been too much exhausted for renewed exertions, endeavoured to parley with his pursuers, and, addressing the commanding officer, said, "Captain, give me a chance. Draw off your men, and I will fight them singly. I could have killed you six times to-night; but I believed you to be a brave man, and I would not murder you. Give a lame man a show." As he still refused to surrender, the barn was set on fire, and Booth was then seen with a carbine in his hand, threatening resistance to extremity. A soldier fired on him, and he fell mortally wounded. A little before he expired, he said to those about him, "Tell mother I died for my country. I thought I did for the best." Then, raising his hands, he exclaimed, "Useless—useless!" As the passion of life grew calm before the great serenity of death, this man, ruined by a false, theatrical idea of patriotism, by inapplicable examples derived from Roman history, and by a poor and tawdry sentimentalism, saw the miserable truth that he had destroyed his victim's life and his own, without any good result whatever, even from his own point of view. There is no more pathetic cry than is contained in that reiterated word.

That he was a conscientious man, with something of generosity in his composition, and a desire to do what he conceived to be right, it would be unfair to deny. A letter written by him in the previous January, and which he had sealed up and left with his brother-in-law, carries unmistakable proofs, in the midst of its declamation and verbosity, that he really believed the policy of Mr. Lincoln fatal to the Republic, and that he regarded it as a duty to redress the wrong. "Alas, poor country!" he exclaimed, in his tragedy-hero style, "is she to meet her threatened doom? Four years ago I would have given a thousand lives to see her remain as I had always known her—powerful and unbroken. And even now I would hold my life as naught to see her what she was. Oh, my friends! if the fearful scenes of the past four years never had been enacted, or if what has been had been but a frightful dream, from which we could now awake, with what overflowing hearts could we bless our God, and pray for his continued favour! How I have loved the old flag can never now be known. A few years since, and the entire world could boast of none so pure and spotless. But I have of late been seeing and hearing of the bloody deeds of which she has been made the emblem, and would shudder to think how changed she had grown. Oh, how I have longed to see her break from the mist of blood and death that circles round her folds, spoiling her beauty, and tarnishing her honour! But no; day by day has she been dragged deeper and deeper into cruelty and oppression, till now (in my eyes) her once bright red stripes look like bloody gashes on the face of heaven. I look now upon my early admiration of her glories as a dream. My love (as things stand to-day) is for the South alone. Nor do I deem it a dishonour in attempting to make for her a prisoner of this man, to whom she owes so much misery." From this it would appear that Booth's original intention was not to kill, but to capture, the President.

The assassination of Mr. Lincoln excited a feeling of the warmest sympathy in England. It was probably felt that, for the most part, the murdered statesman had received scanty justice at the hands of English critics; that his uncouth manners and blunt speech had been too much suffered to obscure the nobler qualities of his nature; that his errors, many of which were almost unavoidable in the terribly difficult circumstances of his position, had been too severely judged; and that his sagacity and firmness, his devotion to duty, his resolute faith in his country, and his kindness of disposition in the midst of exasperating passions, had been but grudgingly recognised, where they were recognised at all.* But now the inherent

* A remarkable instance of this revulsion of feeling appeared in *Punch*, which contained an obituary poem on Mr. Lincoln, expressing something like remorse for the persistent misrepresentations which had been made by that journal—a recantation perhaps the most extraordinary that has ever appeared in print.

greatness of the man was seen and acknowledged; and the utter immorality of a cause which began with treason and ended in assassination became apparent to the general conscience. The Queen wrote with her own hand a letter of condolence to Mrs. Lincoln. Several of the municipal and public bodies of the United Kingdom, including the corporation of London, gave expression to their respect for the deceased President, and their sorrow at his death. The subject was brought before the notice of both Houses of Parliament by the Government of the day, and a motion for an address to her Majesty, expressive of sympathy with the people of the United States, was carried unanimously by Lords and Commons on the 1st of May. The Opposition was represented in the one chamber by the late Lord Derby, and in the other by Mr. Disraeli. The latter happily remarked that "in the character of the victim, and in the very accessories of his almost latest moment, there was something so homely and so innocent that it took the subject, as it were, out of the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy. It touched the heart of the nation, and appealed to the domestic sentiments of mankind. In a trial which perhaps more than any other tested the moral qualities of a man, the late President had performed his duty with simplicity and strength; and in the midst of the prevailing sorrow it was consolatory to reflect that assassination had never changed the history of the world." To these addresses her Majesty replied:—"I entirely participate in the sentiments you have expressed in your address to me on the subject of the assassination of the President of the United States, and I have given directions to my Minister at Washington to make known to the Government of that country the feelings which you entertain, in common with myself and my whole people, with regard to this deplorable event."

THE HOUSE WHERE GENERAL LEE SURRENDERED.

By the provisions of the Constitution, the Vice-President, Mr. Andrew Johnson, succeeded to the Presidency immediately on the death of Mr. Lincoln. He was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina, where he was born on the 29th of December, 1808; but while a young man he had settled in Tennessee, and it was that State which he represented in Congress. His parentage was humble; he had himself worked as a journeyman tailor; his education was slight and defective, and his abilities, though far from contemptible, were

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not of a striking order. But by industry, perseverance, and knowledge of affairs, he had raised himself to a good position in the world, and for several years had sat either in the Tennessee Legislature, or in the Congress of the United States. He had been twice elected Governor of Tennessee, and in 1857 entered the Senate at Washington. Thus, his acquaintance with political life was not small, nor wanting in variety. Like most self-made men, he was a little ostentatious in talking about his plebeian origin, and of what he owed to the people. But his conduct in the Senate showed him to be in some respects a man of sense and moderation. He had felt in his own person, while yet a journeyman tailor, that scorn of the "mean whites"—the men without land or serfs, compelled to live by manual labour—which was freely expressed by the great planters of the slave-holding States; and in the Senate his voice had always been raised in favour of this miserable and proscribed class. On becoming rich, he himself owned slaves; but his political views were agreeable neither to the South nor to the North. Though belonging on the whole to the Democratic party, he was at issue with its more extreme members; and, though earnestly in favour of supporting the Union at all costs, he was very far from being an abolitionist. During the early days of the rebellion, he had been appointed by Mr. Lincoln to the Military Governorship of Tennessee, and had distinguished himself by vigour and resolution. When Dickens was in America in 1868, he described Mr. Johnson as having a remarkable face, indicating courage, watchfulness, and strength of purpose; his manner, suppressed, guarded, and anxious.* Such was the man who now became President of the American Republic.

Mr. Johnson took the oaths of office on the 15th of April. In reply to an address presented to him by a deputation from Pennsylvania, he delivered a speech which seemed to range him on the side of the most extreme Northern politicians, and against those who were in favour of adopting a conciliatory policy towards the South—an impression which his subsequent conduct entirely removed. He said the time had arrived when the American people should understand that treason was a crime. Until then, that crime had neither been generally understood, nor appreciated as he thought it should be. To the great mass of the misled he would say, "Mercy, clemency, reconciliation, and the restoration of local government;" but to the conscious, influential traitor, who had attempted to destroy the life of a nation, he would say, "On you be inflicted the severest penalty of your crime." Mercy without justice would in itself be criminal. In reply to another address, at a later period, he repeated these views. Treason, he affirmed, was the highest of crimes, though, since the days of Burr and Jefferson, the American people had seemed oblivious of the fact. It had been remarked that, when traitors became numerous enough, treason became respectable—that to be a traitor under these circumstances was to constitute a portion of the aristocracy of the country; but from such an aristocracy he prayed that God would protect them. The Constitution defined treason, and under that definition it required no great acumen to ascertain who had been, and who were, the traitors. On the 2nd of May, Mr. Johnson issued a proclamation, in which he stated that it appeared, from evidence in the Bureau of Military Justice, that the murder of Abraham Lincoln, and the attempted assassination of the Hon. W. H. Seward, were incited, concerted, and procured by and between Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, Clement C. Clay, Beverley Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Clery, and other rebels and traitors against the Government of the United States, at that time harboured in Canada. For the arrest of these offenders he offered rewards of various amounts; but it should here be stated, as an act of justice to the persons mentioned, that their complicity with the atrocious deeds of April 14th has never been established.

The surrender of Lee was the last great event under the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. The first great event under the Presidency of Mr. Johnson was the surrender of the Confederate leader opposed to Sherman. The Federal commander had conducted his forces in safety to Goldsborough, in North Carolina, and Johnston, after vain attempts to bar his progress, had retreated to Smithfield, a few miles distant on the same line of railway. For some time, no active operations took place between the principal opponents; but, in the final days of March and early days of April, a detachment of cavalry marched to and fro in various directions, destroying railways and bridges, burning depôts of stores, and so interfering with the lines of retreat of all the Confederate forces in that part of the country as to make their position even more desperate than before. At the same time, General J. H. Wilson, with another body of cavalry, rode through Alabama and a part of Georgia, defeating Forrest, capturing Selma (a place containing an arsenal, an armoury, and large depôts) on the 3rd of April, and threatening other points. Mobile,

* Forster's Life of Dickens, Vol. III., p. 388.

in Alabama, was surrendered to the Federals under General Canby on the 12th of April, after a siege of several days' duration; and when Mr. Davis arrived at Johnston's camp, in the early part of the same month, it was already apparent that the Confederacy was doomed. While staying at Danville, Virginia, whither he had gone immediately after quitting Richmond, he had issued a proclamation still speaking of resistance as a thing not only desirable, but possible. "We have now," he said, "entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy in detail far from his base. Let us but will it, and we are free. Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy." Furthermore, he promised that if by stress of numbers they should ever be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from any of the border States, they would return again and again, "until the baffled and exhausted enemy should abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free." The date of this ridiculous rhodomontade was April 5th. When, a few days later, Mr. Davis joined General Johnston, he saw how idle were his words—how impossible it was for the Confederacy to recover the border States, or even to maintain itself for many weeks in any State whatever.

On the 10th of April, Sherman considered that the time had come for advancing in force against Johnston. Marching in two columns in a westerly direction along the northern bank of the Neuse River, and overcoming with but little difficulty the slight opposition of the Confederate rear-guard, he entered Smithfield on the 11th. Here he found that his adversary had crossed to the southern bank of the stream, and had for the moment escaped him; but he also learned that General Lee had surrendered, and he perceived that, if Johnston could be brought to the same pass, the war would be virtually at an end. That he might move with the greater quickness, he abandoned his trains, baggage, and other impediments, and pushed rapidly forward to Raleigh. Finding the enemy still in advance, he bent towards the south, crossed the Cape Fear River, and made for Greensborough, whither the Confederates were now retreating. But Johnston was not disposed to abide the shock of battle any further. He saw how fearfully he was overmatched; he knew that succour was impossible; he perceived that his troops would soon be destitute of the very means of life; and, as Lee had done under similar circumstances, he sent in a proposal for negotiations. "The results of the recent campaign in Virginia," he wrote to General Sherman on the 14th of April, "have changed the relative military condition of the belligerents. I am therefore induced to address to you in this form the inquiry whether, in order to stop the further effusion of blood and devastation of property, you are willing to make a temporary suspension of active operations, and to communicate to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, the request that he will take like action in regard to other armies; the object being to permit the civil authorities to enter into the needful arrangements to terminate the existing war." Sherman, in reply, undertook to abide by the same terms and conditions as were made by Generals Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court House, and to obtain from General Grant an order to suspend the movements of any troops from the direction of Virginia.

A personal interview between Sherman and Johnston followed on the 17th, at a spot five miles from Durham Station. These distinguished adversaries had never met before; but they respected one another's powers, and their interview was of a frank and almost friendly character. Johnston admitted that further resistance on the part of the Confederation would be folly, that the cause was utterly lost, and that the continued sacrifice of life would be a crime. He desired, however, to obtain some special concessions, and in particular wanted to embrace in the general propositions the fate of all the Confederate armies still remaining in the field. Sherman consulted his officers, all of whom urged him to concede what Johnston had demanded. They were in fact very nearly worn out by the labours of the campaign, and dreaded a further march southwards in pursuit of an army which could not fight, but which might for a considerable distance keep ahead of its antagonist. Another interview took place on the 18th, when Johnston satisfied Sherman as to his power to disband the rebel armies in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as those under his immediate command. He wished to exercise for a time some control over his men, lest the South, being reduced to an utterly powerless condition, should be exposed to the depredations of robbers and assassins. He was also apprehensive that on the conclusion of peace the Southern States would be dismembered, and denied representation in Con-

gress, or any separate political existence whatever; and he seems to have induced General Sherman to take the same view of these matters as himself.

A memorandum or basis of agreement was made on the 18th of April, by which several important favours were conceded to the rebels. It was agreed that the contending armies then in the field should maintain the *status quo* until due notice was given to a contrary effect; that the Confederate forces were to be disbanded, and conducted to their several State capitals, there to deposit their arms and public property in the State arsenals; that each officer and man should execute and file an agreement to cease from acts of war, and to abide the action of both State and Federal authorities; that the number of arms and munitions of war should be reported to Washington, and, while being used solely to maintain peace and order within the borders of the States respectively, should be held subject to the future action of the Congress of the United States; that the Federal Executive should recognise the State Governments, on their officers and Legislatures taking the oath prescribed by the national Constitution of the United States; and that where conflicting State Governments had resulted from the war, the legitimacy of all should be submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. Provision was also made for the re-establishment of Federal Courts in the Southern States, and the inhabitants of those States were guaranteed their political rights and franchises, as well as their rights of person and property. The Executive authority of the United States was not to disturb any of the people by reason of the late war, so long as they lived in peace, and obeyed the laws. In general terms it was announced that the war was to cease, and that an amnesty was to be proclaimed, on condition of the disbandment of the Confederate armies, the distribution of arms, and the resumption of peaceful pursuits by officers and men. The memorandum concluded with the words:—"Not being fully empowered by our respective principals to fulfil these terms, we individually and officially pledge ourselves to promptly obtain authority, and will endeavour to carry out the above programme."

It can excite no surprise that these terms were at once disallowed by the Federal Government. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, who, since the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and the disablement of Mr. Seward, had occupied the chief position in the Cabinet, gave as the reasons for this refusal that General Sherman had exercised an authority not vested in him; that the terms granted were tantamount to an acknowledgment of the rebel Government; that, by the re-establishment of the insurrectionary State Governments, slavery might once more be set up; that loyal citizens of the rebel States, if not the Federal Government, might be made responsible for rebel debts; that the existence of loyal State Governments had been put in dispute, together with the new State of Western Virginia, which had been recognised by the Federation; and that the rebels were by these stipulations relieved from the consequences of their disloyalty, as well as from the pressure of the Federal victories, and were left in a condition to renew their efforts to overthrow the United States Government, whenever their strength was recruited, and an opportunity should offer. Clearly, the terms so hastily and unwarrantably granted by Sherman placed the Southern States in an exceptionally favoured position, at a time when they had neither the moral right nor the physical power to demand any terms whatever. That Sherman should have undertaken to leave the Confederates in possession of their arms and munitions of war, with full liberty to carry them to their respective capitals, is an astonishing instance of want of discernment in a man of marked intellectual gifts. Moreover, it was an act of great presumption in a military officer to undertake, even provisionally, to settle a variety of political questions involving issues of the gravest nature. President Lincoln, in some brief instructions to General Grant, written on the 3rd of March, had expressly reserved to himself the decision in all civil matters. Sherman, it is true, may not have been aware of these instructions; but, quite apart from any such knowledge, it was a reasonable inference that the future of the nation was not to be settled by a couple of generals, talking to one another between the lines of their respective armies. The Federal commander doubtless acted for the best, according as it appeared to him; but he committed a serious indiscretion, and laid himself open to a rebuke, under which he afterwards exhibited no little temper.

On the morning of the 24th of April, Grant arrived at the head-quarters of Sherman, and informed him that the memorandum was disapproved, and that, after giving forty-eight hours' notice, he was to resume hostilities. A further interview between Generals Sherman and Johnston took place on the 26th, when it was agreed that the Confederate Army of the Tennessee should be surrendered on the same terms as those which had been granted to the Army of Virginia. The men laid down their arms (which were deposited at Greensborough), and at once returned to their homes. A few of the cavalry endeavoured to escape to Mississippi, and some other members of the same force accompanied

Mr. Jefferson Davis in his renewed flight towards the south, whence he hoped to escape from America by some port on the sea-coast. But, with these exceptions, the Confederate soldiers under the command of Johnston ceased to be an army, and returned to their original capacity as civilians. In bidding farewell to his troops, Johnston adopted a tone which was in every respect worthy of his high character as a general. He said he expected them to observe the terms of the pacification agreed upon, and to discharge the obligations of good and peaceful citizens as well as they had performed the duties of soldiers in the field. By such a course, he observed, they would secure comfort and restore tranquillity to their country. Johnston had done his utmost, even to the shedding of his blood, for the triumph of that cause which he had embraced; but, the cause being clearly ruined, he accepted the consequences with dignity and in good faith. His address is creditably free from the least touch of vapouring, false glory, or false sentiment. He saw that the Federal Government was triumphant, and he counselled a decent submission to its authority. At a later period he published an address to the people of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, setting forth the reasons which had induced him to sign the convention. By an appeal to figures he showed that the total effective strength of the Confederate armies was wholly inadequate to a further prosecution of the war. In any ulterior operations, they would have had to depend entirely on the Army of the Tennessee—that which he himself commanded. "The United States," he added, "could have brought against it twelve or fifteen times its number. With such odds against us, without the means of procuring ammunition or repairing arms, without money or credit to provide food, it was impossible to continue the war, except as robbers. The consequence of prolonging the struggle would only have been the destruction or dispersion of our bravest men, and great suffering of women and children, by the desolation and ruin inevitable from the marching of 200,000 men through the country. Having failed in an attempt to obtain terms giving security to citizens as well as to soldiers, I had to choose between wantonly bringing the evils of war upon those I had been chosen to defend, and averting those calamities with the confession that hopes were dead which every thinking Southern man had already lost." The propriety of Johnston's conduct was beyond all reasonable doubt, and none but madmen questioned it.

In every direction the Federal cause was triumphant. On the 14th of April—the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, and the very day on which President Lincoln was assassinated—the identical flag which had been lowered in 1861 was once more planted on the shattered walls of the great fortification which protected the harbour of Charleston; and planted there by its defender, General (formerly Major) Anderson. On the 21st of the same month, General J. H. Wilson, who had been pursuing with uninterrupted success his military career in Alabama, and receiving the submission of several towns, became master of the city of Macon, in Georgia. The remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi were surrendered by General Taylor on the 4th of May; and on the same day Commodore Farrand surrendered to Admiral Thatcher all the naval forces of the Confederacy then blockaded on the Tombigbee River. Kirby Smith was still in arms in the Trans-Mississippi States, and it was hoped by the more sanguine that resistance might yet be maintained for an indefinite period in those western lands. But the soldiers themselves were exhausted and desponding. They deserted in large numbers, and returned to their homes; and at length Kirby Smith, together with Generals Walker and Magruder, fled beyond the limits of the disputed territory, and sought shelter in foreign countries. The forces they commanded then passed under the direction of General Brent, who, on the 26th of May, made his submission to the Federals under General Canby. There was now no longer any army in the field to dispute the authority of the Washington Cabinet. In the wilder parts of the country, predatory bands of brigands (for they can be described by no other term) still delayed the restoration of tranquillity; but the Confederacy was in its grave, and the vast military power which it had wielded lived only in memory, and in the widespread ruin it had worked. Nevertheless, the Southern flag was still represented at sea. Even as late as August, the privateer *Shenandoah*, commanded by Captain Waddell, captured and destroyed nearly thirty Federal vessels. On the 6th of November, however, Captain Waddell arrived at Liverpool, where he surrendered the *Shenandoah* to the British Government, stating that he had not heard of the termination of the war when his last captures were made. He and his crew were paroled on the 8th of November, and the vessel was given up to the American consul on the following day. The surrender of the privateer was the last act of any Confederate authority. After the 6th of November, 1865, the great Southern League, which but recently had threatened to revolutionise the western world, could not make

the faintest pretence to existence, either on the land or on the sea.

Mr. Jefferson Davis was captured on the 10th of May. After the surrender of General Johnston, it was feared by the Federal authorities that Davis was pursuing his way to the south-west, with the intention of setting up his Government again in some distant town, and there re-commencing the struggle with the help of Kirby Smith. It was said that he carried with him a large amount of treasure, and it was considered urgent to intercept the fugitive with as little delay as possible. General J. H. Wilson was therefore ordered to cover every road with his cavalry, and to use the utmost diligence for the arrest of the great offender. But Davis was by this time well aware that the Confederacy could not again be restored to its former position. He hoped nevertheless to make a temporary stand with the army of Kirby Smith, so as to obtain more favourable terms for the chiefs of the rebellion than would be probable under other circumstances. As soon as he could place his wife and family in a safe position, he determined to cross the Chattahoochee, and, having joined the troops still in arms under General Taylor, to proceed with them to the head-quarters of Kirby Smith. He had by this time been abandoned by the escort which accompanied him from North Carolina, and a few paroled men formed his only guard. Through the desolated lands of Georgia the miserable fugitives made their way, continually tormented by the fear of capture, and dreading lest every temporary halt should deliver them into the hands of their enemies. In the early morning of the 10th of May, while sleeping at Irwinsville, in Wilkinson County, Georgia, Mr. Davis was awakened by his servant, who reported that the camp was surrounded. He rose at once, and endeavoured to find his horse, thinking he might even then get off; but the horse was already in the hands of the Federal troops, and resistance was impossible. The captors were Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, of the 4th Michigan cavalry, and a body of his men, belonging to the corps of General Wilson. The persons captured were Mr. Davis himself, his wife and children, his postmaster (Mr. Reagan), his private secretary (Colonel Harrison), and his aides-de-camp, who were all taken under escort to Macon, and thence to Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

The long detention of Mr. Davis in prison has been regarded by many as an instance of vengeful cruelty on the part of the Federal Government. It is undoubtedly a serious hardship when a man is denied his liberty without any charge being brought against him; but the Cabinet of Mr. Johnson were perplexed as to what charge they should bring. It seems for a long time to have been seriously believed that Mr. Davis was concerned in the plot for the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward; yet it was found impossible to produce conclusive evidence on this point. In the meanwhile, Mr. Davis remained in Fortress Monroe, until at length his health was seriously impaired. With continued peace, however, the fears of the Northern people were allayed, and a sentiment of generosity, never long absent from the American nation, was awakened towards a fallen enemy who had probably no longer any desire to renew a futile struggle, and who was destitute of the power, even if he had the wish. It was felt that to keep a man in prison, while indefinitely postponing his trial, was to violate the most elementary laws of freedom and justice. Mr. Davis was accordingly released on bail for six months on the 13th of May, 1867, when he departed for Canada; and, after further postponements of his trial and enlargements of his bail, the prosecution was finally dropped, on the 6th of February, 1869. The leniency of the United States towards their traitorous citizens was indeed most remarkable, and has conferred on them the very highest honour that a nation can receive. With one exception, the only persons executed for participation in events arising out of the rebellion were the man Harrold, who was taken together with Booth; Payne, who made the attack on Mr. Seward, and who was captured shortly after his flight; a person named Atzerott, mixed up with the same crimes; and a Mrs. Surratt, who had received Booth into her house after the murder of the President. These four persons were tried before a military tribunal, and, having been found guilty, were hanged on the 7th of July, 1865. The other execution was that of Captain Wirz, formerly an officer of the Confederate army, who, while acting as Governor of the prison at Andersonville, South Carolina, had treated Federal prisoners with revolting cruelty, and in some instances had ordered them to be shot. Wirz was tried by martial law at Washington, and, on the charges being proved, was hanged on the 10th of November, 1865.

Mr. Davis, after his return to private life, took to commercial transactions as a means of repairing his broken fortunes. The military chiefs of the Confederacy were absolutely unmolested, and gave themselves up to a variety of peaceful pursuits, in which some acquired distinction of a much better order than any that can be derived from fratricidal conflict. The political leaders, fearing the consequences of their sedition, fled either into

Canada or England, though it was not long before even these must have felt that the wrath of their countrymen had subsided, and that they might, if they pleased, return to their homes without fear. As early as the 29th of May, 1865, an amnesty, with certain exceptions, was proclaimed by President Johnson; on the 11th of October, Mr. Alexander H. Stephens and other Southern officials were pardoned; and in the course of a year or two

LINCOLN'S GRAVE

the feeling throughout the United States was in favour of burying the whole feud in oblivion, as far, at least, as any retrospective action was concerned.

When the news of Mr. Davis's arrest reached England, Earl Russell, on the 2nd of June, addressed a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which, after stating that the armies of the Confederate States had for the most part either surrendered or dispersed, he continued: —"In this posture of affairs, her Majesty's Government are of opinion that neutral nations cannot but consider the civil war in North America as at an end. In conformity with this opinion, her Majesty's Government recognise that peace has been restored within the whole territory of which the United States of North America, before the commencement of the civil war, were in undisturbed possession. As a necessary consequence of such recognition, her Majesty's several authorities in all ports, harbours, and waters belonging to her Majesty, whether in the United Kingdom or beyond the seas, must henceforth refuse permission to any vessel of war carrying a Confederate flag to enter such ports, harbours, and waters." The surrender of the *Shenandoah*, in November, was one of the consequences of this order, taken in conjunction with the inability of the Southern privateers to maintain themselves any longer on the open seas. On the 6th of June, the French Government followed the example of England in recognising the cessation of the civil war, and the extinction of the Confederacy as a belligerent Power.

The Army of the Potomac, and the greater part of the forces under Sherman, were marched to the neighbourhood of Washington in the course of May, and on the 22nd and 23rd of that month a

grand review took place in the Federal capital. This was immediately followed by the mustering of the men out of service, and by the 1st of July nearly 800,000 soldiers had been discharged. The guerilla organisations in the Southern States likewise disappeared with extraordinary quickness, owing probably to orders issued by the War Department, declaring that all persons found in arms against the authority of the United States after a specified date would be treated as robbers and outlaws. The Southern ports were officially opened, excepting in respect of contraband of war; and, with relation to military prisoners, those who had been liberated on parole were declared exchanged, and those confined in the Northern States were, on the 29th of July, released on taking the oath of allegiance. A reduction of the naval force was made at the time the armies were disbanded, when large numbers of men were discharged, and all vessels not needed for future service were sold. In most countries of the old world, the sudden casting on society of so enormous a body of men would have produced evils of the gravest kind; but in America employment is never wanting, and these myriads of soldiers and sailors, who for some years past had been unaccustomed to anything but the work of slaughter, were enabled very shortly to fall back into their industrial pursuits, with no great shock to the community. In some respects, however, the country was in a state of feverish disturbance. Men's passions had not yet had time to calm down, and the ground-swell of the mighty storm still heaved and foamed in many quarters. Savage riots between whites and negroes broke out at New York in June, 1865, and it soon appeared that Mr. Johnson would not go far enough in his opposition to the South to please the Republican party, which had the majority in Congress. The money obligations of the nation were appalling, and a vista of prolonged and heavy taxation spread out before the people. The estimated Federal debt at the close of 1865 was £600,000,000 sterling. Such was the cost which a rebellion of slave-owners had imposed upon the land; but the end had been attained, and the people of the United States had sufficient confidence in the elasticity of their resources to bear with cheerfulness the enormous burden which a few years had accumulated on their shoulders.

A general fast for the death of President Lincoln was observed on the 1st of June, 1865, and a national thanksgiving for peace was solemnised on the 2nd of November. The reorganisation of the State Governments of the South proceeded during the year, and in September, October, and November, several of those States passed ordinances annulling secession, abolishing slavery, and renouncing the Confederate debt. On the 1st of December, the Habeas Corpus Act was restored in all the Northern States; and when the thirty-ninth Congress met, three days later, the country had to some extent been restored to its usual condition. The President's Message was more than usually long, and touched with great minuteness both on the present and the future. Mr. Johnson was in favour of the most rigorous maintenance of the Union, together with the recognition of all State rights which did not conflict with that compact. "So long as the Constitution of the United States endures," he affirmed, "the States will endure: the destruction of the one is the destruction of the other; the preservation of the one is the preservation of the other." On succeeding to power, he had found the States suffering from the effects of a civil war, and he had had to consider whether or not the rebellious States should be held as conquered territory, under military authority emanating from the President, as head of the army. Against such a method of encountering the difficulty he speedily made up his mind. He considered that it would result in incalculable injury to the freedom of the citizen, and, instead of restoring affection, would envenom hatred. The true theory, in his opinion, was that all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void. The States could not commit treason, nor screen individual citizens who might have committed that crime, any more than they could make valid treaties with a foreign Power. "The States attempting to secede," he added, "placed themselves in a condition where their vitality was impaired, but not extinguished; their functions suspended, but not destroyed." His policy had therefore been to restore the individual life of the States wherever practicable; to re-establish the laws of the Union over the territories lately in secession; and to invite the Southern States to participate in the high office of amending the Constitution. "All parties in the late terrible conflict," he proceeded, "must work together in harmony. It is not too much to ask, in the name of the whole people, that, on the one side, the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion; and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which provides for the abolition of slavery for ever within the limits of our country." On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the

proclamation of the Executive, Mr. Johnson expressed a strong adverse sentiment. The franchise was left by the Constitution to be determined by each State for itself; and, in the judgment of the President, the emancipated negroes would sooner obtain a share in electoral privileges through the action of the States than through that of the general Government, even supposing the latter had power to intervene. Such was the policy announced by the Chief Magistrate with regard to reconstruction and constitutional amendment. It was a policy full of the elements of dissension, and it sufficed to keep Mr. Johnson in a state of perpetual war with Congress to the end of his Presidential term.

CHAPTER LXIII.

The Difficulties of Peace—Dissensions between the President and Congress—The Rebellious States excluded from the Federal Legislature—Position of the Negroes—Abolition of the Three-fifths Vote—Futile Opposition of the President—Various Bills vetoed by Mr. Johnson, and re-passed over his Veto—Motion to Impeach the President, and its Failure—Reconstruction Bill for the South—Establishment of Military Districts—Results of the Negro Vote—President Johnson and Mr. Stanton—The State Elections of 1867—Accession of Territory to the United States—Fall of the Mexican Empire—Difficulties at the War Office—Impeachment of the President, and his Acquittal on the several Charges—Continued Opposition of Congress to the Presidential Policy—Progress of Pacification—The Naturalisation Bill of 1868—The Presidential Election—General Grant chosen for the Chief Office—Anarchical State of the South at the Close of 1868—The "Ku-Klux-Klan"—Last Presidential Message of Mr. Johnson—Proposal for a Partial Repudiation of the Federal Debt—The Idea discountenanced by Congress—Passing of a Constitutional Amendment regarding the Right of Suffrage.

THE history of the United States for several years after the conclusion of the great rebellion is a history of painful struggles, more or less successful, to reconstruct the political system of the Republic on those new conditions which the civil war had imposed and rendered necessary. Resistance to the authority of the Federation was at an end; slavery also was at an end; but the position of the insurrectionary States had yet to be determined, and the rights of the black man were still to be defined. The difficulties resulting from a state of war had been succeeded by others not less formidable. Partisanship found an ample field for its own methods of attack in the numerous questions which now came up for settlement; and in no community has partisanship been carried to more extreme lengths than in America. The Republicans were in a majority in Congress; but the Democrats were sufficiently strong, both there and in the country, to cause considerable embarrassment. Mr. Andrew Johnson, whom an unexpected catastrophe had lifted into the highest post, was at issue with the Legislative body; and the inherent perplexities of the time were increased by want of harmony among the several departments of the Government. To some extent, the South had done what was required of her. The proposition to amend the Federal Constitution, so as to prevent the existence of slavery within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction, had been ratified by the requisite number of States, and on the 18th of December, 1865, it was officially declared to have become valid as a part of the general Constitution. The States lately in insurrection amended their own Constitutions to the same effect, repudiated secession and the debts accruing from it, and in other respects made arrangements for meeting the new order of things. Yet to many it remained a matter of doubt whether those States, after so long and determined a resistance to Federal authority, ought at once to be placed in the same position as before the rebellion.

Should the Southern States be re-admitted to the Union on terms of equality with the North, or should they be excluded for a time, and be ruled, or over-ruled, by the Federal Executive? That was the question in debate between the President and the majority in Congress. It was a question in which all the generosity and fairness seemed to be on one side, and all the vindictiveness and oppression on the other. Yet, while giving Mr. Johnson every credit for humane motives in his wish to restore the South to its former constitutional position, the wisdom of his statesmanship may be doubted; and, while admitting that some of the Republican party may have been influenced by an unworthy desire of revenge, it seems difficult to deny that the policy of that party, in the main, was supported by many cogent reasons. It is true that Virginia, the Carolinas, and their companions in rebellion, had a right, under the ordinary operation of the Constitution, to be represented in the Federal Congress; but it was contended with great force that they had forfeited that right by their own

act, and that they could not, to suit their purposes, reject the Union one day, and claim its privileges the next. Besides, it was very doubtful whether a speedy return to the *status quo ante* would not be fraught with peril to the new order. The Southern States were in too disorganised a condition to render them fitting agents for the immediate exercise of supreme political functions. The people were too much inflamed by resentment, where they were not stupefied by despondency, to be admitted at once, without undergoing any probation, to a share in that political system which only four years earlier they had endeavoured by treachery and violence to destroy. They had friends in Congress among the Democrats of the Northern, Western, and Middle States, and, in union with these, might reverse by legislative action much that the sword had painfully accomplished. It was impossible to say whether the most extreme interpretation of State Rights would not be revived and enforced. It might be difficult even to sustain the abolition of slavery; and with the re-imposition of negro bondage the old feud would be once more opened for another term of mutual hatred and civil strife. To admit a rebellious member, on the very morrow of his rebellion, to equal rights with the loyal, was a novel proposition in the science of government, and one which had nothing but a sentimental generosity to recommend it.

Mr. Johnson's dogma, put forward in his Message of December 4th, 1865, that "all pretended acts of secession were from the beginning null and void," and that therefore "the States could not commit treason," seems to have been a mere metaphysical subtlety, ending in a sophism. It was an attempt to create an inexplicable distinction between a State and the people composing that State. From the Federal point of view, the acts of secession were of course null and void as regarded any legal effect; but they were facts none the less, and they constituted the crime of treason. In the opinion of the Republican majority in Congress—now called the Radical party—the commission of that offence should deprive the offenders for some time of their right to take part in the direction of Federal affairs. Violent debates occurred in the early days of the thirty-ninth Congress, and on the 29th of December, 1865, eighty-five members from Southern States were excluded by the vote of the greater number. The President had by that time restored local government to all the Southern States, except Texas and Florida; but the Republicans were determined that the reconstructed Union should not be imperilled by the presence of the disloyal. Not only were certain States excluded, but a test-oath was imposed on every member of Congress, which shut out all who had been in any way connected with the Confederate Government. Such were among the earliest measures which were taken, not so much to punish the South, as to protect the Union against reactionary influences.

Another subject of dissension between the President and the Legislature had reference to the position of the blacks. At the end of January, 1866, the Reconstruction Committee appointed by the House of Representatives reported to that House in favour of submitting to the Legislatures of the several States an amendment to the Federal Constitution, to the effect that representation and direct taxes should be apportioned according to the respective numbers within each State, excepting only Indians not taxed; and that whenever the elective franchise should be denied or abridged, on account of race or colour, all persons of such race or colour should be excluded from the basis of representation. By the original Constitution of the United States, the individual States were entitled to representatives in Congress in proportion to their population, and, in determining the extent of that population, the blacks in the slave-holding States were reckoned as five to three; in other words, five blacks were counted as three whites. Thus, the negroes, though of course having no vote of their own, added to the voting power of their masters in the Federal Legislature, and, by a refinement of injustice and oppression which has probably never been equalled, were made to strengthen their tyrants against themselves, and to turn the scale against the free communities of the North. As the representation stood at the commencement of 1866, the fourteen States in which slavery had previously existed could lay claim to seventy-six members: the proposed amendment reduced that number to fifty-two. This deprivation of power excited great discontent at the South; but the amendment was carried through both branches of Congress. To any such policy the President was vehemently opposed, and a great deal of excited discussion ensued, in which all parties forgot their own dignity, equally with the respect due to others. Some of the extreme Republicans hinted that in former times the President would have lost his head for endeavouring to obstruct the course of legislation. The President, in addressing a public meeting at Washington in February, distinctly accused his political enemies of inciting desperadoes to assassinate him. "They have not the honour or the courage," he said, "to obtain their ends otherwise than by assassins' hands. I know they are willing to wound, but they fear to strike." At the

end of June, however, Mr. Johnson consented to transmit copies of the Reconstruction Amendment to the Governors of the States, so that the proposed alteration might be submitted to the several Legislatures. But this did not still the commotion, and in the final days of July a serious riot occurred at New Orleans, owing to the endeavours of the Radicals to revive the State Convention which was held there in 1864.

An Act of Congress, extending the operation of a Bill passed the previous year, and subjecting to martial law any one who wrongfully used a negro or freedman, was vetoed by the President on the 21st of February, 1866, on the ground that it interfered to a dangerous degree with civil liberty. This was the Freedman's Bureau Bill, one of the objects of which was to provide food, clothing, and land for destitute negroes. An attempt was made to pass the Bill over the Presidential veto; but the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution was not obtained. Another measure, called the Civil Rights Bill, the object of which was to place the blacks on the same footing as the whites with respect to the privileges of citizenship, was also vetoed by Mr. Johnson, who sent in his reasons against it on the 27th of March. On this topic the strictures of the President were not without reason; for a population of four millions of black men, ignorant, untrained, and but recently delivered from slavery, seemed a very doubtful addition to the electoral body of a commonwealth. It must be borne in mind, however, that moderate Republicans would have been content to waive the question of negro suffrage, had not the South required that the black part of their population should be counted in the apportioning of seats in Congress, while at the same time the negro was to be denied the privileges of a citizen. This being the temper of the sometime Confederate States, the North was compelled to insist that, if the blacks were to be regarded from a legislative point of view at all, they should vote for themselves as a part of the general constituency. Congress therefore adhered to its measure, which was passed, in spite of the President, on the 9th of April. Six days earlier, Mr. Johnson proclaimed the rebellion at an end, and, in July, Tennessee was re-admitted to the Union, on the understanding that she was to exclude all rebels from the suffrage and from office, and to ignore the rebel debt. Congress adjourned on the 28th of July, and conventions of the States—two representing Radical and one Conservative opinions—were held shortly afterwards in Philadelphia. In the early autumn, the President made a tour through the Northern and Western States, and delivered several speeches characterised by extreme bitterness and violence towards the Radical leaders, who at various public meetings retorted with equal personality and venom. Mr. Johnson's argument was that the Federal Congress was dealing with a great many subjects which properly belonged to the States; but it was answered that the rebellion had introduced the rule of force, and that the rights of the South were suspended.

The elections to Congress in October gave the Republicans a very large majority, and put Mr. Johnson at a still greater disadvantage. Yet he held his ground none the less, and in his Annual Message of December 3rd, 1866, still persisted in his advocacy of State Rights. It was not long ere the dissensions between the Chief Magistrate and the House of Representatives came to a direct issue. Early in January, 1867, Mr. Ashley, the member for Ohio, impeached Mr. Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanours, of usurpation of power and violation of law; and moved that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorised to inquire into the official conduct of the person so charged. The resolution was carried by 107 against 39 votes; but the Judiciary Committee, in the month of June, decided, by a majority of five to four, not to recommend so grave a step. It was resolved, however, that the President should be censured; and with this trifling result the movement for impeaching Mr. Johnson came to an end for the time, but only for the time. In the meanwhile, the feud continued with even greater acrimony. Several Bills were vetoed by the President, and passed again by the requisite majorities; among them, a measure by which the power to dismiss members of the Cabinet, which until then had been the sole prerogative of the President, was made subject to the approval of the Senate. Towards the end of February, Congress passed a Reconstruction Bill for the South, by the provisions of which five military districts were established for the supervision of the States which had seceded. When, however, those States had adopted the amendment with respect to the negroes, they were to be restored to their former places in the Union. The Bill furthermore enacted that the existing Governments of those States should be deemed provisional only, and subject to the paramount authority of the United States, which might at any time abolish, modify, control, or supersede them. The franchise was conferred on whites and blacks alike, and taken away from all leaders of the late rebellion; and the right of Habeas Corpus was suspended, unless the writ was endorsed by the military officer in command of the district. The President's veto was

again exercised in this case, and again set aside; and the same results took place in respect to Southern Districts. During the autumn of 1867, the registration of voters in the Southern States

AMERICAN RIVER SCENERY: ON THE HUDSON.

a Supplementary Reconstruction Bill which was passed shortly afterwards.

Finding himself powerless to resist the Reconstruction Acts any longer, Mr. Johnson appointed five general officers to the military governorship of the proceeded without interruption, and it soon appeared that the negro voters were in a great majority, owing to the disfranchisement of the whites concerned in the rebellion. Thus, in Louisiana the negro majority was more than 38,000, while in

Tennessee nine-tenths of the Republican voters belonged to the race so recently proscribed. This, of course, added greatly to the strength of the Radicals in Congress, and rendered the position of the President even weaker than before. Yet Mr. Johnson maintained his attitude of opposition to the dominant party with unabated spirit, and in one instance was enabled to carry his point. In August, 1867, he removed General Sheridan from the command of the fifth Military District, on the ground that he had made an improper use of his powers; although he immediately afterwards appointed him to the command of Missouri. General Grant opposed the President's action, alleging that, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, he alone had the right to act; but he was unable to enforce his view of the matter, and Mr. Johnson's will for once prevailed. In the same month, the President came into collision with Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, who had supported Sheridan. Differences of opinion between the two had existed for some time, and at length Mr. Johnson required of Mr. Stanton to resign his post. This he refused to do, and he was then suspended, and ordered to hand over the duties of the office to General Grant *ad interim*. Mr. Stanton yielded under protest, saying that he submitted to superior force, but contending that under the recent Tenure of Office Act the President had no right to suspend him without the advice and consent of the Senate. The elections of the autumn resulted in a great accession of strength to the Democrats in the Northern States. In a speech delivered at Washington on the 13th of November, the President expressed his lively satisfaction at this change in the political situation; yet the Republicans were still supreme in Congress, and the black man was beginning to be felt at the South as a power which many dreaded and some flattered. The motion for an impeachment of Mr. Johnson was again brought forward towards the close of the year. The Committee to which the question was referred decided in favour of impeachment by a

A "PLAZA" IN MEXICO.

majority of five to four; but the House of Representatives determined, by 108 votes against 67, that the matter should not proceed.

The other events of 1867 had relation to foreign affairs. The United States obtained an important addition to their territory by the purchase of Russian America, in the extreme north-west of the Continent, for 7,200,000 dollars. The Government had also a very important triumph in the destruction of the Mexican Empire. The establishment of that Empire by the arms of France had from the first been viewed with great jealousy by the American people, on account of its invasion of those principles which were laid down by Mr. Monroe in the celebrated doctrine known by his name. During the crisis of the civil war, very little notice could be taken of what was going on beyond the bounds of the Union; but shortly after the restoration of peace, decided expressions of opinion on this subject, on the part both of Congress and of the Government, gave warning to the Emperor Napoleon that he would not be permitted to destroy the Mexican Republic for the sake of an Austrian Archduke. A protest against the French occupation was made towards the end of 1865. On the 17th of August, 1866, President Johnson issued a proclamation, in which he treated the Emperor Maximilian's Government and the followers of Juarez as two belligerent Powers, and refused to recognise the blockade. Pressure had for some time been brought to bear upon the French Emperor, who, in April, 1866, agreed to withdraw all his soldiers from Mexico between the November of that year and the November of the year following. Deprived of French support, the cause of Maximilian languished; Juarez obtained many important successes, and the Emperor was surrounded at Queretaro, and compelled to surrender on the 15th of May, 1867. Together with two of his generals, Miramon and Mejia, Maximilian was brought before a council of war, and all three were condemned to death. On the 19th of June, these unfortunate men were shot; and the short-lived Mexican Empire, which at one time seemed to bear down all opposition, came to a tragical and bloody end. That it had some amount of genuine support among the people themselves seems indisputable, and, if it could have been finally established, it might possibly have rescued Mexico from that condition of anarchy which has afflicted the land ever since the establishment of its independence. It is not difficult, from the American point of view, whatever may be the opinion of other countries, to see what was gained by the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine in this particular instance; and the fact that the Emperor Napoleon withdrew his troops at the bidding of President Johnson, and that the Mexican Empire thereupon tumbled into ruins, was certainly a great triumph of American policy.

The quarrel between the President and the Legislature became more vehement than ever in 1868. On the 24th of February in that year, the House of Representatives adopted, by 126 votes against 41, a resolution to impeach Mr. Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanours, and appointed a committee for managing the necessary proceedings at the bar of the Senate. The articles of impeachment, which were reported shortly afterwards, had reference chiefly to the case of Mr. Stanton, who, after being replaced in his office by the Senate, about the middle of January, was again dismissed by Mr. Johnson on the 21st of February. The events following on that dismissal had certainly rendered it necessary that some steps should be taken towards amending a political condition which could result in such scandals. General Thomas was appointed by Mr. Johnson as Minister *ad interim;* but Mr. Stanton, disputing the legality of the proceeding, refused to yield his post. He remained at the office day and night, surrounded by a large number of friends, and by a military guard. His successor, General Thomas, repeatedly demanded that the premises should be given up to him; Mr. Stanton as often refused compliance; and it was at one time feared that troops would be sent by the President to dispossess him by main force. No attempt of this character, however, was made by Mr. Johnson. The question at issue was whether or not Mr. Johnson had violated the Tenure of Office Act. The President himself contended that the operation of that Act included only those Cabinet officers who had been appointed during his own Presidential term, and that, as Mr. Stanton had been appointed by President Lincoln, the Act did not apply. This interpretation of the law was disputed by the House of Representatives, and Mr. Stanton himself caused the arrest of General Thomas on a charge of violating the Act by accepting office contrary to its provisions. The prosecution was subsequently abandoned; but the causes of dissension remained, and it was not unreasonable that the Legislative Chamber, holding the views it did, should wish to bring matters to an issue by means of a State trial. The articles of impeachment were adopted by the House, and Messrs. Thaddeus Stevens, Butler, Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Williams, and Logan, were appointed managers. General Butler then proposed an additional article, which charged the President with attempting to bring the Congress of the United States into dis-

grace, ridicule, hatred, contempt, and reproach, and with delivering intemperate, inflammatory, and scandalous harangues, accompanied by threats and bitter menaces against Congress and the laws of the United States. Assuredly nothing could be more reprehensible than the language which the President had employed on several public occasions, when, utterly forgetting the dignity and reserve of his office, he had expressed himself in the most intemperate fashion of a mob-orator. Butler's additional article was adopted, and also another, charging the President with having declared and affirmed in substance that the thirty-ninth Congress of the United States was not a Congress authorised to exercise legislative power, but, on the contrary, represented only part of the States.

The case for the impeachment was opened on the 30th of March before Chief Justice Chase, who had been Secretary of the Treasury in President Lincoln's Cabinet until July, 1864. The trial lasted until the 16th of May, when a vote was taken on the eleventh article of impeachment. Thirty-five of the senators voted for a conviction, nineteen for an acquittal; but, as it was necessary that two-thirds should vote for a conviction before a verdict of guilty could be sustained, the result was in effect favourable to the President. Ten days later, votes were taken on the other charges, and Mr. Johnson was acquitted on all. Mr. Stanton resigned office on the 27th of May, and was succeeded by General Schofield. Mr. Johnson had so far come successfully out of his difficulties; but it cannot be said that the United States had come successfully out of theirs. The political condition was almost revolutionary, and it was a revolution that continued from day to day, and from month to month, without any prospect of an immediate settlement. On the 4th of January, 1868, Mr. Johnson had been censured by the House of Representatives, and General Sheridan thanked for his conduct in the Military Governorship of Louisiana; and on the 21st of the month the same House declared that there was no valid government at the South, and accordingly transferred the jurisdiction in that part of the Republic from President Johnson to General Grant, as head of the army. In time, however, some of the States that had been in rebellion were re-admitted to the Union. A general amnesty, with a few exceptions, was issued on the 4th of July; a general pardon followed on the 25th of December; and thus the most bitter causes of dissension between opposing parties were removed or softened, either by the effect of time, or by the direct action of the Legislature and the Executive.

A Bill affecting the position of naturalised American citizens in foreign countries was passed in 1868. Much discontent had been felt for a long time at the claim made by various Powers to exercise jurisdiction over such of their subjects as, after having become citizens of the United States, had returned to their native countries. It was very generally contended by American politicians that the right of expatriation is a right inherent in human nature itself, and that no foreign Government can justly lay claim to the services or the allegiance of its own people, when once they have adopted the citizenship of the Republic. The question was an old one, and, in combination with the right of search, had had much to do with the war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812–15. The original Bill on this subject was introduced into the House of Representatives at the end of January by General Banks, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who said that three-fifths of the population of the United States had some connection with foreign countries, and that claims were made by European Governments, especially by that of Great Britain, which the Washington Cabinet could never recognise or admit. Nevertheless, the measure was held to be of an unsatisfactory and equivocating character, and, being withdrawn, was followed by another, that was reported to the House on the 20th of February, and the preamble to which declared that the right of expatriation was "a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, for the protection of which the Government of the United States was established;" and that it was necessary to the maintenance of public peace that the claim to allegiance made by foreign Governments should be promptly and finally disavowed. By the provisions of this Bill, all naturalised citizens of the United States, while in foreign countries, were to be entitled to, and should receive, the same protection that is accorded to native-born citizens under the like situation and circumstances; and it was enacted that whenever a naturalised citizen should be arrested by any foreign Government, in contravention of the intent and purposes of the Act, the President should be empowered to suspend, in part or wholly, commercial relations with the Government in question, and, in default of other remedies, should be authorised to order the arrest of, and to detain in custody, any subject or citizen of the said Government who might be found within the jurisdiction of the United States, excepting Ambassadors or other foreign Ministers, and their domestics. This Bill passed on the 27th of July. Acts of Parliament, subsequently passed in

England, permitted British subjects to renounce their allegiance; and, by a convention signed on the 3rd of February, 1871, the nationality of British subjects was made dependent on choice, and not, as formerly, on birth.

In the course of 1868, the various parties into which the country was divided made preparations for the Presidential election which was to take place at the close of that year. It was certain that Mr. Johnson would not obtain any prolongation of his term of office, and he did not even propose himself for re-election. The Republicans held a convention at Chicago on the 20th of May, when resolutions were adopted, approving the reconstruction policy of Congress, denouncing all forms of repudiation as a national crime, demanding the equalisation and reduction of taxation, severely condemning the policy of President Johnson, requiring protection for naturalised citizens, and declaring sympathy with "all oppressed people" who were "struggling for their rights"—an expression which, despite its prudent generalisations, was doubtless intended to apply mainly to the Irish Fenians. On the following day, General Grant was proposed as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, with Mr. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, as Vice-President. The Democratic convention was held early in July, and resulted in the nomination of Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the higher office, and of General Francis P. Blair for the second post. Party feeling ran very high during the contest, and the Republican and Democratic papers vied with each other in rancorous abuse of the rival candidates. General Grant, who is a somewhat reserved and taciturn man, said little or nothing during the whole time that the preliminaries of election were going on; and this reticence, contrary to what might have been expected, did not tell against him. The result was that he and Mr. Colfax received the largest number of votes. Twenty-one of the Northern States, and four of the Southern, supported them; while six of the Northern States, and three of the Southern, voted for Seymour and Blair. The Republican party had carried the day, and the progress of Congressional reforms was assured for the next four years.

The country certainly required at the head of its Executive some one who could act more in harmony with the declared wishes of Congress and of the popular majority than Mr. Johnson had ever done. The condition of the Southern States in the last few months of that gentleman's Presidency was most serious, and indeed alarming. The great landed proprietors in those States were endeavouring to compensate themselves for the loss of political power by a resort to violence and outrage. The unfortunate negroes were treated with organised cruelty, and it would almost seem as if in some quarters a wild hope were entertained that the African difficulty might be settled for ever by the extermination of the coloured race. Bands of ruffians swept over the desolated country, committing murderous outrages on the blacks and their adherents. The blacks retaliated, and a species of minor civil war broke out in many localities, which the troops of the United States, even where they were concentrated in large numbers, could not entirely suppress. A secret society, called the Ku-Klux-Klan, which had been established early in 1868, and of which the principal seat was in Tennessee, exercised by sheer terrorism a considerable influence over affairs at the South. The managing body issued lists of proscribed persons, who were liable to assassination if they did not quit the country after being warned to that effect. Attempts were made to suppress the society by military action; but they were not effectual, and the Ku-Klux-Klan pursued a course of violence and mysterious menace, similar to that of the Vehmgericht in Germany, or of the Camorra in Italy.

This lamentable condition was rendered none the better by the tone assumed by Mr. Johnson in his last Message to Congress, delivered on the 9th of December, 1868. The President was as bitter as ever in his denunciations of Congress, and of all who differed from him as to the proper treatment of the South. He insisted on the injustice of the Legislative policy. "States to which the Constitution guarantees a Republican form of government," he observed, "have been reduced to military dependencies, in each of which the people have been made subject to the arbitrary will of the commanding General. Although the Constitution requires that each State shall be represented in Congress, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas are yet excluded from the two Houses, and, contrary to the express provisions of that instrument, were denied participation in the recent election for a President and Vice-President of the United States." He did not add—what in justice should have been made clear—that the exclusion of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas was simply the result of their own wilfulness. It was due entirely to their obstinate determination not to reconstruct their State Governments on the basis of negro suffrage, although other States recently in rebellion had adopted that measure. Further portions of the Presidential Message were equally calculated to do mischief in the country

itself, and to excite apprehension abroad. Mr. Johnson even went the length of recommending a partial repudiation of the Federal debt, which, so far from diminishing, was increasing. That debt, he affirmed, was calculated, on the 1st of November, 1868, at 2,527,129,552 dollars, and it was believed that a further sum of 11,000,000 dollars had been added during the month. No doubt the interest on this debt was a very serious burden on the American people; but the obligations, having been incurred, could not in honour be repudiated. Mr. Johnson, however, thought the nation had been placed at a disadvantage, because the money had been borrowed in paper currency, greatly depreciated below the value of coin, while the interest was paid in gold at the rate of six per cent., which was nearly or quite equal to nine per cent. in currency. The bonds, he furthermore remarked, were exempt from taxation by the Federal and State Governments, and were thereby enhanced two per cent. in the hands of the holders. He calculated that the amount obtained by the Union in real money was three or four hundred per cent. less than the obligations which it had issued in return; and he proceeded to the assumption that the holders of securities had already received upon their bonds a larger amount than their original investment, measured by a gold standard. Consequently, it seemed to him but just and equitable that the six per cent. interest then paid by the Government should be applied to the reduction of the principal in semi-annual instalments, which in sixteen years and eight months would liquidate the entire debt. It would be difficult to imagine a scheme better calculated to excite anger and alarm. The House of Representatives, however, carried, by 154 votes to 6, a motion emphatically repudiating the President's plan, and asserting that they would under no circumstances consent to offer the public creditor a less amount of money than that which the Government had contracted to pay. The last act of importance in the Presidency of Mr. Johnson (who died July 31st, 1875) was the passing by Congress, in February, 1869, of a Constitutional Amendment which prohibited any distinction, as regarded the right of suffrage, on account of either race, colour, nativity, property, education, or creed. This amendment was afterwards submitted to the various State Legislatures for their approval and ratification, and it ultimately proved the settlement of a vexed and difficult question. In that settlement Mr. Johnson had very little share. He had endeavoured to restore the former condition of the Union as far as he could. He had sought to stifle that new birth of freedom which had been baptised in the blood of civil war; and his defeat may be taken as the measure of American progress during four eventful years.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Inauguration of General Grant as President (March 4th, 1869)—Negotiations between Great Britain and the United States with respect to the *Alabama* Depredations—Failure of the Reverdy Johnson Convention—Arbitration at Geneva in 1872, and Settlement of the Claims—Insurrection in Cuba—Conduct of the American Government towards that of Spain—Affair of the *Virginius*—Completion of the Reconstruction of the Union—The Chinese in America—Collision with the Coreans—President Grant's Projects with Respect to the Indians—Position of the Red Men in the United States—Allotment of Lands—Indian Troubles—Insurrection of Modocs in 1873—Fighting with the Sioux in 1876—Dissensions at the South—Armed Conflict in Louisiana—Governor Kellogg and the President—Ill-usage of the Negroes—Massacre of Negro Militiamen in South Carolina—Burning of Chicago—Latest Fortunes of Mormonism—Financial Condition of the United States in 1874 and following Years—General Grant on Specie Payments—"Soft Money" and "Hard Money" Controversy—The Presidential Election of 1876—Disputed Return—Decision in Favour of Mr. Hayes—Inaugural Address of the New President (March 5th, 1877)—The Future of America—Conclusion.

General Grant assumed office, as the eighteenth President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1869. In his inaugural address, which was issued in the form of a proclamation, he expressed himself very decidedly on the necessity of paying every dollar of the Government debt in gold. "I have a policy to recommend," said the new President, referring to the general affairs of the country, "but none to enforce against the will of the people." The principles laid down in this proclamation were not stated in very exact detail; but it was well known that General Grant was elected on Republican grounds, and that the tendencies of the majority in Congress would not be thwarted by him. The Presidency was in firm hands; and the conduct of General Grant in his high office, though of course meeting with great opposition in certain quarters, gave so much satisfac-

tion to the larger number of the American people that in November, 1872, he was re-elected for another term of four years, in opposition to Mr. Horace Greeley, who received a comparatively small number of votes, and died a few weeks afterwards.

The chief event of General Grant's Presidency was the settlement of the *Alabama* claims, which at one time threatened to involve the United States and Great Britain in a prolonged and destructive war. On the 7th of April, 1865, the injuries inflicted on American commerce by the Confederate privateers had been brought under the notice of the English Government by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister at London. It was afterwards proposed by Earl Russell (August 30th, 1865) that a commission should be opened for the due consideration of all claims made by American citizens in respect of damages received. A long correspondence ensued, and, on the 2nd of December in the same year, the Earl of Clarendon, who had by that time succeeded Earl Russell at the Foreign Office, maintained that no armed vessel had departed during the war from a British port to cruise against the commerce of the United States. This was a mere quibble, for the vessels were built in England, and received their arms when they got beyond British waters; and it was well known for what purpose they were being built, and that the arms would be put on board at the first convenient opportunity. The subject was noticed from time to time in Presidential Messages, and was frequently made the occasion of violent and irritating remarks in Congress, in the press, and at public meetings. But for some time nothing was done. At length, however, in June, 1868, Mr. Reverdy Johnson was appointed Minister to Great Britain, with special instructions for arranging this complicated and delicate affair. After the failure of

MR. C. F. ADAMS.

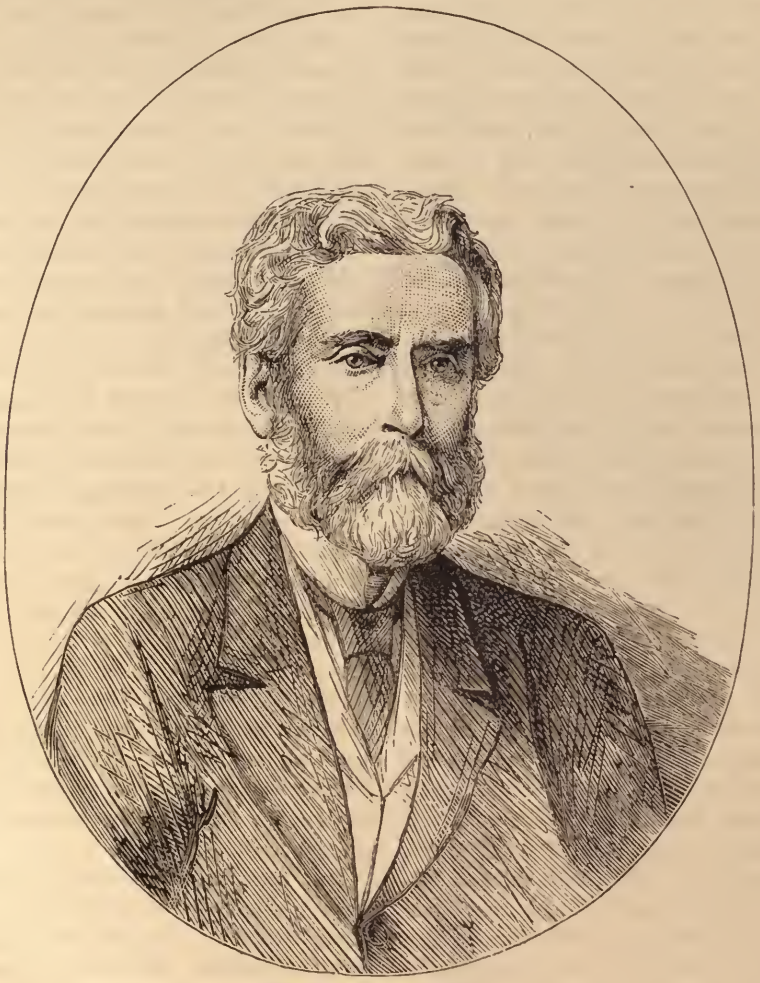
VIEW IN UTAH: "TEMPLE OF THE VIRGIN," MU-KOON-TU-WEAP VALLEY.

an earlier attempt, in November, 1868, a convention respecting the *Alabama* claims was signed by Lord Clarendon and Mr. Reverdy Johnson on the 14th of January, 1869. By this convention it was agreed that all unsettled claims by British subjects on the United States, and by American citizens on Great Britain, should be referred to four commissioners, two to be appointed by each Power. These were to meet at Washington, and were to name some fifth person to act as arbitrator or umpire, to whose final decision was to be referred any claim upon which the principals might not be able to decide. The convention seemed to promise well; but it was rejected by the Senate on the 13th of April, on the ground that the *Alabama* claims were only incidentally mentioned, and that no recognition was made of the wrong and injury to the United States resulting from the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, and from the Confederate States being styled "belligerents." Mr. Reverdy Johnson was recalled by President Grant in April, and succeeded by the late Mr. John Lothrop Motley, the eminent historian; but the instructions of the new Minister were simply to postpone the settlement of the question until the existing excitement of the English public had diminished. A long correspondence between the two Governments took place in the course of the year, and all the principles and facts of the case were fully debated, without any ground of agreement being discovered.

It was not until 1871 (by which time General Schenck had become Minister at London) that the dispute was once more placed in a way for settlement. In that year, a commission was appointed for considering the claims arising out of the *Alabama* depredations. The commissioners having met at Washington on the 27th of February, a treaty agreeing to arbitration at Geneva was signed on the 8th of May, and ratified on the 26th of the same month. The British and American cases were presented at Geneva on the 20th of December, and great indignation was aroused in England at the introduction by the Americans of enormous claims for indirect losses incurred by citizens of the United States, owing to the transfer of trade from American to British ships, the increased rates of marine insurance, and the unnecessary prolongation of the war. These indirect claims were from the first repudiated by the British Government, and, had they been pressed, would undoubtedly have resulted in the failure of the commission, and perhaps in war. The national sentiment in both countries was passionately excited in the early months of 1872; but on the 25th of May the American Senate gave its sanction to a supplementary treaty, by which the United States and Great Britain agreed to abstain for the future from all claims on account of indirect losses. After some further correspondence upon preliminary matters of detail, which were at length happily settled, the Arbitration Tribunal—consisting of Count Sclopis for Italy (acting as president), M. Jacques Staempfli for Switzerland, Vicomte d'Itajubá for Brazil, Mr. Charles Francis Adams for the United States, and Sir Alexander Cockburn (Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench) for England—met at Geneva on the 15th of June, 1872. Shortly afterwards, the arbitrators voluntarily declared that the indirect claims were invalid, and President Grant consented to withdraw them. The final meeting of the commissioners took place on the 14th of September, when all the arbitrators agreed to award damages for the injuries done by the *Alabama*, four for those done by the *Florida*, and three for those done by the *Shenandoah*. The damages claimed were £9,476,166 13s. 4d.; those granted amounted to about £3,229,166 13s. 4d. The judgment was not signed by Sir Alexander Cockburn, who stated the reasons of his dissent in a paper which, together with other documents, was printed in a supplement to the *London Gazette* of September 20th, published on the 24th. In America, the feeling was one of only partial satisfaction, for all had not been gained. In England, the soreness consequent on having to pay so large a sum was qualified by satisfaction that a formidable danger to the peace of the two countries had been removed. General Grant, in his Message at the close of the year, observed that the results of the arbitration left Great Britain and the United States without a shadow on their friendly relations; and this was in truth the chief good which had resulted from the Geneva award.

Another source of trouble was again opened under the rule of General Grant. The Creoles of Cuba began an insurrection against Spanish authority in the autumn of 1868, and in the following year the rebels made great efforts to obtain from the United States a recognition of the independence of the island. Amongst a large part of the American population, vivid sympathy with the malcontents was both felt and expressed; though it is to be feared that it was a sympathy of a very interested character, arising from a hope that the independence of Cuba would speedily result in its annexation to the United States. Urgent appeals were made to the Government to adopt this line of policy; but General Grant and his advisers judiciously determined not to interfere further than by tendering their good offices to Spain, so that, by an amicable arrangement, the colony might be relinquished.

Spain, however, though herself passing through a period of revolution, would not consent to any such abnegation of imperial powers. It had been officially declared in the National Cortes, during the troubles of 1854, that the sale of Cuba would be the sale of Spanish honour itself; and the feeling was equally strong in 1869. Alluding to the subject in his Annual Message at the beginning of December, General Grant observed that the contest had not assumed those conditions which amount to a war in the technical sense of the word, or which would justify a recognition of belligerency. Various private citizens, nevertheless, renewed the piratical attempts which had been so pertinaciously made in former years. Filibustering became once more the rage among the idle and adventurous; but the Government acted with a degree of firmness not always exhibited on previous occasions, and a number of illegal expeditions against Cuba were broken up. In June, 1870, the United States again decided not to recognise the insurgents as belligerents; and by that time the popular excitement had to a great extent calmed down. It revived, however, with tenfold force towards the latter end of 1873, when an American schooner, the *Virginius*, was captured by a Spanish gunboat while conveying



JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

men and arms from New York to the Cuban insurgents. In the early part of November, matters were made still worse by the execution of some thirty Americans by the authorities in Cuba, for aiding in the rebellion; and a loud outcry for war with Spain, and the immediate seizure of the island, was raised in the United States. But, after some correspondence, the *Virginius* was surrendered to the Americans on the 19th of December in the same year, and a few days later foundered on her way to New York. The insurrection still continued, and was characterised by circumstances of

great cruelty on both sides; but the Government of the United States, while watching the progress of events with a certain jealousy, saw no sufficient reason for interfering.

The reconstruction of the Union having been completed by the admission of all the States recently in rebellion, the President, on the 30th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation declaring the ratification of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, whereby the right of voting in every election, State or Congressional, was granted to all the coloured citizens of the United States. To guard against possible evasions, a Bill to enforce the amendment was passed by Congress at the latter end of May, and the great revolution was then entirely accomplished. But immediately afterwards a new difficulty was raised. Should not Indians and Chinese be included in the category of American citizens, now that negroes had been acknowledged as possessing that character, with all its attendant rights and privileges? The question with regard to the Chinese might at first sight appear ridiculous; but it was really important. Of late years, the Celestials had swarmed in California, and had become a serious element in the population of that part of America. Crossing the Pacific from their own country, they had established themselves along the western seaboard of the New World, and had not only sought, but found, a variety of employments. As waiters, as servants, as shoeblacks, as washers of linen, and as seekers of gold in the auriferous streams of the Rocky Mountains, these strange, grotesque, but shrewd and industrious yellow men rivalled the Irish and the Germans. It was estimated in 1870 that there were 90,000 Chinese on the Pacific coast of the United States; their numbers were receiving continual additions; and, although they were much disliked on account of their dirty habits, unaccountable notions, and vicious practices, and from their forming a distinct community of their own, it was impossible to deny that they were becoming a power in the land, which it would in time be necessary to recognise in one way or another. Mr. Sumner carried through the Senate a motion for admitting Chinese and Indians to the position of citizens; but this was afterwards rescinded, on the ground that to confer the right of voting on heathens would endanger the political and religious institutions of the Republic. The red man and the yellow man were therefore excluded, while the black man was permitted to enter. Yet this distinction was not unreasonable. The American negro has adopted the American nationality, and has literally no other. The Indian and the Chinaman are nationalities apart.

A collision between the forces of the United States and the people of Corea, a peninsula on the eastern coast of Asia, the sovereigns of which are tributary to the Emperors of China and Japan, occurred in 1871, and attracted some little attention for a time. Towards the end of May, Mr. Lowe, the American Envoy in China, and Admiral John Rodgers, commanding the fleet, opened negotiations with the Corean authorities for the conclusion of a treaty having in view the protection of shipwrecked sailors of civilised nations, who had previously been treated with barbarous cruelty. The members of the expedition were received with specious kindness, and permitted to make a survey of the neighbouring coasts and waters. But on the 1st of June, while two steamers and four launches, accompanied by a French vessel, were engaged in this work, the Americans were fired on by masked batteries, manned by several thousand Coreans. The fire was quickly returned, and the treacherous enemy was soon driven from his works; but the matter did not end there. The Corean Government was allowed ten days for making a suitable apology, which, however, was not forthcoming. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, an expedition, consisting of the same vessels as before, together with a landing party of five hundred and fifty men, proceeded towards the Corean forts, where a sharp action took place, ending in the principal stronghold being stormed by the assailants. The forts were then destroyed, the guns broken or sunk, and the magazines exploded. The action had cost the Coreans two hundred and forty killed, besides a large number wounded, for the defenders had fought gallantly. Further negotiations were of course unavailing, and foreign mariners were not protected, though American honour was avenged.

The position of the Red Indian tribes in the United States gave occasion for much anxious thought on the part of the Government, and sometimes led to grave calamities. General Grant took an interest in the welfare of these unfortunate people, and was desirous that they should be treated with fairness and consideration; but to effect any real improvement in their lives has always been found an impracticable task. In December, 1870, a grand council of delegates from different tribes was assembled, in accordance with a suggestion of the President, at Ocmulgee, in the Choctaw country, to consider the idea of an Indian Republican Government, in subjection to the general rule of the United States. A second council assembled in June, 1871, when a Provisional Government was organised. From a report on the subject presented by the Secretary of the Interior before the close of

the year, it appeared that the Indian population then under the jurisdiction of the United States was about 321,000 souls. Since 1850 there had been a diminution of about a fourth in the total number, and the process of decay was still rapidly proceeding. It was now proposed by the Government to set aside certain areas of territory, designated "reservations," which the Indians were to keep for their exclusive use and occupation. So long as they confined themselves to these lands, they were to be protected from all encroachments by the power and authority of the Government; and that they might have the less excuse for departing from the prescribed terms, nearly six hundred acres of land a-head were allotted them. The roving habits of the red man, however, made it unlikely from the first that even so liberal an arrangement would long be found satisfactory; and the dishonesty and grasping conduct of many of the whites created a disturbing element, which was certain in the end to result in mischief. General Grant, nevertheless, still continued his benevolent efforts to soften the lot of the disinherited race, and, in a Message to Congress at the commencement of his second term of office, in March, 1873, remarked: —"Our superiority in strength, and the advantages we derive from civilisation, should make us lenient towards the Indian. The wrong already inflicted leaves a balance to his credit, and the question to be considered is, 'Cannot the Indian be made a useful member of society by proper teaching and treatment?'" But the Indian was again giving trouble to his white rival and master. Some outbreaks in 1868 and the two following years had been of sufficient importance to necessitate extensive military operations; but these were followed by a more formidable movement in 1873. The Modoc Indians, comprising only a few hundreds, were removed by the Government from their lands south of Oregon to other territories, but, being discontented with their new possessions (which seem in truth to have been incapable of furnishing them with subsistence), returned to the old grounds, and defied the authorities of the United States. Under the leadership of a chieftain calling himself "Captain Jack," they defeated, on the 17th of January, 1873, a body of troops sent to expel them. Negotiations for a peaceful arrangement were afterwards opened; but, while these were proceeding, the United States commissioners were decoyed into an ambush, and about forty were massacred on the 11th of April. Among the persons so killed was the head of the peace commissioners, General Canby, who had distinguished himself in the latter days of the civil war. Some desperate fighting ensued on the 15th and 16th, and again on subsequent days. After the massacre, the Indians had retreated to some very strong positions, and it was a work of difficulty to subdue them. The war, however, was at length brought to a conclusion by the capture of Captain Jack on the 1st of June. This man was tried in July, and executed on the 3rd of October; after which there was quiet for a time. In 1876, however, the Sioux Indians, on Little Horn River, Montana (a new Territory in the west), rose in insurrection, and on the 25th of June attacked a military force under General Custer, when the commander himself, his family, and nearly all his troops, were slaughtered in a ravine. The war is said to have been provoked by the fraudulent conduct of officials employed to deal with the Indians. General Sheridan was shortly afterwards put in command, and by his vigorous measures peace was presently restored.

But the disturbances on the Indian frontier were matters of small importance compared with the internal divisions at the South, consequent on the new social state which followed the civil war. Street fighting took place at New Orleans in February, 1873. Two rival Governors were elected in Arkansas during the spring of 1874, and their armed supporters bullied and threatened each other in the streets of the capital, until a body of Federal troops arrived to maintain order, and establish in his post the candidate who seemed to have the greater degree of legality on his side. On the 12th of August, a savage riot between whites and blacks occurred at Austin, Mississippi, and was not quelled until after the military had been called in, and fifteen lives had been lost. In the same month, a negro insurrection broke out at Trenton, Tennessee, but was suppressed by the authorities, who hanged the ring-leaders without mercy. These collisions proceeded from a feeling of jealousy between the whites and the race so recently delivered from its state of subjection. It can hardly be doubted that in many instances the blacks asserted their new privileges in a reckless and even insolent manner. On the other hand, the planters, angered at the loss of their former supremacy, and still smarting under the results of the civil war, retorted with violence and cruelty. The negroes had the support of several adventurers from the North; but the latter were often men of the worst character, and they did nothing but increase the evil. The local Executives and Legislatures of the South were almost entirely in the hands of the emancipated blacks, and of their self-seeking patrons of a different colour; and the result was a deplorable amount of corruption and bad government. Faction was rampant in

many quarters, and the restraints of authority were almost at an end.

The condition of Louisiana, in particular, was most alarming, and seemed for a moment to threaten a renewal of the former conflict between North and South. The Governor, Mr. Kellogg, had been elected by negro votes, and was bitterly opposed by the white party, headed by Mr. McEnery. President Grant supported Mr. Kellogg, as being duly chosen; but the Governor seems to have abused his after an ineffectual attempt at resistance, he submitted to his enemies on the 15th of September. The white party thereupon reinstated a Government which the Federal troops had ejected from office after the riots of February in the previous year. But their triumph was very short-lived. Previous to resigning to superior force, Mr. Kellogg had appealed to the President for assistance; and General Grant at once issued a proclamation, calling on the insurgents to disperse within five days, and

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powers. Fearing that his antagonists might triumph at the next election, he induced the Legislature, which was entirely in his interest, to pass a Registration Law, placing the electoral lists, as a matter of fact, under his control. This so exasperated the white party that they assembled in a mass-meeting at New Orleans, and passed resolutions denouncing Governor Kellogg as an usurper, and demanding his resignation. Mr. Penn, the Lieutenant-Governor, who had been elected by the followers of McEnery, called the citizens to arms, and 10,000 men were speedily in a position to support their ideas by military action. Mr. Kellogg was at a loss how to proceed. He had no force capable of meeting so formidable an army, and, announcing that the military commanders had orders promptly to repress disturbances. Sheridan was directed to proceed to New Orleans with all despatch; military preparations were made on a considerable scale; and the commander of the Federal forces in Louisiana was forbidden under any circumstances to recognise the insurgent Government, the existence of which was indeed clearly illegal. These measures, aided by the judicious conduct of General Emory, the Federal commander, resulted, after a few days, in a peaceful settlement. While insisting that Mr. Kellogg, his officers, and his Legislature, should be restored, and that the arms and arsenal which they had seized should be surrendered, General Emory undertook, on these

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conditions being fulfilled, to guarantee an amnesty to all who had taken part in the rising. The terms being accepted, Governor Kellogg and his party were at once reinstated, and tranquillity was again established for a while.

But the truce did not last many months. Dissensions once more broke out at the beginning of 1875, and the Federal troops expelled five members of the white or Democratic party, who, it was alleged by the opposite faction, had been illegally returned by violence and intimidation. By this time, General Sheridan had assumed command of the Department of the Gulf, and he gave great offence to the Democrats by asserting that murder, outrage, and sedition were rife throughout that part of the country, and by suggesting that the President should resort to exceptional military measures. Sheridan's despatches to Washington were intemperate and injudicious; yet it cannot be denied that the South was in a highly inflamed and lawless state, and that some degree of Federal interference was necessary. With respect to Louisiana, however, a compromise was adopted after a few weeks' turmoil. The five unseated members were restored to their places, and it was agreed that Mr. Kellogg should remain Governor until January, 1877, and should not be impeached for his previous actions. Nevertheless, the South for the most part was rent by violent passions, and disgraced by the determination of the whites to oppress and insult the negroes in every way that remained open to them. So far did they proceed in this respect that in 1875 Congress found it necessary to pass a Civil Rights Bill, which the Democrats opposed with pertinacious though unavailing obstinacy. The relentless cruelty of the whites towards the blacks was painfully evinced, in July, 1876, at the village of Hamburg, South Carolina, where some negro militiamen were deliberately slaughtered, for no other offence, as it would seem, than that they had presumed to celebrate Independence Day by a parade through the town. This was the spirit which made slavery at the South so diabolical an institution; and this it is which renders the task of every Government at Washington so difficult and so thankless.

One of the main disasters occurring in the United States during President Grant's term of office was the terrible fire by which the city of Chicago was nearly swept away. Chicago is the chief commercial city of Illinois. It is situated on Lake Michigan, and was settled not longer ago than 1830. In 1871, its population amounted to about 400,000; but many of the houses were the original wooden tenements which had been erected by the first colonists. On the 8th of October in that year, an oil-lamp (if the first accounts are to be believed) was accidentally upset in an out-house, which took fire, and spread destruction far and wide. The progress of the flames was frightful in its rapidity. From street to street, from quarter to quarter, the conflagration rolled on with appalling speed and energy; and people who one hour were commiserating the misfortunes of their friends a mile away, were the next hour lamenting their own homelessness and ruin. Some 25,000 buildings were destroyed, and the area of the fire was computed at from three to five square miles. No fewer than 98,500 persons were rendered destitute, and 250 perished in the flames, from terror, or from subsequent exposure. The money loss was also enormous, and has been reckoned at 290,000,000 dollars. Aided, however, by large subscriptions from other parts of America and from England, the people set about reconstructing their city with extraordinary energy. By 1873 it had been restored, and was this time built of stone and marble, with much solidity, and many pretensions to architectural splendour. Nevertheless, another great fire occurred on the 14th of July, 1874; but this, although serious, did not attain the gigantic proportions of the earlier calamity. Contemporary with the first conflagration were several vast fires in the north-western forests, by which 2,000 lives were lost. Complications with Canada owing to the operations of the Fenians, official malversations, commercial frauds, private scandals, and industrial difficulties, may be reckoned among the other troubles of General Grant's Presidency. But these are matters which do not call for detailed account in the present work.

After a period during which it was almost forgotten, Mormonism once more attracted the attention both of the Government and the general public. The population of Utah had for some years been increasing, and was said by Mr. Hepworth Dixon to amount to 200,000 persons in 1866. But the original character of the settlement had been greatly modified by the progress of events, and by the introduction of large numbers of persons not professing the faith of Joe Smith and Brigham Young. Numerous schisms broke out in 1867, caused by increasing opposition to polygamy, and it was evident that a time had arrived when the relations of the Mormon colony to the Union could again be considered. Under the Presidency of General Grant, steps were taken by the Federal Government to subject this rebellious member to the control of American law. A Bill depriving polygamists of civic rights passed the House of

Representatives in March, 1870. In September, 1871, the Chief Justice of Utah charged the Grand Jury that bigamy was a crime in that Territory, as well as in other parts of the United States, and ordered indictments to be brought against any persons who should be guilty of the offence. Believers in its lawfulness were declared to be ineligible as jurors, and several Mormon Elders who had been summoned were challenged on the plea that they maintained the divine nature of polygamy. At the latter end of October, a conviction was obtained against one Thomas Hawkins, an Englishman who had been made one of the Mormon Elders, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars, and to be imprisoned for three years, with hard labour, for adultery. At the same time, Brigham Young was ordered to be tried for bigamy; but he fled, and did not surrender for trial until the 2nd of January, 1872. It seemed probable that he would likewise be arraigned for the murder of a man named Buck, who is said to have been killed for some offence against the Mormon Church. But a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, pronounced in 1872, put a stop to the Mormon prosecutions, released the persons already convicted, and once more invested the "Saints" with control over the courts of Utah. About the same period, the Mormons, in praying for the admission of their Territory into the Union as a State, offered to renounce polygamy, and to insert in their Constitution a clause strictly prohibiting the practice. Utah, however, has not yet acquired the position of a State, and the feeling of Americans generally is still very strongly expressed against the practices of these religious enthusiasts. Another indictment for polygamy was preferred against Brigham Young in October, 1874. In the following March he was adjudged to support one of his wives while she sued for a divorce, and, on his neglecting to comply with this order, he was imprisoned in his own house. His discharge followed in December, 1875, and on the 29th of August, 1877, he died, without any further steps having been taken against him. But in March, 1877, John D. Lee, a Mormon Bishop (who had been found guilty in the latter part of 1876), was executed, by shooting, for complicity in the massacre of a hundred and forty Californian emigrants near Mountain Meadows, Utah, in 1857. The culprit confessed his guilt, and thus set at rest a question which had long remained in doubt, as to whether the massacre was committed by Mormons disguised as Indians, or by the Indians themselves. The distinctive character of Utah may be expected to become less and less with every succeeding year. The wild, solitary land of the Mormons has been connected with the rest of the United States by the great Pacific Railway, 1,700 miles of which, extending from Omaha, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, were opened on the 12th of May, 1869. Salt Lake City is one of the stations on this line, and the full life of the American people is now pulsing through the deserts of Utah, from the east to the west, and from the west to the east.

A serious deficit in the revenue was apparent at the close of 1873. The expenditure had exceeded the receipts by more than seven millions sterling. Trade had been extremely bad in 1873, and, as a consequence, less money had been expended on articles liable to duty. At the same time, the Government had laid out unusually large sums on the army and navy, when it was thought that the country would have to go to war with Spain on account of the *Virginius*. Expenditure had indeed been steadily increasing since General Grant was in power; and simultaneously with this augmentation, several taxes had been abolished or reduced. At the commencement of 1874, the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to ask for new taxes to the extent of nearly forty-two millions of dollars; while, to meet any future want of money, the Senate and House of Representatives adopted a proposal for inflating the paper currency by an additional issue of about nine millions sterling. The banks were also to be enabled to increase their circulation of notes to the extent of four or five millions; and by these arrangements the resumption of specie payments was indefinitely postponed. Great dissatisfaction with this measure was expressed by the mercantile and financial classes, and President Grant refused to sanction it. In his Message pronouncing the veto, the Chief Magistrate observed that theoretically the Bill increased the paper circulation 100,000,000 dollars, less only the amount of reserves restrained from circulation by the provisions of the second section. Such a measure was in his opinion a departure from the true principles of finance, from national interest, from the country's obligation to its creditors, from party pledges made on both sides, and from his own promises during his whole term of office. General Grant added that he was not a believer in any artificial method of making paper money equal to coin, when coin was not owned or held ready to redeem the promises to pay. Paper money, he very truly remarked, is nothing more than a promise to pay, and is valuable only in proportion to the amount of coin that it can be converted into. These just and reasonable views had the support of the most influential classes, and Congress was not strong enough to re-

pass the Bill over the Presidential veto. Another measure, ostensibly designed to re-establish free banking, but having in fact an eye to the inflation of the currency, was afterwards thrown out by the House of Representatives, under the influence of a threat from the President that he would certainly veto it.

In January, 1875, General Grant signified his approval of a Bill hastily passed by Congress in the previous month, for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879. To ensure the desired result, he proposed to increase the revenue by restoring the taxes on tea and coffee, and repealing the ten per cent. reduction of the duties on iron, steel, &c., passed in 1872. He also suggested the redemption of legal tenders at a premium for gold of ten per cent. for the current year, seven and a half per cent. for the second year, five per cent. for the third year, and two and a half per cent. for the fourth year; thus bringing the currency on a par with gold at the date fixed by the Bill. Currency questions entered largely into the discussions which accompanied the State elections in the autumn of 1875. The Democrats, as imprudently for their own interests as for those of the country, took their stand on what, in the popular phraseology of the day, was called "soft money"—in other words, paper currency. The Republicans insisted on the necessity of paying every dollar of the Federal debt in hard coin. It was a favourite theory with the "Inflationists" that the sum-total of money in the country should be made equal to the wants of trade, and maintained at that equality. This doctrine found especial favour with the people of the Western States, particularly in Ohio and Iowa. But in the United States generally the balance of opinion was against the soft money system; and this was one reason of the Democratic discomfiture at the State elections. In his last Annual Message to Congress, delivered on the 5th of December, 1876, President Grant observed:—"Taxes have been reduced within the last seven years nearly 300,000,000 of dollars, and the National Debt has been reduced in the same time over 435,000,000 of dollars." The annual interest had also been considerably diminished, and the balance of trade had been changed from upwards of 130,000,000 dollars against the United States in 1869 to more than 120,000,000 in their favour in 1876. "With the present Congress," said General Grant, "my official life terminates. It is not probable that public affairs will ever again receive attention from me, further than as a citizen of the Republic." In the summer and autumn of 1877, the late President paid a visit to Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, and was everywhere received with marked cordiality.

It was believed by many that General Grant desired a third election to the Chief Magistracy. At any rate, his supporters wished it for him; but the bulk of the American people remembered the advice of Jefferson, who expressed a very strong opinion against such a manifestation of personal ambition. A resolution declaring that a third election would be unconstitutional was passed by Congress, almost unanimously, in 1875; and General Grant had the good sense to waive his own inclinations (if he really entertained them) in obedience to what had been so authoritatively decided as the law of his country. During his second Presidency, he became unpopular. His high-handed policy in the South disgusted the Democrats, and even offended some of the Republicans; and the financial and commercial troubles of 1873, though not fairly chargeable to him, were used as a means of discrediting his rule. The elections for Congress in 1874 resulted in a large majority for the Democrats: even Massachusetts went over to that side. The State official elections in November, 1875, however, showed a reaction in favour of the Republicans; but the prospects of the next Presidential contest were left extremely doubtful. The Republican candidate in 1876 was Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio; the Democratic candidate was Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York. When the election took place, in November, the result appeared at first to be favourable to the Democratic party; but the returns of three of the Southern States were disputed, and a period of great agitation ensued. Parts of the South were so violently excited that something like a renewal of civil war seemed imminent. The question, however, was ultimately referred to an Electoral Commission of both Houses of Congress, assisted by members of the Supreme Judiciary, by whom the votes were counted. The decision (which was not arrived at until the 2nd of March, 1877) was in favour of Mr. Hayes; but he had only a majority of one, the numbers being 185 to 184. On this decision being pronounced, the country at once regained its tranquillity, and Mr. Hayes was inaugurated in his new office on Monday, March 5th, 1877. In his Message to Congress, he said:—

"The permanent pacification of the country, on such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of their Constitutional rights, is now the one subject in our public affairs which all thoughtful and patriotic citizens regard as of supreme importance. Many of the calamitous

effects of the tremendous revolution which passed over the Southern States still remain. The immeasurable benefits which will surely follow, sooner or later, the hearty and general acceptance of the legitimate results of that revolution, have not yet been realised. Difficult and embarrassing questions meet us at the threshold of this subject. The people of those States are still impoverished, and the inestimable blessing of wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government is not yet fully enjoyed. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the cause of this condition of things, one fact is clear—that in the progress of events the time has come when such government is the imperative necessity required by all the varied interests, public and private, of those States. But it must not be forgotten that only a local government which recognises and maintains inviolate the rights of all is true self-government. With respect to the two distinct races whose peculiar relations to each other have brought upon us the deplorable complications and perplexities which exist in those States, it must be a government which guards the interests of both races carefully and equally; it must be a government which submits loyally and heartily to the Constitution and the laws—the laws of the nation and the laws of the States themselves, accepting and obeying faithfully all the Constitution as it is. Resting upon this sure and substantial foundation, the superstructure of beneficent local government can be built up, but not otherwise. In furtherance of such obedience to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and in behalf of all that its attainment implies, all so-called party interests lose their apparent importance, and party lines may well be permitted to fade into insignificance. The question we have to consider for the immediate welfare of those States of the Union is the question of government or no government, of social order and all the peaceful industries and happiness belonging to it, or a return to barbarism. It is a question in which every citizen of the nation is deeply interested, with respect to which we ought not to be, in a partisan sense, either Republicans or Democrats, but fellow-citizens and fellow-men, to whom the interests of common country and common humanity are dear. The sweeping revolution of the entire labour system of a large portion of our country, and the advance of four millions of people from a condition of servitude to that of citizenship, upon an equal footing with their former masters, could not occur without presenting problems of the gravest moment, to be dealt with by the emancipated race, by their former masters, and by the general Government—the author of the act of emancipation. That it was a wise, just, and providential act, fraught with good for all concerned, is now generally conceded throughout the country; that a moral obligation rests upon the National Government to employ its Constitutional power and influence to establish the rights of the people its act emancipated, and protect them in the enjoyment of those rights when infringed or assailed, is also generally admitted. The evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard; and while I am in duty bound and fully determined to protect the rights of all by every Constitutional means at the disposal of my Administration, I am sincerely anxious to use every legitimate influence in favour of honest and efficient local self-government, as the true resource of those States for the promotion of the contentment and prosperity of their citizens." With regard to the general Constitution of the country, the new President made a suggestion which is worthy of earnest thought. He conceived it would be better to extend the Presidential term from four to six years, and to prohibit any re-election, which is often the result, in some degree, of undue Administrative influence; and it is not improbable that a Constitutional Amendment to this effect (long ago recommended by de Tocqueville) will in time be sanctioned by the American people.

If Mr. Hayes should prove himself equal to the occasion, he may be the greatest of the Presidents since Washington. His opportunities are magnificent; his difficulties are fewer than those of any of his predecessors, and yet they are sufficient to call forth the energy and resources of a statesman. The South has still to be pacified; it has to be reconciled to the new order of things,—to be gently won, by consideration and fair dealing, to a belief in the efficacy of free labour, and the supremacy of Federal rule. A country wasted by civil war, and revolutionised by unwonted social and industrial forms, has to be reorganised, and filled with the breath of a fresh life. A just and reasonable balance between Federal and State rights has to be established. When this has been done—when the old anarchy resulting from negro bondage, and from the collision of freedom with class privilege, has been tranquilly succeeded by the higher law of equal rights throughout the broad Republic—what may not be hoped from the purified and reinvigorated genius of America? The standard of the Union floats undisputed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Within that vast domain, the capabilities of the future are almost boundless. New

Territories are being formed out of the wilderness—in the prairie, in the forest, on the slopes of mighty mountains. New States are being added to the equal family, whose governing powers are at once individual and Federal. The thirteen sovereign communities of 1776 had grown into thirty-nine in the Centenary Year, when Philadelphia welcomed all nations to her palace of universal industry. The three millions of population at the earlier date had so increased and multiplied by the later, that more than forty millions had been reached. A Power such as this is one of the determining forces of the world. The gates of the West are open to it, as the gates of the East are open to England. What was there in the fading splendours of the Western and the Eastern Empires, that ruled from Rome and Constantinople, to compare with this dayspring of a race whose separate but cognate branches have their roots at London and at Washington? "Westward the course of empire takes its way," wrote Berkeley a century and a half ago. It marches eastward also, and the two great divisions of the English race may yet encircle the globe. Their paths are distinct and all-sufficient for themselves; and nothing but blind folly or insane wickedness can ever again draw their swords against one another. The American and the Englishman may surely, with no great excess of egotism, regard the future of the world as mainly theirs. For their strength is in knowledge even more than in numbers; their ways are the ways of freedom, and their thoughts the thoughts of right.

THE END.

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